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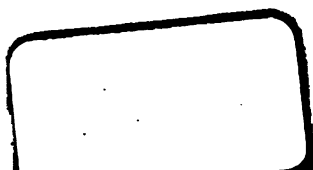
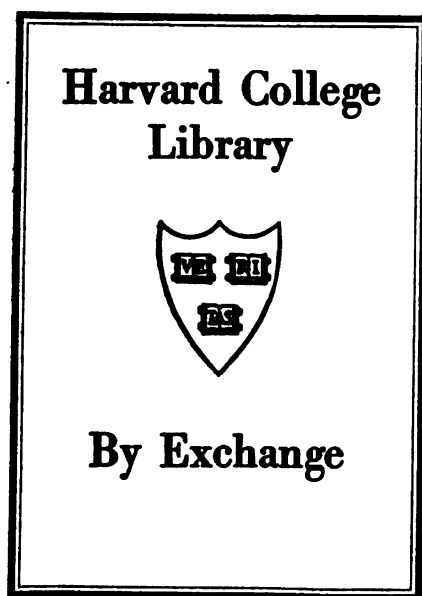
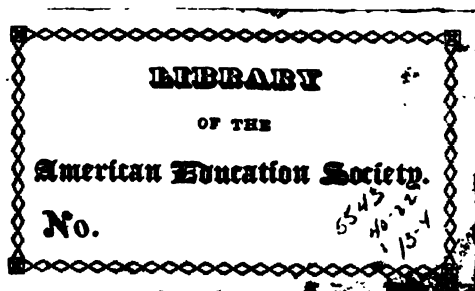
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THE
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 AND
 THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

EDITED BY AN
 ASSOCIATION OF GENTLEMEN IN PRINCETON
 AND ITS VICINITY.

VOL. II.—NEW SERIES.

Philadelphia:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
 JAMES KAY, JUN. & CO. LIBRARY, NEAR FIFTH STREET.

Pittsburg:

JOHN I. KAY & CO. 95 MARKET STREET.

Price \$3 a year, in advance.

1830.

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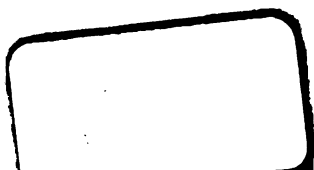
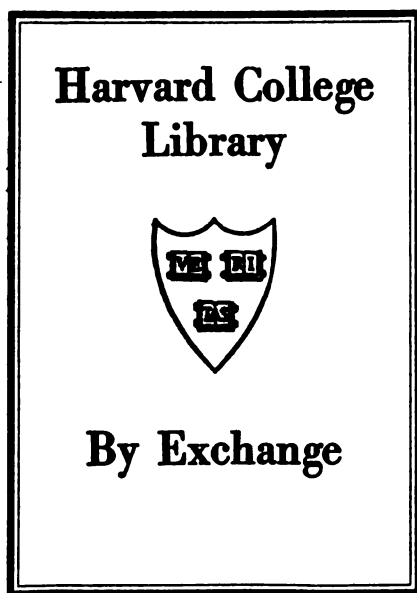
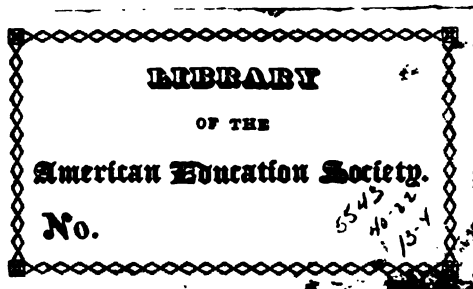
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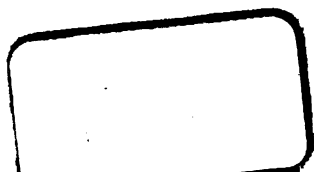
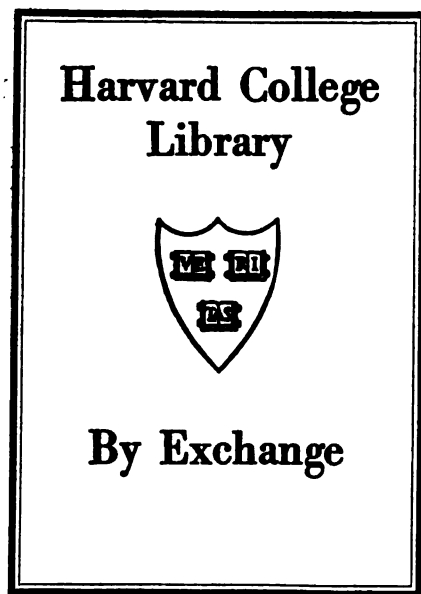
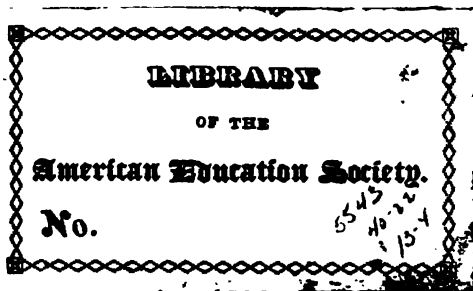
FOR JANUARY 1830.

REVIEW ON THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF
THE SECOND ADVENT.

The Second Advent; or, the Glorious Epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ. Being an attempt to elucidate, in Chronological Order, the Prophecies both of the Old and New Testament which relate to that Event. By the Rev. John Fry, B.A. Rector of Desford, in Leicestershire. London, 2 vols, 8vo, 1822.

[The conductors of the Biblical Repertory and Theological Review do not desire to make the work the vehicle exclusively of their own opinions, but are desirous of extending to their correspondents the liberty of advocating their own sentiments, reserving to themselves the right of deciding how far the opinions advanced can, with propriety, through their instrumentality, be presented to the public. They are, therefore, not to be considered as adopting the views presented by the author of the article on the Second Advent. As the subject, however, is one of interest, and has long been a matter of public discussion in England, it is probable our readers will be glad to see an exhibition of the

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from you into heaven, *shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.*" "Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him." With such plain declarations as these before us, it is easy to see that the interpretation of this phrase, the Second Coming, given by bishop Hind in his Lectures on Prophecy, is to be received with especial caution. "It may be proper to observe, that the second advent of the Messiah is not, like the *first*, confined to one single and precise period, but is gradual and successive. This distinction is founded in the reason of the thing. He could only come, *in person*, at one limited time. (Why?) He comes *in his power and providence*, through all ages of the church. His *first* coming was then over when he expired on the cross. His *second* commenced with his resurrection, and will continue to the end of the world. So that this *last* coming of Jesus is to be understood of his spirit and kingdom; which is not one act of sovereignty exerted at once, but a state or constitution of government subsisting through a long tract of time, unfolding itself by just degrees, and *coming* as oft as the conductor of it thinks fit to interpose by any signal acts of his administration." (*Lect. on Proph.* p. 102.) In opposition to this *spiritualizing* view of the subject, we would refer the reader to bishop Horsley's masterly sermons on our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, and would beg his attention to the following remarks of Mr Fry, the title of whose work stands at the head of this article, on the prophecy of Enoch, mentioned by Jude: "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all," &c.

"This unquestionably has no relation to the first advent. That was an errand of mercy, and not of judgment. The preserver of the prophecy is our expounder, that the particular objects of this judgment were 'the mockery in the last time.' The reader is requested carefully to bear in mind the contents and circumstances of this very ancient prophecy, since we shall often have occasion, as we proceed, to refer to it. It clearly ascertains that in the most ancient times, the church possessed a prediction that the Lord would come with *his holy ones*, to execute judgment upon an apostate race of men that should be on the earth in the last days. It is certain, from the same exposition, that the sending of the flood upon the world of the ungodly in the days of Noah, fulfilled not this prediction. Taught by this, we should be very careful in our con-

sideration of subsequent scriptures, how we apply to any remarkable visitation of Providence, the awful and tremendous prognostication, 'The Lord cometh.' Not the destruction of a world, with whatever agencies of angelic powers effected, had fulfilled Enoch's prediction of the Lord's coming, with his holy myriads, to execute judgment."

As the *fact* of a second advent of some kind is universally admitted, the *nature* and the *time* of this advent are the only points susceptible of controversy. Presuming that the foregoing remarks and quotations sufficiently establish the doctrine of a personal and visible coming of the Son of God at *some* period of future time, it becomes a point of ineffable interest to ascertain what light the scriptures afford us towards giving the era of this stupendous event. We are far from deeming such inquiries either presumptuous or profitless. On the contrary, we ask no higher or plainer warrant for the most prying researches into the "times and seasons" of the great occurrences of prophecy, than the example of the prophets themselves. *They* "searched diligently what, or *what manner of time*", the spirit which was in them did signify when it testified before hand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." The apostle in these words doubtless had present to his thoughts the case of Daniel, ch. xii. who discovered such an intense anxiety to know the time when the prophetic "wonders" declared to him should be accomplished. "And I heard, but I understood not; then said I, O my Lord, what shall be the end of these things?" Now we see not why this spirit of scrutiny is not as lawful in the readers of the sacred volume as in its writers. We are aware that it is not unfrequently regarded as a species of impiety to attempt to determine the mysterious era of the second advent, or of the end of the world. The rebuke given by Christ to his disciples after his resurrection is supposed to amount to a solemn

* A recurrence to the original of this passage, (1 Pet. i. 11.) will show that its true import, as gathered from the English translation, is liable to be misapprehended. Ἐρευνᾶντες τίς τίνα (καιρὸν), ἡ πῶς καὶ οὗτος, ἰδεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα— "searching diligently *what* (precise) *time*, (chronologically), or *what kind of time* (characteristically), the spirit which was in them did signify." Prophetic times were predicted both by express specifications of dates, and also by peculiar distinguishing signs. Both these were the objects of the solicitous search of the prophets.

interdict of all similar inquiries. And if this be deemed insufficient, we are referred to another declaration of the Saviour, as proof of the utter futility of all such attempts; "but of that day, and that hour, knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." But are we to consider this assertion as holding true at the present time? Was not this rescience of the Son of God done away at or after the resurrection? As the Apocalypse is called "the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him to show to his servants things that must shortly come to pass," are we not hereby taught that a vast influx of prophetic illumination was now imparted to his human mind, in virtue of which the disclosures of that book have been given to the church? Now, when it is considered that the Apocalypse contains the series of the great providential events which are to occur through the tracts of ages, quite down to that epoch of the second advent and the day of judgment, and that many intermediate events have precise periods assigned them, it is fair to infer that this grandest event of all is also indubitably known to the appointed Judge of the world. If, then, with the Apocalypse for their guide, the servants of God are able chronologically to locate any of the preceding great occurrences leading to the final advent, why may they not come somewhere near to the proper date of that also? For such is the peculiar structure of that prophecy, that the same data which enable us to determine any one link in the chain, direct us also, with tolerable exactness, to the end of the chain itself. But let us here be understood. We set up no plea in behalf of any attempts to fix *definitely to a month or year* the date of so momentous an event as the one in question. All we would say is, that we may come sufficiently near in our computations for all the practical purposes of warning, watchfulness, and preparation. And he that shall pitch within a century of the truth, may in this matter account his error but moderate.

The investigation of the subject becomes important from the fact, that the doctrine of the Saviour's second coming is inseparably connected with the great cognate doctrines of the resurrection, the judgment, and the millennium. The determination of the era of the one goes far towards fixing the periods of the others; so that this inquiry connects itself at once with all that is sublime and glorious in

our hopes, and all that is appalling in our fears; with the greatest developments of time, and with the retributions of eternity.

The subject is accordingly exciting a growing interest at the present day. The work of Mr Fry is but one of many which have, within a few years, issued from the press in England, reviving and reasserting the ancient millennarian theory; not however in the offensive forms in which it was held by some of its advocates in former days, and which drew upon it the odium of the wise and sober, but in its more spiritual and primitive aspects. We say this ancient tenet has been recently revived—for although there have long been, both in that country and in this, individuals who have embraced this doctrine, especially since the days of the pious and learned Mede, its greatest modern advocate, yet it is but recently that it has excited the attention it now occupies, or has enlisted in the discussion so many of the learned and venerated names of the present age*. The doctrine however has not been advanced without encountering a keen opposition. It is at this moment a theme of animated controversy with our trans-atlantic brethren, and the limited circulation in this country of their polemical tracts, is probably the reason that so little has been heard of the dispute in our own peaceful borders.

We have no wish to *import* a foreign controversy, as such; and were the present a matter of mere local and temporary interest, like a thousand ephemeral questions agitated in different sections of the church, we should leave it, with the test and corporation acts, or the civil disabilities of English dissenters, to be argued by the parties concerned, and adjudicated by their own authorities. But such is not the character of the present discussion. It is one of universal

* The estimation in which Mede is held as an expositor, by competent judges, will appear from the following testimonies.

"The book (the Apocalypse) was on the point of being given up as utterly impenetrable; when a SUNLIME GENIUS arose in the beginning of the last century, and surprised the learned world with that great desideratum, *A Key to the Revelations*. This extraordinary person was JOSEPH MEDE." (*Hurd's Lect. on Proph.* p. 268.)

Mr Faber, in his late work entitled "The Calendar of Prophecy," has adopted the following as one of his mottoes, "*haud medioeriter in re prophetica se profectus putet cui MEDEUS valde placebit.*"

and permanent interest. It has a direct and momentous bearing upon some of the prominent points of revelation. It is calculated to affect in one way or other the benevolent operations of all Christendom, and to modify our views of the religious prospects of the Jewish, Pagan, and Mohammedan portions of the globe. For the destinies of these people are closely interwoven with the tissues of predictions which form the basis of the millennarian scheme. But especially it is a subject involving the question of *the true principles of scriptural interpretation*. On this ground, therefore, it might properly claim the notice of any work which has the name or character of *biblical* associated with its pages. With the fate of a particular hypothesis we are less concerned; in the settlement of the *genuine canons of sacred exegesis* we are deeply interested. Of the two several schemes of prophetic interpretation adopted by the respective parties to this controversy, we propose to lay before our readers a general outline. In doing this we shall aim rather to report the debate than to take a part in it; for if we mistake not, the plausibility of the pleadings on both sides will exempt any one from the charge of indecision who should decline the place of umpire, or, holding it, should give in his verdict in a wavering *non liquet*. That our display of the respective positions and reasonings employed shall betray no degree of bias or favouritism for one side more than the other, is what we hardly dare promise, but our purpose is nevertheless to present the two theories candidly, side by side, solely to the end that further inquiry may be elicited, and the truth finally established.

As the appellation of "modern millennarians" has become current in reference to the school of Mede, the reader will deem it an acceptable service to be presented with a brief sketch of that system, as held by its ancient abettors. This cannot be done better than by extracting from "Newton on the Prophecies" a specimen of the copious array of testimonies which he has collected relative to the faith of both Jewish and Christian fathers on this point. In commenting on the words of John, (*Rev. xx. 4.*) "and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, nor in their hands; and they lived and reigned

with Christ a thousand years," this eminent expositor remarks:

"In the general that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that 'the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters fill the sea,' 'that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved,' in a word, that the kingdom of heaven shall be established on earth, is the plain and express doctrine of David and all the prophets, as well as of John. But of all the prophets, John is the only one who hath declared particularly, and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it shall continue upon earth a thousand years: and the Jewish church before him, and the christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be the seventh millenary of the world. Of the Jewish writers, Rabbi Ketina, as cited in the Gemara, said, 'that the world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it shall be laid waste (that is, the enemies of God shall be destroyed), whereof it is said, (*Is. ii. 11.*) *The Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.* Tradition assents to Rabbi Ketina: as out of seven years every seventh is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand years of the world, the seventh millenary shall be the millenary of remission, *that God alone may be exalted in that day.* It was the tradition of the house of Elias, who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias (Elijah), the Tishbite, 'that the world endures six thousand years, two thousand before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah.' Of the christian writers, St Barnabas in the first century thus comments upon the words of Moses: 'consider, children, what that signifies, *he finished them in six days.* This it signifies, that the Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years; for a day with him is as a thousand years. Therefore, children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years, shall all things be consummated. Justin Martyr, in the second century, declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrine of his times. 'I, and as many as are orthodox christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh (meaning the first resurrection), and a thousand years in Jerusalem rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged (that is, in the New Jerusalem) as the prophets Ezekiel, and

Isaiah, and others do unanimously attest.' Afterwards he subjoins: 'a certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in a revelation made to him, did prophesy that the faithful believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the New Jerusalem, and after these should be the general resurrection and judgment!'

"In short, the doctrine of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages: and this belief, as the learned Dodwell hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive christians. They even coveted martyrdom in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection."

We cannot forbear to add the same writer's judicious remarks on the right mode of interpreting this part of the revelation. "All the danger is, on the one side, of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other, of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness and judgment are required to keep the middle course. We should neither, with some, interpret it into allegory, nor depart from the literal sense of scripture without an absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we, with others, indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of scripture, or to fair deductions from scripture, and to rest contented with a general account, till time shall accomplish and eclaircise all the particulars."

From the tenor of the above citations it is evident, that the belief anciently prevailed in the christian church, *of a literal resurrection at the commencement of the millennium; that at this period the martyrs at least, or the most eminent witnesses and confessors of Christ, should be raised to share with him in the glory of that reigning state or kingdom so clearly predicted in Daniel and John.* The following, therefore, may be considered as a more detailed account of the creed of the modern school, who tread in the steps of the ancient believers. The present advocates of this system are, as a class, denominated by their opponents *literalists*, from their giving a *literal* sense to those passages touching the second advent, the reign of Christ on earth, the resurrection of the martyrs, &c. which those of the other side understand *spiritually*, and are therefore called *spiritu-*

alists. The literalists, then, beginning with the ancient tenet, that the seventh millenary is to be the sabbatism of the world, and that very sabbatism too which Paul assures us remains for the people of God, affirm, that somewhere about the commencement of this period, the Lord Jesus Christ shall be visibly revealed in the clouds of heaven, attended by a countless multitude of his saints, who have been previously raised from the dead;—that the righteous, who are found alive on earth at his coming, shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye, and translated to the same condition with the raised holy dead, and caught up to meet the Lord in the air;—that simultaneously with this event a most terrible destruction shall be visited upon the antichristian powers gathered together at the great battle of Armageddon;—that the material heavens and earth shall by means of fire undergo such a physical change and renovation as shall render them fit to be denominated the “new heavens and new earth,” and to constitute them the residence of the risen saints;—that this change, however, in the visible creation is not to be universal, but partial, extending more especially to the territorial platform of the beast and the false prophet;—that Christ with his risen and glorified people, the sheep being now separated from the goats, shall personally descend to the earth, and enter upon the millennial kingdom prepared from the foundation of the world;—that the “rest of the dead,” or the wicked dead, shall not “live again,” or be raised, till the thousand years are finished, at which time, or thereabouts, the final or general judgment shall take place, when all the remaining dead shall be awakened, the universe of men be summoned before “the great white throne,” and judged and sentenced according to their works.

Such, in the main, is the view of the millennium and its kindred doctrines, adopted by the followers of Mede. Not that all agree in all the items, as now stated, for there is considerable difference of opinion on several particulars of the scheme; some, for instance, holding that *all* the righteous dead, and not merely the martyrs, will rise at this time, yet in the leading features of the millennarian hypothesis there is a pretty general consent.

On the other hand, the principles of interpretation adopted by the spiritualists, and by the great mass of the christian world in modern times, result in the following theory as to the millennium and the consummation of all things. They

believe that the millennium is nothing more than a pre-eminently prosperous state of the church, which shall be gradually introduced; that the progressive diffusion of light and knowledge in consequence of the efforts of the present day, are in all probability preparatory to that illustrious period; that during this golden age of Zion and the world, Satan shall be powerfully restrained from his accustomed work of deceit and destruction, and his influence almost, if not entirely, suppressed; that during the lapse of this happy chiliad all the heathen nations shall be converted, and the church be enriched with an amazing plenitude of spiritual blessings, realizing the brightest anticipations of the Old Testament prophets; that, however, in order to afford to the universe the last grand display of human depravity and its punishment, a reverse to this halcyon age shall ensue; that towards the close of the thousand years, the imprisoned adversary shall, by some means, once more regain his liberty, and go forth to deceive the nations; that he shall accordingly be permitted to instigate a general defection from the millennial purity and truth; that the apostate nations, under the denomination of Gog and Magog, shall unite and come up from the four corners of the earth, and besiege "the camp of the saints and the beloved city;" that at the very crisis of the hostile onset, "in the straitness and in the siege," the Lord shall suddenly rain down fire from heaven and destroy them all; that immediately consequent upon this overthrow of the enemy, the second glorious advent of the Saviour, the resurrection of the dead, the translation of the living saints, the final judgment, and the universal mundane conflagration shall ensue; that then, and not before, shall commence the new heavens and new earth, and that glorious heavenly kingdom which is to be the eternal inheritance of the saints; and that consequently it is only at the *end* of the millennium that those sublime predictions are fulfilled, the completion of which the literalists place at its *commencement*.

The scheme of the literalists is certainly foreign from the popular belief of the christian world. But as this school of interpreters profess to build their system on a fair construction of the scriptures, as they deny in fact that they are capable, without positive perversion, of any *other* interpretation, and as they declare their only motive in the adoption of these views to be a simple deference to truth, pow-

erfully evidencing itself to their minds, their plea in behalf of their theory is at least entitled to a hearing before it is rejected or condemned. We are not disposed to join in putting it down by acclamation. It has too many great and good names arrayed among its advocates to be treated with disrespect, or turned aside with silent scorn. Indeed, however novel may be *any* opinion advanced by good men as the result of honest inquiry, and supported by the show of fair argument, it cannot be deemed either just or generous to brand it forthwith with the epithets of heresy or schism, and to mark it out as a prey on which the blood-hounds of prejudice and party are to be let loose. Let reasoning be met by reasoning, and not by ridicule, for truth can never suffer by being thoroughly canvassed. As to the present view of the prophecies of the latter day, we are ready to admit, *that if it can be shown to be true, it is important, immensely important*; inasmuch as the anticipated developments, even at the furthest, are very near at hand, and, if sincerely believed, cannot but have a powerful influence on the springs of christian action. But we proceed to give utterance and audience to their principal arguments.

1. One of the clearest annunciations of the second advent is held to be the following passage from Daniel, ch. vii. It occurs in the account of the vision representing the four great successive monarchies, with the overthrow of the last of which, or the Roman, in its decem-regal form, the glorious appearing of the Saviour, it is said, is closely connected. "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened. I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even till the beast, was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time. I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him

dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom which shall not be destroyed." In unfolding the import or mystery of this vision, the interpreting angel informs the prophet, that the ten horns that arose out of the fourth kingdom were "ten kings (i. e. kingdoms), that should arise, and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

We could not make this quotation shorter in justice to the argument. The argument is this: As the symbolical beast, the persecuting power here described, was to hold his supremacy for the period of the time, times, and a half, or twelve hundred and sixty years—an explication admitted on all hands; and as the prophet steadily contemplated the beast till he was destroyed, it is but reasonable to suppose that the period of this destruction is near to the close of the twelve hundred and sixty years. But the predicted coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven is also contemporaneous with the destruction of the beast; and by consequence, synchronizes nearly with the close of the same term of twelve hundred and sixty years. Now there is no discrepancy worth mentioning, among commentators, as to the location of this grand period. It is admitted to have commenced somewhere near the time when the Roman empire was broken into ten independent kingdoms, and that it is to terminate about the beginning of the millennium. The inference therefore is affirmed to be irresistible, that the second advent synchronizes with the commencement of the millennium.

To this the spiritualists reply, that this is merely figurative language, constructed on the principles of symbolic diction; that the coming in the clouds of heaven, the retinue

of angels, the placing of the throne, the consigning to the fiery flame, are mere allegorical expressions, shadowing forth the displays of divine power in effecting great political or ecclesiastical changes; and that even the day of judgment itself is frequently made use of to represent the temporal judgment of a wicked empire or community, through the agency of second causes. This is unhesitatingly set down as a canon of prophetic interpretation.

To this the rejoinder of the literalists is, that the assumption in this canon is entirely gratuitous, taking for granted the very point in debate. They contend that although moral and political changes are sometimes adumbrated in scripture by supernatural signs in the heavens and the earth, such as the darkening of the sun, the falling of stars, the quaking or melting of mountains, the shaking of the pillars of the earth, and the raging of fierce conflagrations; yet that the use of such imagery is predicated upon the fact that it will eventually have a *literal fulfilment*, and until the end of the present order of things arrives, no man can say that precisely such physical and visible phenomena will not take place. Therefore, as the employing of the resurrection as a figure of a civil restoration is plain evidence of the fact of a *real* resurrection, so when it is said that the coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven is used in a figurative sense, it plainly demonstrates that he is to come at some time or other in a literal sense, and if Daniel does not here point to that time, what passage in the whole Bible can be designated that does? Is it maintained that such a passage occurs in our Saviour's discourse, (*Mat.* xxiv. 30.) "and they shall see the son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory?" But it will appear in the sequel that the literalists vindicate this text entirely to themselves, making it refer directly to the period here mentioned by Daniel. Is *Rev.* i. 7, alleged as a clear instance of the literal revelation of Christ from heaven—"behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him;"—the literalists grant it, but say at the same time that it can be easily shown that this passage, like the others, refers to a coming at the commencement of the millennium. For the words of John are a quotation from *Zech.* xii. 10: "For I will pour upon the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit

of grace and of supplications ; and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son." The context, as well as the words themselves, evince that this is an undoubted prophecy of the future restoration of Israel, pointing to the very same epoch of time with the words of Christ when he says, " Verily, I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." An eminent commentator remarks thus upon these words of Zechariah. "This mourning of the Jews will take place at the reappearing of their Messiah from heaven, (*Apoc.* i. 7.—xx. 4.) when the restored descendants of those Jews who slew him shall be touched with the deepest compunction for the guilt of their forefathers." John quotes these words without the least note or intimation that he has any other time in view than that pointed at by Zechariah. Now as no one doubts that the people of Israel are to be restored about the beginning of the millennium, it may be respectfully inquired on what authority this passage is transferred in its application to a period at least one thousand years subsequent to that of its primary reference? Thus plainly does it appear that by giving a *figurative* meaning to Daniel's advent of the Son of Man, we cut ourselves off from one of the principal resources of proof which establish a *literal* advent.

2. From another part of Daniel's prophecy we arrive, say the literalists, at the same conclusion. From ch. xii. 1, 2, it appears, that this grand period of twelve hundred and sixty years is to be consummated in a season of unparalleled trouble, in immediate connexion with which a resurrection from the dead is to take place. "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince, which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." The epoch of these events is incontrovertibly fixed very near to the end of the twelve hundred and sixty years by the angel's answer to the question, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was

upon the waters of the river, and he lifted up his right hand and his left hand to heaven, and swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and a half, and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." Now it is maintained, that the doctrine of a literal resurrection is no where more expressly taught in the whole compass of revelation, than in this passage, and that it was on these words that the faith of the ancient Jewish church in that doctrine was especially founded; that the same principles of interpretation which would make this an allegory, would fritter away the plainest declarations of holy writ; and that no difficulties in comprehending the manner and circumstances of the thing should be suffered to countervail such palpable testimony as to the fact itself. Here then is a resurrection from the dust synchronizing with the close of the great prophetic period above mentioned. But we have already seen that the coming of Christ in the clouds is assigned to the same era. Therefore the second advent, and a resurrection of "many of them that slept in the dust" shall occur simultaneously, at the commencement of the millennium.

This passage, however, is regarded by the spiritualists as pointing no higher than to some great political or moral revolution; and to confirm this construction, they allege the parallel language of another prophet, (*Ezek. xxxvii. 12.*) "Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel." To this it is replied, on the other hand, that the words of Daniel, "some shall arise to shame and everlasting contempt" are inconsistent with the idea of an auspicious change in the state of a community. And as to the citation from Ezekiel, since the burden of the chapters in immediate connexion show that his prophecy is then hovering on the borders of the millennium, it is fair to infer that the vision of the dry bones brought to life was intended to teach a twofold lesson, one of a literal, the other of an ecclesiastical resurrection; and as both he and Daniel have the same period in view, their predictions doubtless are of the same import, both implying a literal resurrection.

But another objection is made to the literalists' interpretation of this passage. If the words of Daniel, say their opponents, teach an actual resurrection of a part of the

righteous, they teach with equal clearness the actual resurrection of a part of the wicked, which contradicts another feature of their scheme, viz. that it is only the saints and martyrs who rise at the commencement of the millennium, while the rest of the dead live not again till the thousand years are finished. And here it is not to be disguised, that the literal hypothesis labours, in fairly meeting and removing this objection. Those who hold it do indeed reply, that John's exposition, (*Rev.* xx. 5.) informs us that the first and second resurrection are separated by an interval of a thousand years, and accordingly, although the two classes are mentioned in the same verse by Daniel, as if they were to rise together, yet with the clue from the Revelations we are otherwise instructed: the one does not rise for less than ten centuries after the other. We must deem this a forced construction, notwithstanding the powerful support of Mede, and were we ourselves pledged to the patronage of the millennial cause, we should be at a loss for any other reply, than that our incompetency to settle the order of the resurrection, or to dispose of the risen bodies, could not annul the evidence of the *fact* of the resurrection.

3. Paul, in his first epistle to the Thessalonians, ch. iv. speaks thus of the second coming of Christ: "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we be ever with the Lord." From the tenor of the second epistle to the same church it would appear, that some of the readers of the first, probably from the apostle's employing the expression, "*we which are alive &c.*" received the impression, that that day was near at hand, and would occur in their own life time. A special design, therefore, of the apostle's writing the second was, to correct this error, and do away their ill-founded expectations. "Now we beseech you, brethren, *as it respects* (*ὡς*) the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exal-

teth himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God—whom the Lord shall consume by the spirit of his mouth, and destroy by the brightness of his coming." Now it is granted on all sides that the "man of sin" predicted by Paul, is the same antichristian power, under another name, as that symbolized by the "little horn" of Daniel's beast, which was to be destroyed at the commencement of the millennium, and synchronical with whose destruction, the Son of Man was to be seen coming in glory from heaven. Let the identity of the two predicted powers be kept in mind, and the coincidence between the Old and New Testament prophets will be singularly striking. Paul assures the Thessalonians that the arrival of the day of Christ, which he had described in the former epistle, is to be deferred till the antichristian apostacy has taken place, or till the "man of sin" has arisen and run his predestined career, when at length that great day should be ushered in with his entire destruction. The same train of events we have already seen to be predicted by Daniel. From both writers the inference flows without constraint, that the second advent occurs at the *beginning* of the millennium, and not at the *end*. Let us suppose now, on the other hand, according to the common opinion, that the day of Christ, mentioned in Paul's first epistle, is not to arrive till the end of the seventh millenary, and we have an entire thousand years of which no account is made in the apostle's reckoning. How can this omission be explained? If, indeed, this extended tract of time were to elapse, in addition to the period of the apostacy, why did not the apostle plainly tell the Thessalonians that the day of Christ would not come till after the expiration of the reign of the man of sin, and of the thousand years of the millennium?

The spiritualists are here ready to concede, that if it can be shown that Paul is speaking in both epistles of one and the same advent, the argument is conclusive. But here, it is contended, the evidence is defective. It is by no means clear, they affirm, that the writer had his eye in each upon the same identical day, and that it is probable the error in question had been occasioned by some *forged* letter, purporting to have come from Paul, but which he, in his second and genuine epistle, takes the opportunity to disavow. This they suppose is intimated in the very words of the apostle :

"neither by letter *as* from us." That is to say, "Be not troubled by such an epistle, as if it had come from us; for, in truth, no such epistle did we ever write." Still, the advocates of the pre-millennian advent, are not convinced that the error of the Thessalonians arose from any thing but the peculiar style of the first epistle. To a plain, unlettered understanding, what inference would be more natural, when an inspired teacher was heard to say, "*We* which are alive and remain, shall be caught up to meet the Lord," than that the event mentioned should take place within the ordinary life of man? It is maintained, moreover, that the expression in the second epistle, "As it respects our *gathering together unto him*," alludes to the very same "gathering," or rapture into the air, of which he had spoken in the first. After all, the reader must balance the probabilities for himself; for in reference to this whole controversy, it will be found, that precisely in the point where he perceives the greatest pinch, and where he is most anxious for light and assistance from expositors, there they fail him, and he is left to decide for himself.

4. Peter, in his address to the Jewish priests and people, not long after the day of Pentecost, says, (*Acts* iii. 19, 21,) "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord, and he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you; whom the heavens must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." By the "restitution of all things which God hath spoken," the literalists understand that glorious and happy change, that renovated state of the moral and physical world, which is to be ushered in with the opening of the millennial age. This is maintained to be the genuine sense of the original (*ἀποκαταστάσις*), which denotes the restoring of any thing disordered or out of place to its primitive state and design; and that this is to be the effect of the millennium, to bring back the golden age to the world. Consequently, if the heavens are to receive and retain Christ *until* that time, then, *as soon* as the time of the restitution arrives, or, in other words, as soon as the millennium is about to commence, the Saviour, by the very necessity of the passage, will personally appear from heaven. Of course, the true date of the second advent is established as before.

The force of this argument of the literalists, their opponents endeavour to rebut by denying the correctness of their interpretation, that is, of the present English translation. The original for "restitution," they render "accomplishment," and translate the latter clause thus: "Whom heaven must receive until the times of the accomplishment of all the things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." Now as the ancient prophecies are very full respecting the millennial period of blessedness on earth, they must receive their "accomplishment" before Christ can be manifested from heaven, which makes it necessary that the second advent should be delayed till *after* that period.

A reply to this, entirely satisfactory, is supposed to be afforded in the following passage from the Revelations, relative to the period of the seventh trumpet, which confessedly *brings on, not closes*, the millennium: (ch. x. 6, 7.) "And the angel lifted his hand to heaven and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, that there should be time no longer: but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he *shall begin to sound*, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets." Here, certainly, is a grand winding up and a completion of the ancient oracles, *preparatory* to the incipient flux of the millennial age, confirming the statement of Peter, that this "restitution," or "accomplishment," it is immaterial which, has been the constant theme of every prophet since the world began.

5. Paul, in treating of the resurrection of the righteous, (1 Cor. xv. 52,) has this language: "Behold I show you a mystery: We shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed; in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the sound of the *last trumpet*, for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." The mention of the "trumpet," in this connexion, is supposed to afford a chronological clue to the whole passage. As the resurrection alluded to is to occur at the sound of the *last* trumpet, and as this ordinal epithet carries in it an allusion to some *preceding* trumpets, it is surely important to know whereabouts, in the great chain of events, to locate this ominous signal. Of what other trumpets have we an account in the sacred writings? Of none, it is affirmed, except the series of Apocalyptic trumpets

mentioned by John, (*Rev.* viii. and xi.) of which the seventh and last clearly announces the millennium, and which will probably be distinguished from the foregoing by a *literal* sounding, whereas the others were figurative, and *signified*, without sounding. Now let the concomitants of the seventh and *last* Apocalyptic trumpet be compared with those of the *last* trumpet of Paul. "And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.—And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, *and the time of the dead*, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great." The accompaniments of the *last* trumpet of each writer are so similar, that it is difficult to suppose them to refer to any but the same grand epoch. What can be intended by "the time of the dead," but the time of their rising from the dead, in order to enter upon their reward? Both apostles, therefore, make the sound of the trumpet the signal of resurrection; and as the seventh trumpet of the Apocalypse cannot be referred to the *close* of the millennium without dislocating the whole system of prophetic chronology, the inference seems inevitable, that the resurrection spoken of is to occur at the beginning of that period. But the second advent synchronizes with the resurrection of the righteous, therefore the second advent is to occur also at the commencement of this period.

The position assumed in this argument is met by the spiritualists by saying, that, as far as the mention of the trumpet goes to fix the chronology of the resurrection, it determines it to the end of the world, according to the interpretation of Christ himself, who introduces the mention of it in connexion with the final consummation of all things. (*Mat.* xxiv. 31.) "And he shall send his angels *with a great sound of a trumpet*, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of the heaven to the other." This leads to the discussion respecting the time of the day of judgment, to which we shall assign a distinct head.

6. The fullest informations respecting the time, signs, and circumstances, of what is usually termed "the day of judgment," are contained in our Lord's discourse with his disciples, (*Mat.* xxiv. and xxv. *Luke* xxi.) relative to the de-

struction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. The true explication, therefore, of the phrase, "the end of the world" *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος*, must determine the period pointed at both in the question of the disciples, and in the answer of their divine master. Their inquiry was, "When shall these things be? And what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" It is admitted that the signs here described did many of them actually come to pass at the destruction of Jerusalem; but it is maintained, that others did not; that the direct judgments experienced on that occasion did not exhaust the plenitude of our Saviour's language, and that at some period yet future, called "the end of the world," these pregnant annunciations are to receive a perfect fulfilment. The point to be determined is the genuine import of this expression. The literalists deny that *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος* legitimately signifies the end, dissolution, or destruction of the material fabric of the globe which we inhabit. Had this been the meaning, *κόσμου*, instead of *αἰῶνος*, they say would have been employed.—The leading sense of *αἶων* in the scriptures is held to be *duration, an age, an existing order of things, a dispensation*, and that no one perfectly clear and indubitate instance can be adduced in which it is synonymous with *κόσμος*, in the sense of *material world*. In support of this interpretation they allege Schleusner, and other learned lexicographers. According to them, therefore, the phrase "this world," in contradistinction from "the world to come," implies the present dispensations of grace and providence, as contrasted with a future dispensation, which is to commence with the resurrection of the just. In like manner, "the end of the world" denotes primarily, not the passing away or dissolution of the present physical fabric of the earth, but the winding up of the existing order of things in the political, moral, and religious world, represented elsewhere in the scriptures by the overthrow and perdition of all antichristian powers, and other striking imagery already alluded to. This consummation is to be preparatory to the new and blessed dispensation of the millennium, which is to be an unspeakably more glorious era to the world than is generally conceived. Assuming this, therefore, as the basis of their construction, they say, that our Lord's discourse on the above-mentioned occasion had a leading and ultimate reference to the commencement of the millennium. Those of

his predictions, accordingly, which were not fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, are to be referred to this era, and to no other.

But how, then, it is inquired, are we to understand the graphic and luminous description of the judgment administered by the Son of Man, when he shall sit upon the throne of his glory, with the assembled nations congregated before him, and his equal sentence shall separate the righteous from the wicked, as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats? Is not this the final post-millennian judgment? And is not this the time when the last trumpet shall sound, and the dead be raised?

The millennarians answer: 1. That as our Lord's predictions concerning the fate of Jerusalem, and the signs of his coming, the parable of the ten virgins, that of the talents, and this account of the judgment in the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, all form one connected discourse, delivered on one occasion; it follows, that whatever period of time is intended in one part of the discourse, the same is intended throughout the whole. So that we are brought again to the right explication of the phrase, "end of the world," as the true determination of the time. This has already been attempted to be fixed. 2. That there doubtless is to be a judgment at the opening of the millennial age, and that Christ in Matthew xxv. is describing this judgment. This view of the subject is founded not only upon the preceding requirements as to time, but upon the very character of the judgment itself. It is manifest that in this judgment the decision is predicated upon one leading trait of character alone, viz. that of true christian love or charity evinced in doing good to the brethren of Christ. But how can the heathen who never knew the Lord Jesus, nor were called to show kindness to his brethren, "to a disciple in the name of a disciple," be judged by this rule? They that have sinned without law are to be judged without law; but here is a direct application of the spirit and letter of the law of Christ's kingdom, as may be seen from the scope of the New Testament, and especially from the first epistle of John. Again, although all nations are said to be gathered together before the tribunal, yet they are spoken of as having been previously all mingled together. Up to that very time, though essentially different in their nature as goats from sheep, they were all feeding promiscuously together. One point

of the comparison is, "As a shepherd *separateth* his sheep from the goats, so shall the king *separate* them one from another." Hence it follows, that the church found on earth at the time of our Saviour's appearing, in every nation under heaven, is the flock intended as the object of this judgment. It extends not, it is affirmed, to the dead: the sheep among them that slept, had long ago been placed at the King's right hand; they came with Christ on this occasion, appearing with him in glory. The goats, also, whom death had cut off from the professed church, were "gone to their own place." The flock, therefore, now separated is the same as the field where the wheat and the tares grow together until the harvest. And the scope of this representation is to teach us that the decision and discrimination then made will be regulated by the genuine influence of christian love, or the want of it, in those who are the objects of the judgment.

Although the literalists generally maintain the doctrine of a universal judgment at the end of the millennium, yet they do not admit that the expression "the day of judgment" ought to be, as it usually is, instinctively referred to that period. The true import of the expression is to be determined by tracing its scriptural origin. The phrase does not once occur in the Old Testament, though of frequent occurrence in the New. And the learned have shown, that it is still more familiar in the Rabbinical writings of the Jews than in the New Testament. The expression, however, must have been derived from a scriptural source, and though the precise words may not there occur, yet the truth on which they are founded, must be contained in the compass of the Old Testament scriptures. Now it is strenuously contended that the passage in Daniel, above quoted, is the true source to which it is to be traced, "The judgment was set, and the books were opened." Consequently, whatever time was really intended by the prophet, or rather by the Holy Spirit, in that vision, that is the time which we are to understand by "the day of judgment." But it has been shown that Daniel's judgment sits, when the beast is destroyed and his body given to the burning flame, or, in other words, at the beginning of the millennium. Therefore the day of judgment is to be assigned to the same period.

Another grand reason that urges the literalists to the adoption of their peculiar views of the second advent and its

related doctrines, is the insuperable difficulties which in their opinion embarrass the prevailing belief. The following, for example, may be noted. The state of things subsequent to the millennium is thus described in the Apocalypse, the only book in the New Testament which informs us of the chronological order of events. "And when a thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them." This, according to the common theory, describes the state of things immediately anterior to Christ's coming to judgment; of course, according to the same theory, the entire scope of our Lord's discourse with his disciples, contained in the 24th chapter of Matthew, except the predictions concerning Jerusalem itself, are to be referred to the same season. But the slightest comparison, it is said, will evince that the two descriptions of this are wholly inconsistent with each other. In the one, we see the church of the saints collected together, *en masse*, in a holy rendezvous, and there, as a city besieged, encompassed by their enemies. In the other, they are dispersed all over the earth: "And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." In the one, we are told that the coming of Christ will be in a season of abounding tranquillity, security, luxury and ease, when they shall be eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, as they were before the flood, the wise and the foolish virgins alike slumbering and sleeping, the servant saying to himself that his lord delays his coming, and all giving way to supineness and unconcern. In the other, we see every thing in action; the numerous hosts of wicked men banding together against the saints, and beleaguering the place of their refuge. In the one, we hear the Saviour saying, "nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?" intimating that a great part at least of his professing people would be sunk in spiritual torpor, and taken by surprise when he did come. In the other, we see the great body of the pious in a situation utterly at variance with this representation.

For as they shall now have passed through the millennium, they will of necessity understand, from the book of Revelation then in their hand, as it is now in ours, that this assault of Gog and Magog is to take place; and why should they not prepare for it? especially if they believe that this invasion is but a signal for the revelation of Jesus Christ, their avenger from heaven. Besides, as they are said to be gathered together at this eventful crisis, and as there is no intimation of their employing warlike weapons, or of their fighting against their enemies, must we not suppose they are calmly relying upon divine protection, and by prayer and supplication beseeching God to interpose in this awful emergency? And if so, surely the great mass of the church at this time cannot be void of faith. Can a spirit of sevenfold slumber have seized upon the camp of the saints and the beloved city, at this momentous season, so that the Saviour's words will then be fulfilled; "For as a snare shall that day come upon all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth." Is it conceivable, that this can apply to the church, when the mustered legions of Gog and Magog are in full view? The truth is, the whole genius and character of the periods described by Christ, and by John in the Revelation, are utterly dissimilar; and, probably, were we to search the whole bible from one end to the other, two periods more unlike to each other in their main attributes, could not be pointed out. Can the popular sentiments, then, relative to the second coming be retained, encumbered as they are with these insurmountable difficulties? Can the conclusion be avoided that that sudden coming is indeed to precede instead of following the millennium?

7. A sixth argument, confidently relied upon, in support of the Medean interpretation, is built upon the import of the several terms employed in the New Testament to signify the Saviour's advent. These are Ἀποκάλυψις, *revelation*, Ἐπιφανεία, *appearance*, and Παρουσία, *coming* or *presence*. The first of these words, Ἀποκάλυψις, occurs in the following passages; (1 Cor. i. 7.) "Waiting for the REVELATION of Jesus Christ." (2 Thess. i. 7.) "At the REVELATION of Jesus Christ with his mighty angels." (1 Pet. i. 7.) "Might be formed unto praise and honour and glory at the *revelation* of Jesus Christ." (ver. 13.) "Hope for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the REVELATION of Jesus Christ."

The second, Ἐπιφανεία, occurs (2 Tim. i. 10.) in reference

to the first coming of our Lord in the flesh, and in relation to his second coming, in the following texts : (1 *Tim.* vi. 14.) "Until THE APPEARING of our Lord Jesus Christ." (2 *Tim.* iv. 1.) "Who shall judge the quick and the dead at HIS APPEARING and his kingdom." (*ver.* 3.) "Unto all them that love HIS APPEARING." (*Tit.* ii. 13.) "Looking for that blessed hope and THE GLORIOUS APPEARING."

The third word, *παρουσία*, occurs four times in the 24th chapter of Matthew : (*ver.* 3.) "What shall be the sign of THE COMING, and of the end of the world [age]?" (*ver.* 27.) "As the lightning, &c. so shall THE COMING of the Son of Man be." (*ver.* 37.) "As were the days of Noah, so shall THE COMING of the Son of Man be." Also (*ver.* 39.) (1 *Cor.* xv. 23.) "They that are Christ's at HIS COMING." (1 *Thess.* ii. 19.) "Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at HIS COMING." The same word is used, in reference to the same event, in seven additional instances in the epistles; and in reference to other comings in the following texts: For the coming or presence of Paul with the churches, 2 *Cor.* x. 10. *Phil.* i. 26. ii. 12. For the coming of Antichrist, 2 *Thess.* ii. 9. For the coming of Stephanas and others, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 17. and for that of Titus, 2 *Cor.* vii. 6, 7.

The result of the comparison of the foregoing passages is maintained to be, that these three terms are indiscriminately used to signify the second personal advent of our Lord to judge the world, and that to interpret them simply of a figurative or spiritual coming, is to take such liberties with the plain letter of Scripture as to render it impossible to settle the sense of a single prophecy in the whole book. But if they signify a real personal advent, when is it to be? On what data does the prevailing creed of Christendom determine it to the end of the millennium, instead of its beginning? In opposition to this, let it be noted, that the coming of our Lord to destroy the man of sin (2 *Thess.* ii. 8.) is expressed by the union of two of the above words, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, "by the brightness of his coming." We are therefore driven to the conclusion, that the glorious coming of Christ takes place at the destruction of Antichrist; and since this destruction occurs, by the unanimous consent of the church of God in all ages, *before* the millennium, it follows that Christ comes in glory to judge the world before the millennium.

But here, the conclusion deduced from the alleged import of

the words in question is entirely acquiesced in, inasmuch as in two or three other passages, ἀποκαλύπτει especially, or the verb from which it comes, appears to imply a *spiritual* revelation: "Neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will REVEAL (ἀποκαλύπτει) him." (*Gal.* i. 12.) "For I neither received it from man, neither was I taught it, but by the REVELATION of Jesus Christ." (*Ver.* 16.) "But when it pleased God to REVEAL his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen." In neither of these instances, it is said, is it clear that a personal appearing or revelation is intended, and therefore the argument founded upon the word in the other case amounts to very little. As to other terms, they are not replied to directly, but the doctrine is made to rest upon other passages already considered, and these are brought in to confirm the scheme of a post-millennial advent, otherwise established.

The reflection of our readers will have been beforehand with us in the suggestion, that the subject, imperfectly presented in the foregoing pages, is one of radical importance to the church of God; and that the principles of interpretation on which either view of the second advent is established, deserve, demand, and will probably ere long receive, a thorough investigation. For the whole matter of controversy finally results in this: *By what canons are those scriptures to be interpreted which speak of the second coming of Christ?* And in the decision of this question, the whole *res prophetica* of revelation is deeply involved. If this advent is to be indeed personal, and is to precede the millennium; then, just in proportion to the apprehended nearness of this blissful age, swells the interest of these august predictions. If the unerring oracles of God do in fact furnish this mighty stay to christian hope and exertion, this solemn sanction to the appeals of the pulpit, this luminous clue to the signs of the times, this tremendous presage to the wicked, the worldly, and the slothful,—*it ought to be known*. And our object will be answered, if the present essay shall be made to contribute at all to that result.

An Essay on the Invalidity of Presbyterian Ordination.
By John Esten Cooke, M.D. Lexington. 8vo. Pp.
 244. 1829.

Here is a new advocate of high-church principles, who has started up in Kentucky; and an advocate certainly not at all deficient either in zeal or confidence. Of "John Esten Cooke, M.D." we never heard before the appearance of this volume; and now we know nothing concerning him but what he discloses of himself in the first pages of his book. From these we learn, that for more than eighteen years he was a zealous member of the methodist church, actively and publicly engaged in promoting the interests of that denomination; that, by the perusal of a volume of sermons by a reverend gentleman of the name of Chapman, resident in Kentucky, a few months since, he was led to doubt of the validity of presbyterian ordination; that this induced him to peruse some other works on the same subject; that his inquiries terminated in a full conviction that ordination by presbyters is wholly invalid; and that this investigation was conducted with so much haste and urgency, that only *eight weeks* elapsed between the time in which he was a zealous, devoted, unwavering methodist, and that at which he sat down to write the book before us; in which he feels confident he has proved that the ordinations of the methodist and presbyterian churches are alike worthless, and prelatical episcopacy the only scriptural and valid form of ecclesiastical order.

That any man of sound and sober mind should act thus, and should be willing to publish such a story of himself, is indeed wonderful. It is true, a man's confidence in opinions which he has long and zealously maintained may be shaken, and even abandoned, in "eight weeks," or in a much shorter time. This no one will doubt. But that any one, in relation to a subject so extensive and so essentially involving a knowledge of early christian antiquity, should imagine that he was fully competent, in so short a time, not only to pronounce positively, but to turn author, and undertake the task of instructing the public in his new opinions, is one of those rare examples of weakness and presumption which must equally surprise and revolt all reflecting minds.

It cannot be denied, indeed, that Dr Cooke manifests

some talent in the work before us. He evidently thinks with a considerable degree of clearness and vigour, and expresses himself, for the most part, in a neat, perspicuous and sprightly style. Yet he writes like a man who has just acquired some smattering of the subject which he treats, but is confident that he has explored it to the bottom. He is flippant, audacious, and hardly willing to treat with respect the opinions of those, even on his own side, who happen not entirely to coincide with him. In short, in perusing the volume, we have twenty times thought of a remark of Dr Johnson, which we have somewhere met with, and which we quote from vague recollection. When it was observed to him that a certain lady had written very commendably on a particular subject,—“Why, yes, sir,” replied the caustic and unsparing critic, “the book is well enough; but she reminds me of a certain domestic quadruped, who is exhibited as standing and walking on his hind legs: the wonder is, not that he does it *pretty well*, but that he does it *at all*.”

Dr Cooke in this work thinks proper to select, as the principal object of his animadversion, the reverend Dr Miller, who, about twenty years ago, published two volumes of “Letters on the Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry, addressed to the members of the Presbyterian Churches in the city of New York.” This gentleman he considers as the representative of presbyterianism; and seems to be very desirous of fastening upon him some heavy charges of *misrepresentation, want of fairness, &c.* With what success, the impartial reader must judge. In the mean time, he takes as his own guide the reverend Dr Bowden, who undertook, many years ago, to answer Dr Miller; implicitly follows his allegations; copies his mistakes; apes his confidence; and, under the cover of his erudition, with a little additional patch-work, endeavours to pass himself off as a profound ecclesiastical antiquary. Truly, it is not a little amusing to see how plausibly a convert of *eight weeks*, with the aid of a little modest assurance, can contrive to appear. We cannot undertake to predict how far Dr Miller may consider this redoubtable western assailant as demanding public notice. We should imagine, however, that he would hardly think it worth his while to enter the lists with so humble a retailer of what has been much better said by others, and quite as often refuted by the advocates of presbyterian parity, long before Dr Cooke,

or his file-leader, Dr Bowden, had an existence. It is very certain that we should never have thought of giving the present article a place in our miscellany, if we had not been informed that some humble admirers of our author, with as little acquaintance with the merits of the controversy as himself, have indulged themselves in uttering many a premature boast, that his work could not fail of proving fatal at least to Dr Miller's reputation, if not to presbyterianism.

Our author, like most of the body to which he has recently become an adherent, is evidently shy of making his primary or principal appeals to the Bible. He says not a little, indeed, of bishop Timothy, bishop Titus, bishop Barnabas, bishop Epaphroditus, &c. : but in no instance, so far as we recollect, does he find it convenient to bolster up the claims of these fancied prelates, without having recourse to uninspired aid to help out the scanty, and to his purpose, insufficient intimations of scripture. This mode of conducting his defence, we should think, cannot fail of making its appropriate impression on every candid mind. If prelacy had been an apostolical institution ; and, above all, if the inspired apostles, like modern high-churchmen, had considered it as essential to the very *existence* of the church, or even to its *perfection*, it would, no doubt, have held a prominent place in every part of the New Testament. Whatever else was left in the shade, the bishop's character and claims would have been placed in a full and strong light. Now that this is acknowledged on all hands, by the most zealous prelatists, not to be the case, we may assume as proof sufficient that their view of the subject is erroneous. No rational man, we are very sure, can admit the idea, that a God of infinite wisdom and goodness, in giving to men a revelation for their instruction in divine things, would either pass in silence, or leave in obscurity, that which was essential to all the privileges and hopes of redeemed men ; that without which there could be no church, no valid ordinances, no covenanted hope of mercy. To suppose that *such* a matter would be left in doubt, or liable to misapprehension, would, indeed, ill accord with the great purpose for which the Bible was given to men. Yet the learned high-churchman Dodwell, and his followers, grant that prelacy is not taught in the New Testament, because it did not *exist* until after the commencement of the *second century*. And if we are not deceived, the great mass of high-church writers, even those

who are most confident of being able to found upon divine right, with one voice concede that their favourite form of church government could not be established from *Scripture alone*; but that, in order to make it out, we must have recourse to the hints dropped by the *fathers* of the second, third and fourth centuries, and must take for granted that their views of prelacy corresponded with the facts of the apostolic age.

For our parts, were there no other facts unfavourable to the claims of prelacy, such as these would be decisive with us. We care not how soon after the close of the sacred canon this figment of clerical ambition appeared. If it is not clearly contained in the *Bible*, we will not receive it. And as long as we know, from historical records, that corruptions quite as improbable, and quite as likely to be resisted, did actually arise, and gain general prevalence in the church before the commencement of the third century, we can have no difficulty in believing that the innovation of which we speak first insinuated itself as expedient, next claimed to be indispensable to regularity, and finally became intrenched in all the solemnity of divine right, and in all the pomp of superstition and patronage.

We by no means intend to follow Dr Cooke through all the reasonings and authorities on which he appears to lay so much stress. This would be to write a volume larger than his own, a task as unnecessary as it would be unsuitable. A much shorter process will be sufficient for the writer in question. We propose nothing more than to give our readers a small specimen of the sophistry and unfounded assertions with which his book abounds; and to convince them how incompetent a guide he is, and how unworthy of confidence, in the field which he has with so little preparation undertaken to explore.

Dr Cooke repeats the thousandth time, with unabated confidence, but without the least addition of either argument or testimony, that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, in the prelatical sense of the term, and that we have, of course, in this single fact, a decisive and uncontrollable proof that prelacy was of apostolical origin. Of this corner stone of the episcopal fabric Dr Miller had said, that when fairly drawn out in logical form, and exhibited in its utmost strength, it amounted to nothing more than the following syllogism—
“None but diocesan bishops, as a superior order of clergy,

have a right to ordain ministers and organize churches : but Timothy and Titus were sent to perform services of this kind : therefore Timothy and Titus were diocesan bishops." In this syllogism the major proposition, which asserts that none but bishops, as a superior order, can ordain, is taken for granted. But does not every one see that this is precisely the point to be proved ? Until this fundamental proposition be first established, the whole argument is such as all logicians agree in stigmatizing as deceptive and worthless—a mere begging of the whole question in dispute."

We verily think, after all that Dr C. has said with so much positiveness and show of reasoning on this branch of the controversy, that Dr M.'s position, above stated, remains unshaken, nay, untouched. And our only wonder is, that a writer of so much natural shrewdness as Dr C. is not ashamed to multiply words on so plain a point. Surely that cause must be sadly lacking in solid support which can recur so frequently, and cleave so firmly, to testimony so perfectly fanciful and paltry !

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has been in the constant habit, for more than thirty years, of sending out missionaries to preach the gospel, ordain elders and deacons, and organize churches in the frontier settlements. For the performance of this work they are regularly authorized and commissioned under the direction of that judicatory, and receive instructions, in many respects similar to those given to Timothy and Titus. Now, suppose some ignorant ecclesiastical annalist, knowing this fact, and unacquainted with the constitution of our church, were to write thus in reference to the practice in question : "The general assembly, every year, sends forth ministers, whose duty it is to preach, ordain elders and deacons, and 'set in order what may be wanting' in parts of the country heretofore destitute of christian privileges and order ; but these are duties to which none but prelatical bishops are competent ; therefore, these presbyterian missionaries are, of course, all prelates." Every body sees, at once, that this would be a statement unsound in logic, and false in fact. Yet there is just as much reason for coming to this conclusion as for supposing that Timothy and Titus must have been prelates, because they were sent to Ephesus and Crete to perform similar work. It is as plain as the light of day, that they might have done all that they did upon strictly *presbyterian*

principles. We know not, indeed, that either Timothy or Titus ever ordained a single elder *alone*, as we think Dr Miller and others have often demonstrated. But even if this were granted, it would not alter the case. For, although it be admitted that, while a *single* minister of the presbyterian church may, and often does, ordain ruling elders and deacons, a *plurality* is required by the constitution of our church to ordain a teaching elder; yet this is regarded rather as a prudential rule than as a *divine law* of *necessary* obligation. There are presbyterian churches who consider the ordination of a pastor by a single pastor as valid, and act accordingly. So that, after all, under whatever aspect the mission of Timothy and Titus be viewed, there is no fact stated, or instruction given, or allusion made to those ministers of the gospel, in the whole New Testament, but what might have been exhibited just as it is, if they had gone to Ephesus and Crete as presbyterian evangelists, and had acted, while there, rigidly *upon presbyterian principles*. This may be regarded by those who take Dr C. for their guide as a strong assertion; but we make it with fearless confidence; and, although it has been, and may be again *denied*, we are very sure it can never be *refuted*.

In 1 *Timothy*, iv. 14, we find the following exhortation: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." And again, in 2 *Timothy*, i. 6, we find the following: "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." The common interpretation given of these two passages is, that they both relate to the same event, viz. the one *ordination* of Timothy; that on this occasion a body, or plurality, of presbyters were present and took a part in the transaction; and that the apostle himself *presided* as the head of the *presbytery*. Dr C. however, if we understand him, refuses to acquiesce in these views. He thinks that these passages refer to *two ordinations*, the first as *presbyter*, the second as *bishop*. That when the first epistle was written, Timothy had *consented* to become a bishop, but had not actually been made such; and, of course, that the *laying on of the hands of the presbytery* took place at his *first* ordination, as *presbyter*, a number of years before: And that he had, after this, and before the second epistle was

written, a second and higher ordination as *bishop*, in which Paul himself presided.

On these representations our *first* remark is, that they differ entirely from the opinions of the great majority of the most learned writers on Dr C.'s own side; and, we are persuaded, have not even a shadow of evidence on which to rest. And yet he asserts them with quite as much boldness and confidence as would become the most mature and profound master of the subject.

Our *second* remark is, that Dr Cooke's mode of exhibiting the prelacy of Timothy and Titus appears to us to be attended with difficulties, which we should think he could hardly have adequately considered, and which cannot fail to prostrate his whole theory.

For example, if Timothy had not been ordained a *bishop* at the time when the first epistle was addressed to him, but was only a *presbyter*, then what becomes of all the much-talked of and vaunted evidence which that epistle is said to contain, that he was actually invested with that office? The great body of writers on the side of Dr C. contend that the whole style of the epistle, the charges given, and the powers recognized in addressing Timothy, all plainly imply that he was already clothed with episcopal authority. This, however, so far as the first epistle is concerned, Dr C. appears to give up. This cannot be implied, according to him, in any thing that the epistle contains, for the young preacher was not *then*, in fact, clothed with any such power. And if the *first* epistle contains no internal evidence of the existence of any such power before it was written, we may, surely, with equal confidence, say the same of the *second*; for there is decisively *less* that looks like high ecclesiastical authority in the *second* than in the *first*. And thus Dr C. though he does not tell us so, in so many words, abandons for himself, and for all his partizans, this whole branch of evidence for the prelatical character of Timothy and Titus. We have long, indeed, thought that evidence perfectly worthless to the cause of the prelatists; but we did not expect so soon to see one of their number, who is certainly distinguished by *zeal*, if not by *knowledge*, unceremoniously take a stand which amounts to a virtual abandonment of this whole department of testimony. We doubt the *policy* of this. For humble as this branch of testimony is, and it is

very humble indeed, we think that prelacy can scarcely afford to part with it.

Another difficulty, upon Dr C.'s plan, here is worthy of notice. He is confident that the apostle in that injunction in 1 *Timothy*, iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," refers, not to Timothy's ordination as *bishop*, but to his first ordination as *presbyter*. Be it so. Timothy's ordination, then, as a presbyter, was performed *by a presbytery*; we read of no other ordainers. We do not forget, indeed, that Dr C. elsewhere contends that the expression "*with the laying on the hands of the presbytery*" merely implies the *assent* or *concurrence* of the presbytery, and not their real participation in the ordaining act, as an authoritative transaction; and that he considers Timothy as having been really and effectively ordained *by the laying on of Paul's hands*. But this cannot be. The reference to the *laying on of Paul's hands* is found in the *second* epistle, and not in the *first*; and refers, according to Dr C. not to the *first*, but to the *second* ordination, which he received as bishop. Unless, therefore, he is determined at all hazards to *take for granted*, without a shadow of evidence, that the *first* ordination for which he contends was performed, not by *the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*, but by the hands of Paul himself, and to assume it from the passages already quoted (and there are no others in the New Testament which speak of the subject at all) the discerning reader will be at no loss to see how far he is consistent with himself, or what his reasoning is worth. The truth is, so far as all that is said about Timothy and Titus by this writer has even the semblance of plausibility, it proceeds on a *petitio principii* throughout. This may be a very convenient method of reasoning with those who are but scantily provided with solid proofs; but its fairness, and especially its force, are quite other matters. Low as we had estimated Dr Cooke's acquaintance with the subject on which he undertook to write, we were hardly prepared to expect from him in so many instances such a barefaced resort to this mode of reasoning.

It is notorious that Timothy is no where called a bishop by Paul, in either of the epistles written to him; and even if he *had* been, it would have decided nothing, as it is granted on all hands that the titles bishop and presbyter were then

common, that is, interchangeably applied to the same office. But he *is* called an *evangelist*, that is, a minister of the word and sacraments, sent forth to preach, and organize churches in cities and regions destitute of such organizations. Nor is there a particle of evidence that we have ever seen, either in or out of the Bible, that he ever resided at Ephesus, in *any capacity*, for twelve months at a time. We hear of him in Lystra, in Phrygia, in Galatia, in Troas, in Macedonia, in Samothracia, in Neapolis, in Philippi, in Thessalonica, in Berea, in Athens, in Corinth, in Jerusalem, in Rome, back again in Thessalonica, &c.; so that we have nearly as good evidence that he was bishop of half a dozen other places as of Ephesus. As to Dr Cooke's assertion, repeatedly and confidently made, that we have satisfactory evidence that Timothy was *at least five years and a half* resident in Ephesus, it is not only made without proof, but is so diametrically contrary to the judgment of the best writers on the subject, episcopal as well as others, that we can find no apology for his reckless presumption but in his want of mature knowledge and reflection on the subject.

Accordingly, the manner in which Dr Whitby, a very able and learned divine of the church of England, speaks in reference to the cases of Timothy and Titus, is worthy of particular notice. In his preface to his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, he expresses himself thus: "The great controversy concerning this, and the epistle to Timothy, is, whether Timothy and Titus were indeed made bishops, the one of Ephesus and the other of Crete. Now, of this matter I confess I can find NOTHING in any writer of the FIRST THREE CENTURIES, NOR ANY INTIMATION that they bore that name. To pass my judgment in this case, I assert that, if by saying Timothy and Titus were bishops, the one of Ephesus, the other of Crete, we understand that they took upon them those churches, or dioceses, as their fixed and peculiar charge, in which they were to preside for term of life, I believe Timothy and Titus were *not* thus bishops. For, first, both Timothy and Titus WERE EVANGELISTS, and therefore were *to do the work of an evangelist*. Now the work of an evangelist, saith Eusebius, was this—to lay the foundations of the faith in barbarous nations; to constitute them pastors; and having committed to them the cultivating of those new plantations, they passed on to other countries and nations. Secondly, as for Titus, he was only left in

Crete to ordain elders in every city, and to set in order the things that were wanting. Having, therefore, done that work, he had done all that was assigned to him in that station. As for Timothy, St Paul saith, he exhorted him to abide still in Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia. Now, as he writes to the church of Philippi in Macedonia, A.D. 62, and the ninth of Nero, that he hoped to be shortly with them, (*Philip.* i. 25, 26.—ii. 24), so, saith bishop Pearson, he went thither A.D. 64, and the eleventh of Nero, and writ his first epistle to him A.D. 65. Two years after this he sends for him to Rome, (2 *Tim.* iv. 9. 21), and there he continued, as the ancients conjecture, till the martyrdom of St Paul: after which time he *must, as they suppose*, return to Ephesus. For they tell us that in the reign of Domitian he was martyred in that city, and lay buried there. But since WE READ NOT ANY THING IN SCRIPTURE of their return to either of these places afterwards, and the authorities on which this return dependeth *are not very ancient, we cannot rely much upon them.* Now I confess that these two instances, absolutely taken, afford us no convincing argument for a settled diocesan episcopacy, because there is nothing which proves they did, or were, to exercise these acts of government rather as *bishops* than *evangelists*."

It is true, indeed, Dr Whitby, in other parts of the same preface, does express a decisive opinion that Timothy and Titus were, in fact, vested with prelatical powers, which he deduces—first, from the *acts* which they were sent to perform, and which (assuming the *petitio principii* argument before exposed) he insists none but prelates ought to perform; secondly, from the testimony of the *later fathers* of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, which, when thoroughly sifted, is found to be nothing to the purpose; and, thirdly, from the consideration, that the superiority which this office implies is "not *contrary* to the gospel rule," and appears, on the whole, to be agreeable to the representations made respecting the government of the church in the times of the apostles. But as to the basis on which Dr Cooke places his proof of the prelacy of Timothy and Titus, Dr Whitby may be considered almost as much his adversary as Dr Miller.

In the same strain speaks Dr, afterwards bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, p. 340, 4to, 1661. "Such were evangelists who were sent, sometimes into this country, to put the churches in order there, sometimes into another; but

wherever they were they acted as evangelists, and not as fixed officers. And such were Timothy and Titus, notwithstanding all the opposition made against it, as will appear to any one who will take an impartial survey of the argument on both sides." We are aware, indeed, that the *Irenicum* of Stillingfleet is a work not in very good odour with high-churchmen. They allege that he wrote that work in early life, when both his judgment and his information were immature; that he afterward regretted and retracted the concessions which it contains; and that, although he does, in that work, explicitly give up the *divine right* of diocesan episcopacy, and acknowledge the validity of presbyterian ordination, yet that some of his subsequent writings were rather in a different strain. This is all true. It is undoubtedly a fact, that when he became a bishop, he discovered a disposition to make higher claims for that office than he did before the mitre was placed upon his head. But, after all, did he ever attempt to prove the main principles of his book false or erroneous? He certainly never did, in the opinion of the venerable Dr White, at present bishop of the protestant episcopal church in the state of Pennsylvania. This gentleman, in 1782, published a pamphlet, entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered;" the object of which was to show that it was not necessary to wait for the regular episcopal succession from England, to the imparting of which by the English bishops some serious obstacles had occurred; but that where ordination by bishops could not be had, that by presbyters was valid, and ought to be resorted to. In a short time, however, the obstacle which this pamphlet contemplated was removed, and the author was consecrated among the first bishops of the protestant episcopal churches in this country: an office which he has continued to occupy and to adorn for more than forty years. In the course of this pamphlet the bishop, having occasion to observe that there was a great difference between saying that there are three distinct orders of clergy in the church by *divine appointment*, and that there have been, *in fact*, three distinct orders from the times of the apostles, has the following note: "The same distinction is accurately drawn and fully proved by Stillingfleet in the '*Irenicum*.' But as that learned prelate was afterwards dissatisfied with his work (though most probably not with that part of it which would

have been to our purpose) it might seem uncandid to cite the authority of his *opinion*. Burnet, his contemporary and friend, says, (History of His Own Times, anno 1661), 'To avoid the imputation that book brought on him, he went into the humours of an high sort of people, beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things.' The book, however, was, it seems, easier *retracted* than *refuted*; for though offensive to many of both parties, it was managed (says the same author) with so much learning and skill, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it." P. 24, 25.

But Dr Cooke's principal reliance for proving Timothy to have been bishop of Ephesus, is on the testimony of the fathers. In arraying this testimony, as Dr Whitby had said in his own case, Dr C. is unable to find the least shred pertaining to the *first three hundred years*, excepting a single line from a lost work of Polycrates, who lived toward the close of the second century, and which is quoted by Photius in his Bibliotheca, compiled in the *ninth century*. This extract is in the following words: "Timothy was ordained bishop of Ephesus by the great Paul." Now this extract is really nothing to the purpose. If Dr C. does not know *why*, it is because he does not understand the subject sufficiently to conduct or appreciate an argument upon it. Another extract to prove the same thing is from the commentary under the name of Ambrose, an ecclesiastic of the fourth century. That extract is in these words: "Being now ordained a bishop, Timothy was instructed by the epistle of Paul how to dispose and order the church of God." But Dr C. forgot, surely, in quoting this passage, that the very same writer has elsewhere made the following statement: "The writings of the apostle do not agree in every thing with the practice which is *now* in the church; for he calls Timothy, created by him a *presbyter*, *bishop*, because at first presbyters were called bishops." Here it is perfectly evident that the latter extract completely nullifies the former, and shows how this father is to be interpreted. If he had said, in the latter passage, that Timothy was ordained to an office which was called indifferently bishop and presbyter, his meaning might have been equivocal. Or, if he had said that the apostle calls Timothy, who was ordained by him a *bishop*, *presbyter*, for so, at first, the bishops were called, it would have looked still more like realizing the

claim here asserted. But, after referring, explicitly, to a change in the state of ecclesiastical arrangements between his own time and that of the apostle, he declares that Timothy, who was ordained a *presbyter*, was called bishop, because *at first* presbyters were so called. This is plainly saying that he was ordained a presbyter, in the distinctive and appropriate sense of that word, in the age of the writer, when the names had ceased to be common. Now Dr Cooke was aware of this second extract from Ambrose, for he quotes it, and largely comments upon it in another place. We really hope, for the sake of his candour, that he forgot it again, when he gravely borrowed from Dr Bowden the former extract as a conclusive testimony to Timothy's prelatical character. For nothing can be clearer than that the former extract, when viewed in the light of the latter, is so far from affording the least support to the episcopal claim, that it really and decisively disproves it.

Dr Cooke, in speaking (p. 41) of the elders of Ephesus, mentioned in *Acts* xx. 17. 28 as overseers, (in the original *bishops*), in his zeal to show that they could not have been bishops in *his* sense of the word, ventures to say, "To these elders there is not one word said about *ruling*; the sole charge to them being to *feed* the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, and to avoid teaching perverse doctrine, &c." We read this remark with the deepest astonishment. Why, no well informed reader will be at a loss to understand. The word here translated *feed*, is ποιμαίνει. The radical word signifies a *shepherd*; and in all the derivatives this is the primary idea. It is so far from being true, then, that "not one word is said about *ruling*," that no one who is acquainted with the genuine import of this word as used, both in Scripture and by profane writers, can possibly doubt that guiding, controlling, *ruling* is the *main thing intended*. The principal business of a shepherd, besides *pasturing*, is to *watch*, *protect* and *govern* his flock. We beg Dr Cooke to look at the decisive use of this word in *Matt.* ii. 6, in *Rev.* ii. 27, in *Rev.* xii. 5, and also in *1 Peter* v. 2.

By far the larger portion of Dr C.'s book is taken up in exhibiting and commenting upon the testimony of the *fathers*. On this testimony he lays fundamental stress, and charges Dr Miller with great partiality and want of fairness in his mode of treating it. Indeed, when we first

read some of his allegations against Dr Miller in reference to this matter, we were somewhat startled, and did not know but that the general character for integrity and candour, which that gentleman has for many years quietly sustained, was about to be seriously undermined by this new assailant. But we had not proceeded far before our fears were all dismissed. Dr Cooke has accomplished nothing more than Dr Bowden had accomplished twenty years ago. He has generally followed in the train of that writer. Wherever he has ventured to deviate from him, he writes, for the most part weakly, often wildly, and always with an indication of immature knowledge. Whatever may be thought by some episcopal partizans, who are captivated by a sort of reckless flippancy and confidence, we are inclined to think that the intelligent and sober advocates of prelacy will not consider Dr C. as having given any new or valuable aid to their cause.

It is wonderful to observe with what familiarity and confidence Dr C. canvasses the writings of the fathers, pronounces on their contents and meaning, and animadverts on the conclusions of others respecting them which do not happen to hit his own fancy. For a student of these numerous and ponderous folios of Greek and Latin, of only a *few weeks* standing, this is surely very modest. On one occasion he expresses himself thus: "It is difficult to conceive, when we read such declarations as this of Dr Miller, respecting Jerome and Chrysostom, that he could have looked into the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius, Ruffinus, Sozomen, Sozomen and Theodoret." A remark of this kind, concerning a man who has devoted the last forty years of his life exclusively to the study of theology and ecclesiastical antiquity, from the pen of a medical gentleman who has but recently, from his own statement, begun to attend to subjects of this nature; who has not read a tenth part of the books which he quotes; and is, manifestly, not capable of understanding them if he did, (not for want of natural capacity, but for want of that acquaintance with ecclesiastical language and facts which is indispensable to an intelligent reading of those volumes); such a remark, we say, coming from such a source, really strikes us as so superlatively ridiculous, that we scarcely know how to feel toward the author of it that respect which we always wish to feel and to manifest toward a decent opponent.

Dr Cooke complains very loudly that Dr Miller, after promising to give a fair specimen of the testimony of the fathers on the subject of prelacy, *left out* a number of strong passages, and even omitted some stronger against presbyterianism than any which he adduced. Those who are acquainted with Dr Miller's "Letters," know that they were intended to give a brief, familiar and popular view of the episcopal controversy to the congregation under his pastoral care; that they were published, not for the purpose of attacking or depressing episcopalians, but merely to put the people of his own charge on their guard against numerous publications, about the time of their date, which, like Dr Cooke's work, violently assailed presbyterianism; that they were intended to be comprised in a single small volume; and that within these narrow limits he undertook to discuss and present all the usual branches of the subject; that is, not only the whole testimony of the earlier and later fathers, but also that of Scripture; the early witnesses for the truth; the reformers; and the most distinguished divines of later times. In these circumstances, it is obvious to every reader of common sense that a *selection* merely, and even a *small selection* of the most pointed passages from the fathers, could have been reasonably expected; and also that, in making this selection out of the great mass of passages which learned writers have quoted, there was great room for diversity of judgment, as to the relative strength of each. We have taken the trouble to compare; in detail, the selection made by Dr Miller with *all* the additional passages which Dr Cooke seems to think are still more powerful on his side; and we have not met with a single instance in which there appeared to us to be any solid ground for the charge of important, and much less of unfair omission. It is true, passages were left out by Dr M. which Dr C. thinks exceedingly strong in his own favour; and clauses omitted, probably for the sole purpose of shortening paragraphs, which Dr C. is confident were kept out of view because they were felt to be decisive against presbyterianism. But after attending to the principal cases which Dr C. views and endeavours to represent in this light, we are constrained to decide as cool spectators and self-created umpires of the conflict, that in almost, if not quite, every instance, the omission evidently resulted from a more just, enlightened, and comprehensive view of the real import and

bearing of the passage than Dr C.'s very immature knowledge of the subject enabled him to take. To explain our meaning we will give a single example.

Dr Cooke, with no little insinuation, complains that Dr Miller, in giving some extracts from the third book of Irenæus against the heretics, omitted the following passages: "The blessed apostles, therefore, founding and instructing the church, delivered to Linus the bishopric, TO GOVERN THE CHURCH." And again, "By this ordination and succession, that tradition in the church which is from the apostles, and the doctrine of the truth, hath come even to us." As Irenæus wrote in Greek, and as we were not content with the Latin translation of these passages which Dr C. attempts (we have no doubt ignorantly) to palm upon his readers as the original, we immediately turned to a very excellent copy of the works of that father, which happened to be within our reach, to see whether the Greek original of the passages in question were preserved or lost. Of the first extract we found the last clause to be this: ΔΙΝΩ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ Λειτουργίαν σιχηρίσαν; a literal translation of which is: "They (that is, the apostles) delivered to Linus the ministry (or service) of the bishopric." The word λειτουργία is a very general term, simply signifying *ministry* or *service*. It is applied to the official ministration of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist (*Luke* i. 23); to the ministration of charitable aid to the poor (*2 Cor.* ix. 12); to the kind support or sustenance granted to ministers (*Philipp.* ii. 30); and to the ceremonial service of the Jewish economy (*Heb.* ix. 21). Its plain and undoubted meaning in the place before us is *work*, or *function*; so that the whole clause "to govern the church" has been foisted in without a shadow of authority from the original.

In like manner, when we came to scrutinize the second extract in the Greek original, we found the only clause which comes into question here to stand thus: Τῇ αὐτῇ ταξίμῃ, καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διδασκίμῃ, ὥς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδόντες, &c. That is, "by this *institution* (or *appointment*) and instruction; that tradition in the church which is from the apostles," &c. Now, even if Dr. C.'s version of this passage were adopted, it would be of no use to him; for suppose it conceded that the christian doctrines and institutions had been handed down, in a certain church, through a succession of faithful pastors, what consequence detrimental to presbyterianism

would ensue? Suppose an ecclesiastical historian of Princeton, in the state of New Jersey, were to say that the presbyterian doctrines and order in that church had been handed down through the successive incumbencies of the reverend pastors Burr, Edwards, Davies, Finley, Witherspoon and Smith; could any thing favourable to prelacy be made out from such a record? But the translation which Dr C. has given is *not* correct, and cannot be adopted. The ordinary meaning of the words *ταξις* and *διδασκαλία* is very different from what he makes it, as any one will see by attending to the import of those words both *in* and *out* of the New Testament. And the simple meaning of the clause is, that by the appointment and instruction of the pastors mentioned in the foregoing sentences, the true tradition and doctrine of the church had come down to that time. Thus it is that these passages, when closely examined, are entirely divested of that prelatical power and significance which Dr C. has laboured to set forth by round assertion, and with the "pomp of capitals;" so that they really deserved no place among the strongest extracts usually produced by the partisans of prelacy from the writings of Irenæus. Dr Miller, we presume, knew this, and acted accordingly. Dr Cooke, we charitably believe, did *not* know it; and therefore, with all the eagerness and exultation into which those are apt to be betrayed who see with the eyes of other people, he reproaches where he had reason to applaud.

The truth is, we have not found one word in Irenæus which does not appear to us perfectly and easily reconcilable with presbyterian order. What though he speaks of bishops? Shall we never have done with the palpable sophistry of taking for granted that prelatical and not presbyterian bishops are intended? What though some of these bishops are spoken of as *appointed* by the apostles, and as the *successors* of the apostles? Assuming the doctrine of presbyterian parity, might not such a statement be just as true of such ministers as of prelates? For surely they may be *appointed*, and may *succeed* those who go before them, as well as bishops, in the modern sense of the word. What though *one man only* is represented as presiding at a time as bishop in Rome, and in other large and populous cities? Is Dr C. or his readers so ill informed as not to know that before the introduction of an American episcopate there was but one rector over all the episcopal churches in the city of New

York, embracing several large places of worship, several presbyters, and perhaps seven or eight thousand hearers? yet here was no bishop, in the prelatical sense of the word. Do they forget, or did they never know, that at this hour the protestant churches of France, though presbyterian, have a consistory in each large city or district, embracing a number of pastors, and in some cases many thousand communicants; and that over these they always have one of the senior pastors as president, who not only occupies the chair at their meetings, but is also the prominent organ for receiving all applications, convening all assemblies, and conducting all their ecclesiastical affairs? so that if the ministerial *succession* were traced through their presidents, as, for certain purposes, they might not improperly be, one name only would be mentioned as occupying this chair at a time, amidst, perhaps, ten or twelve colleagues. This is not only the organization of those churches *now*, but such, in substance, has it been since the reformation. Yet they have not now, and never had, prelatical bishops. And such might have been the practice of some of the churches in the days of Irenæus.

Dr Cooke remarks with no little severity on the testimony, as produced by Dr Miller from Ignatius. We verily think that his severity is as unjust as it is uncereemonious. After the most impartial survey of the epistles of Ignatius that we can take, we are decisively of the opinion that the extracts from this father which Dr Miller produced may be considered as comprising a fair specimen of those, the aspect of which is most favourable to episcopacy; nor can we see, that he has really perverted or misrepresented a single sentence from the celebrated epistles of that writer. In the instance of which Dr C. so far as we recollect, most loudly complains, the case appears to stand thus. The extract from Ignatius is fairly and exactly exhibited; stated almost precisely in the words which Dr C. himself employs. But it is Dr Miller's *commentary* on the extract which gives Dr C. so much offence; particularly his insisting that the bishop spoken of by Ignatius is represented as being always present with his people when they were assembled for public worship, and as being personally acquainted with his whole flock *by name*, not even overlooking the *servant men and maids*, &c. We nevertheless think that Dr M. was right in his interpretation of this passage, and of course, that Dr C. had no reason to be dissatisfied, excepting with the weakness of his own cause.

And, by the way, we should desire no better evidence than the epistles of Ignatius present, that the only episcopacy which existed in the age immediately after the apostles (the time in which that father lived) was *parochial*, and not *diocesan*; that is, that the only bishop then known was the pastor of a single parish or congregation. That there were several worshipping assemblies in this parish is not improbable: for *then* such public edifices as we now call churches were unknown. Christians were neither able nor permitted to erect them; and no doubt separated themselves for social worship into as many private houses, upper chambers, and even cellars and caves, as might be necessary for their reception and accommodation. Still, in each city or town they seem to have been considered as *one body*; to have had *one pastor*, with several assistants; to have communed together as often and as unitedly as possible; and to have been fond of considering themselves one church. That this principle was carried out into practice with different degrees of success and perfection, according to the numbers and local circumstances of these little christian communities respectively, and the degree of persecution they endured, we may not only conjecture to have been the case, but we have satisfactory evidence that it was really so. Yet the general plan seems to have been to consider all the christians in the same city or town as *one church*. And hence in all the epistles of Ignatius, as well as in contemporary and immediately subsequent writings, we see abundant evidence that the bishop spoken of is represented as *always present* with the people when assembled for worship; as having *one assembly* and one *altar* or *communion table* in his parish; as eating of *one loaf*, having *one prayer*, and, in a word, *uniting* in all the acts of solemn worship. Again, the bishop is represented in the same writings as not only *present* with his *flock* whenever they were convened, as *conducting their prayers* and presiding in all their public service, but also as the only administrator of *baptism* and the *Lord's supper*; as the only person by whom *marriages* were celebrated and *children catechised*; as bound to take cognizance of the relief of every *poor person* in his parish; and as called in duty to search out and know every individual in his flock *by name*, not overlooking even the *servant men* and *maids*. We cannot suppose it can enter into the imagination of any one that it is physically possible for services of this kind to be per-

formed by a diocesan bishop, with a number of congregations and presbyters under his care. The statement can agree only with the pastor of a single parish. As to the subterfuge to which Dr C. resorts, in order to evade the force of this representation, viz. that Mr John Wesley, while he had the whole Methodist body in England under his care, was able, in travelling over the whole kingdom, to have the name of every member, however humble, brought in writing under his notice, we think it utterly inapplicable to the case, and worthy of ridicule only.

Dr Cooke makes some remarks on Dr Miller's testimony from Hilary, (sometimes called Ambrose), which appear to require a passing notice. This testimony was mentioned in a preceding page, when Hilary was brought as a witness in behalf of the prelatial claims of Timothy and Titus; but it may not be improper to bring it into view again, to present it in a clearer light, and to divest it of some of the entanglements by which Dr Cooke has attempted to make it speak a language entirely different from that which its venerable author plainly intended. The extract from Hilary is as follows: "After churches were planted in all places, and officers ordained, matters were settled *otherwise than in the beginning*. And hence it is that the apostle's writings *do not in all things agree with the present constitution of the church*; because they were written under the first rise of the church. For he calls Timothy, who was created a *presbyter* by him, a *bishop*; for so, at first, presbyters were called: among whom this was the course of governing churches, that, as one withdrew, another took his place; and in *Egypt*, even at this day, the presbyters *ordain* in the bishop's absence. But because the following presbyters began to be found unworthy to hold the first place, the method *was changed*, the council providing that not order, but merit, should create a bishop."—(*Comment. on Ephes. iv. 2.*) In this form Dr Miller exhibited the testimony of Hilary. Of this exhibition Dr Cooke makes much and loud complaint. He complains, in particular, that in the extract, as given by Dr Miller, clauses are picked out from a long page of Hilary, detached from their proper connection, and made to speak a language which, properly understood, they ought not to be considered as speaking; and, especially, that the word translated *ordain*, has no reference to ordination whatever, but means entirely another thing.

We have carefully compared the extract as given by Dr Miller with that which is given at length by Dr Cooke, and we think not only that Dr C.'s complaints have no solid foundation, but that several of them are childish. It is true that Dr M. evidently, in order to avoid giving his readers the trouble of a long and tedious extract, a very large portion of which would have been wholly irrelevant, selected those parts which were to his purpose. But in doing this he certainly did no injustice to the connection and scope of the venerable father. Had he given *the whole*, he would, undoubtedly, have *confirmed* rather than *weakened* his own argument. Not a single sentence is perverted from its genuine meaning; and although the translation, as presented by Dr M. is, in one or two cases, what may be called free, yet we are persuaded it is, in no instance, chargeable with any departure from the spirit of the original. Of this perhaps a better example cannot be given than in reference to the clause: "And in *Egypt*, even at this day, the presbyters ordain in the bishop's absence." For although there are no words in the original which strictly answer to the English words *even at this day*, yet every intelligent and candid reader will perceive, at once, that the *scope* of the original calls for this rendering; that *consignant* is in the *present tense*, and that the whole reasoning of the author would be lost if the substance of Dr M.'s version were not adopted.

As to Dr M.'s rendering the word *consignant*, *ordain*, it is of no account whatever to his argument. Some very eminent episcopal writers, indeed, have adopted the same meaning. Yet he frankly acknowledges, in his second volume of "Letters," (p. 215), that there is some uncertainty as to its proper rendering; but remarks as follows: "whatever religious rite it is that Hilary refers to, it is something which the bishops *in his day* generally claimed as their prerogative; but which had *not* been *always* appropriated to them; and which, even in his time, in the bishop's absence, the presbyters considered themselves as empowered to perform. This is sufficient for my purpose." We concur in this opinion; and also think that the explanation ought to have been sufficient for Dr Cooke.

Our readers must not suppose, from these decisive awards in Dr Miller's favour, that we are prepared to acquiesce in every tittle, both of authority and of reasoning, which he has advanced. Amidst so great a number of quotations from

different authors, ancient and modern, and of commentaries upon them, it would be strange indeed if his vigilance and caution, which are commonly so much on the alert, had never slumbered. We verily think that, in regard to all leading and important points, both his authorities and his arguments are impregnable; yet, in a few minor cases of both, we are free to say that, if we had been at his elbow, and had been consulted, we should have advised some omissions and some modifications. Still the articles which we could have wished altered are all of them trifling. They have not, in a single instance, an unfavourable bearing on any one material point in the controversy: and, what is remarkable, Dr Cooke has not happened to notice one of them; probably for the best of all reasons, that he had not sufficient acquaintance with the subject to perceive them.

The only remaining observations we have to offer respecting the testimony of the fathers on the subject of episcopacy, shall be in relation to the extracts adduced by Dr Miller from Jerome; concerning which Dr Cooke is of the opinion that great injustice has been done to that father, as well as to the public. We shall not so far trespass, either on the patience of our readers or on the pages of this work, as to detail at length the extracts usually adduced from Jerome by the friends of presbyterianism. Their amount is generally known. Their close and their quintessence is in these words: "Our intention in these remarks is to show, that among the ancients *presbyters and bishops were the very same*. But, *by little and little*, that the plants of dissensions might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved upon an individual. As the presbyters, therefore, know that they are subjected *by the custom of the church* to him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are greater than presbyters *more by custom than by any real appointment of Christ*." This extract is taken from Jerome's Commentary on *Titus*, i. 5, and in his epistle to Evagrius he expressly maintains the same doctrine, quotes at length the same passages of Scripture in support of it, and comes to the same conclusion.

Dr Cooke, however, treading in the footsteps of Dr Bowden, deals out against Dr Miller charges of gross misrepresentation and perversion in the most uncereemonious manner. We should be deeply surprised at these charges, did we not recollect how completely prejudice can blind the most intel-

ligent and upright minds ; and did we not see so much evidence of Dr Cooke's repeating, almost by rote, even the frivolous objections and allegations of his guide. But we have not the least fear that any candid reader who understands Latin, and who has intelligence enough to comprehend the spirit and scope of Jerome's reasoning, will charge Dr Miller with the smallest misrepresentation or perversion of either. We have neither room nor inclination to examine in detail Dr C.'s twenty closely printed pages of cavil and protest against the simple and obvious meaning of Jerome. We shall make short work of it. We agree with Dr Miller, not only in his version of this father, but likewise in the substance of all his comments, for the following reasons :

The *first* is, that we find another passage in Jerome, which Dr Miller has not quoted, but which plainly corroborates his interpretation of that father. It is from his *epistles*, the 83d in order, directed to Oceanus, a presbyter, and is in these words :—" In utraque epistola, sive episcopi sive presbyteri (quanquam, APUD VETERES, IIDEM EPISCOPI ET PRESBYTERI fuerint) quia illud nomen dignitatis est, hoc ætatis ; jubentur monogami in clerum elegi." Here the venerable father declares, as plainly as words can enable him, that in the primitive church (for the members of the primitive church were alone the *veteres* in his day) bishop and presbyter were **THE SAME** ; that is, the same office, the one name being expressive of *dignity*, the other of *age*.

The *second* reason is, that it is impossible to represent Jerome as speaking otherwise than Dr Miller represents him, without making him weakly and inconsistently contradict himself. The whole scope of the passage extracted from his commentary, and the occasion, purpose, and reasoning of the epistle to Evagrius, all conspire to show that he *could not* have had any other meaning than that which presbyterians ascribe to him, and which episcopalians reject and resist. To suppose that he can mean any thing *else* is to make him talk idly, and to destroy all connection between his premises and his conclusion.

Our *third* reason is, that some of the greatest and best men in the christian church, nearly contemporary with Jerome, speak in substance the *same language*, and bear testimony to the *same fact*. Augustine, undoubtedly one of the greatest names in all uninspired antiquity, for the united characteristics of intelligence, learning and piety, writing

to Jerome himself, speaks thus:—"I entreat you to correct me faithfully when you see I need it: for although, according to the names of honour which the custom of the church has now brought into use, the office of bishop is greater than that of *presbyter*, nevertheless, in many respects, Augustine is inferior to Jerome*." Some episcopal writers, in trying to evade the force of Jerome's testimony, have said that he was a cynical, snarling man, who, perhaps, dissatisfied at not being a bishop himself, was rather disposed to depreciate that order. But here is an eminently pious and learned bishop speaking to the very same purpose. Is it conceivable that an ecclesiastic so conscientious, pious, and well informed as Augustine is universally allowed to have been, could have represented the office which he bore as a *titular distinction*, founded on the "*custom of the church*," if he had considered it as a divine appointment? To the same amount is the testimony of Chrysostom, whose distinguished eloquence and learning need no voucher. In speaking on the same subject he expresses himself in the following terms: "Having spoken of bishops, and described them, declaring both what they ought to possess, and from what they ought to abstain, omitting the order of presbyters, Paul passes on to the deacons. But why is this? Because between bishop and presbyter there is not much difference; for these also, in like manner, have had committed to them both the *instruction* and the *government* of the church; and what things he has said concerning bishops, the same also he intended for presbyters; for they have gained the ascendancy over them only in respect to ordination; and of this they seem to have defrauded (*παραστειναι*) the presbyters." In *Epist. ad Tim. Hom. 11*. This passage needs no comment. If there be meaning in plain words, Chrysostom distinctly

* "Rogo, ut me fidenter corrigas, ubi mihi hoc opusculum perspexeris. Quamquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit; tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est.—*Oper. Tom. 2, Epist. 19, ad Hieron.* It is worthy of notice that this construction of Augustine is not confined to presbyterians. Bishop Jewel, in the "Defence" of his "Apology for the Church of England," adduces the passage above cited, in order to show the original identity of bishop and presbyter, and translates it thus: "The office of a bishop is above the office of a priest, not by authority of the Scriptures, but after the names of honour which the custom of the church hath now obtained."—*Defence*, 122, 123.

conveys the idea not only that *ordination* was the *only point* concerning which bishops had gained the precedence of presbyters, but that they had gained this by *fraudulent means*. This is the evident import of the word *παραίεσις*. See 1 *Thessalonians*, iv. 6. *That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, &c.* See also 2 *Cor.* vii. 2.—xii. 17, 18, where the same word is used. The same idea is unequivocally conveyed by Hilary, in a passage before quoted and commented upon, and which need not be here repeated; and also about the same time by Acrius, a presbyter of *Sebastia*, who undoubtedly maintained the doctrine that in the primitive church bishop and presbyter were the same, and that the pre-eminence of the bishop was a matter of subsequent and human introduction. This is not denied by prelati- cal writers; but they tell us, by way of offset, that Acrius was accounted a heretic on account of this opinion, and that, of course, his testimony cannot be admitted. There is no reason, however, for the opinion that he was reckoned a heretic for agreeing in sentiment with Jerome that bishop and presbyter were the same by divine right; but for going further, and insisting that the prelacy actually established in his day was *contrary* to apostolic usage, and ought to be abolished. Such is the judgment of Dr (afterwards bishop) Stillingfleet. "I believe, says he, upon the strictest inquiry, Medina's judgment will prove true, that Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodoret and Theophylact were all of Acrius his judgment as to the identity of both the *name* and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive church. But here lay the difference. Acrius proceeded from hence to separate from bishops and their churches, because they were bishops. Whereas Jerome, though he held the same doctrine, did not think it necessary to cause a schism in the church by separating from the bishops, for his opinion is clear, that the first institution of them was for preventing schism; and, therefore, for peace and unity he thought their institution very useful in the church of God."—*Irenicum*, chap. 4. The Rev. Dr Hawies, also, the episcopal historian, speaks of the same witness for the truth in the following terms: "Acrius made a fiercer resistance, and maintained more offensive doctrines; that bishops and presbyters, in the Scripture, are the same persons, and only different descriptions of age and office; that prayers for the dead were futile, and hopes from their intercession vain; that stated

facts and festivals had no prescription in the New Testament. These, with similar assertions, roused a host of enemies, and he was quickly silenced. So superstition stalked triumphant, and no man dared open his mouth against any abuses."—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 340.

Our *fourth* reason for believing that Dr Miller's interpretation of Jerome's testimony is entirely correct and faithful is, that it perfectly harmonizes with that of some of the most illustrious divines that ever adorned the church of England. Few divines are more famous in the early martyrology of the church of England than the celebrated John Lambert, who suffered death in the cause of truth at the commencement of the reformation in that country. He is represented, even by episcopal historians, as a man of great learning, meekness and piety. Toward the close of the reign of Henry VIII. when a contest between prelacy and presbytery was not thought of, he expressed himself thus: "As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bore the most sway, there were no more officers in the church than bishops and deacons, as witnesseth, besides Scripture, full apertly Jerome, in his commentary on St Paul's epistles, where he saith that those we call priests were *all one* and no other than *bishops*, and the *bishops no other than priests*." Bishop Jewel, who for his great talents, learning, piety and zeal for the church of England, was raised to the bishopric of Salisbury in a few months after the accession of queen Elizabeth to the throne, and who, of course, ranks with the venerable reformers of that church, interpreted Jerome exactly as presbyterians do, and adduces the same passages which are quoted by Dr Miller to show that that father asserted the original equality and identity of bishops and presbyters.—*Defence of his Apology*, p. 248.

Bishop Morton, in his "*Catholic Apology*," book i. p. 118. 120, interprets Jerome precisely in the same manner. He acknowledges that Jerome represents the difference between bishop and presbyter as brought into the church, not by DIVINE, but by HUMAN authority. He also asserts that there was no substantial difference on the subject of episcopacy between Jerome and Aerius; and he farther declares, that not only ALL THE PROTESTANTS, but also ALL THE PRIMITIVE DOCTORS were of the same mind with Jerome.

Dr Willet, a very eminent divine of the church of England, in the latter part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, in

his *Synopsis Papismi*, a large and learned work, dedicated to the queen, and professedly containing the doctrines of his church, expresses himself thus: "Of the difference between bishops and priests there are three opinions: the *first* of Acrius, who did hold that all ministers should be equal, and that a bishop *was not*, neither *ought to be*, superior to a priest. The *second* opinion is the other extreme of the papists, who would have not only a difference, but a princely pre-eminence of their bishops over the clergy, and *that by the word of God*. And they urge it to be *so necessary*, they are *no true churches* which receive not their pontifical hierarchy. The *third* opinion is between both; that although this distinction of bishops and priests, as it is now received, CANNOT BE PROVED OUT OF SCRIPTURE, yet it is very necessary for the policy of the church to avoid schisms, and to preserve it in unity. Of this judgment, bishop Jewel against Harding sheweth both Chrysostom, Ambrose and Jerome to have been. Jerome thus writeth: "The apostle teaches evidently that bishops were the same, but that one was *afterwards* chosen to be set over the rest as a remedy against schism." To this opinion of St Jerome subscribeth bishop Jewel and another most reverend prelate of our own church, archbishop Whitgift." P. 273.

The learned episcopal divine, Dr Whitaker, regius professor of divinity in the University of Cambridge, also in the reign of queen Elizabeth, concerning whom bishop Hall said, "No man ever saw him without reverence, or heard him without wonder," expressly concurs in the same statement. "If Acrius," says he, "was a heretic in this point, he had Jerome to be his neighbour in that heresy; and not only him, but *other fathers*, both Greek and Latin, as is confessed by Medina. Acrius thought that presbyter did not differ from bishop by *any divine law* and authority; and the same thing was contended for by Jerome, and he defended it by those very Scripture testimonies that Acrius did."—*Controv. iv. Quest. i. Cap. iii. Sect. 30.*

Bishop Croft, a prelate of the church of England, who flourished in the reign of Charles II. expresses himself concerning Jerome in the following very explicit and pointed language: "And now I desire my reader, if he understands Latin, to view the epistle of St Jerome to Evagrius; and doubtless he will wonder to see men have the confidence to quote any thing out of it for the distinction between epis-

curacy and presbytery; for the whole epistle is to show the identity of them."—*Naked Truth*, p. 45. The very learned episcopal divine, Dr Adrian Saravia, canon of Canterbury, and the intimate friend and companion of the "judicious Hooker," in his work, *De Gradibus Ministerii Evangelici*, cap. 23, pointedly acknowledges that Jerome was against the divine right of episcopacy. "Jerome's opinion," says he, "was private, and coincided with that of Aerius." Dr William Nichols, a learned and zealous champion for episcopacy, speaks of Jerome in the following terms: "At last came St Jerome, though not till above three centuries after the apostles' times, who, valuing himself upon his learning, which indeed was very great, and being provoked by the insolence of some deacons, who set themselves above presbyters, to the end he might maintain the dignity of his order against such arrogant persons, he advanced a notion never heard of before, viz. that presbyters were not a different order from bishops; and that a bishop was only a more eminent presbyter, chosen out of the rest, and set over them, for preventing of schism."—*Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England*, p. 241. Bishop Bilson, a warm friend of prelacy, in his work against *seminaries*, book i. p. 318, also expressly quotes Jerome as teaching the doctrine which we ascribe to him, viz. that "bishops must understand that they are greater than presbyters rather by custom than by the Lord's appointment; and that bishops came in after the apostles' time." Dr (afterwards bishop) Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, as every one knows, also argues in the most pointed and conclusive manner for that interpretation of Jerome which is adopted by Dr Miller. We will only add that, in the *Articles of Smalcald*, drawn up by the reformer Luther, and signed by himself, Melancthon, and many other eminent Lutheran divines; in the *Confession of Wirtemberg*, presented to the Council of Trent in 1552 as a specimen of Lutheran doctrine; in the *Second Helvetic Confession*, drawn up by the pastors of Zurich in 1566; as well as in other public and private documents, almost innumerable, the very same view is taken of Jerome's doctrine in reference to prelacy which Dr Cooke considers and charges in Dr Miller as gross misrepresentation! We must really be excused for believing that Luther and Melancthon and Jewel and Willet and Whitgift and Morton and Bilson and Stillingfleet, &c. were at least as

learned in christian antiquity, and *at least* as capable of interpreting a Latin paragraph, as our zealous champion of Lexington, of *eight weeks* growth.

We have only to notice two or three points in reference to this testimony of Jerome, which the remarks of Dr Cooke seem to render necessary.

The first is, that the presbyterian interpretation of this father cannot be correct, because Jerome represents the pre-eminence of one presbyter over another as occasioned by division and strife, and brought in as a remedy for them. He says it happened when professing christians, by the devil's instinct, were divided into parties, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*. Hence, says Dr C. it is evident that he dates episcopacy as early as the dispute at Corinth, recorded in *1 Cor. i. 12*, to which he manifestly alludes. This is an old subterfuge, which has been a hundred times urged and refuted. One consideration is enough to show its futility. It is that Jerome produces proof that bishop and presbyter were originally the same, from portions of the New Testament, which we know to have been written *many years after* the first epistle to the Corinthians. But this is not all. It is notorious that the language of the apostle in that epistle has been proverbially applied, and is daily so applied, to actual divisions in the church in all countries. To which may be added, that Jerome himself, in fact, applies the very same passage of Scripture to some disturbers of the church in the *fourth century*.

Another cavil is, that in the epistle to Evagrius, Jerome expresses himself thus:—"For even at Alexandria, from the evangelist Mark to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters always chose one of their number, placed him in a higher station, and gave him the title of bishop." From this language Dr C. exults in the conclusion, that even according to Jerome, episcopacy, in the prelatical sense of the word, was introduced as early as the time of the evangelist Mark. This inference is not only without the least support from Jerome, but is directly contrary to his express averment. The plain import of his declaration is in perfect harmony with the other parts of his reasoning, and is to this amount, that in Alexandria, from the time of the evangelist Mark to the middle of the *third century*, there were no other bishops than such as the presbyters themselves constituted; that this

consisted in nothing more than choosing one of their own number their *chairman* or *moderator*, and calling him bishop, and for the sake of order and convenience investing him with special powers. The same thing is done every day, and has been done for centuries in the presbyterian church. One thing more respecting Jerome. Dr C. seriously charges Dr Miller with *inconsistency*, in declaring that he could only admit the testimony of the fathers of the *first two hundred years* after Christ, and yet afterwards making his appeal to Jerome, who lived toward the close of the *fourth century*. This charge would not have been made by any one who understood the subject in controversy. If prelacy was introduced *by little and little*, (*paulatim*), as Jerome declares; if it was more than *two centuries* in gaining an establishment; and if toward the close of the *third century* and beginning of the *fourth* it was pretty generally received; surely nothing could be more reasonable than that one who fully believed this, should decline receiving the testimony of the fathers who lived in the third and fourth centuries, when they relate what existed in their own day as proof of what existed in the apostolic age. But if a father of the fourth or fifth century, when prelacy is acknowledged on all hands to have prevailed, while he admitted this fact in the most unequivocal terms, at the same time should declare, in terms equally unequivocal, that it was not so from the beginning, but that impurity was *gradually* introduced *after the apostolic age*; would it be either unreasonable or inconsistent to listen to such a witness? Suppose Dr C. to be engaged in controversy with a zealous Romanist respecting the pope's supremacy. Would he be willing to receive as impartial and faithful witnesses any of the fathers who lived beyond the first three hundred years? Would he consent to make his appeal to those who lived after that monstrous usurpation had actually commenced its insidious course, and especially after it had gained, by the acknowledgement of all, a complete establishment? Not if he understood what he owed either to his cause or to his Master in heaven. Yet if he met with a learned and reputable writer in the eighth or ninth century, when the triumph of "the man of sin" was nearly universal, who testified that this triumph had no divine or apostolic warrant; that it was unknown in the purest and best ages of the church; and that it arose gradually, under the promptings of human ambition; would Dr C. refuse to

hear him because he happened to live beyond the limit of the first three centuries? But we will not waste another sentence in replying to an objection so perfectly nugatory.

Much as this article has been drawn out beyond our original intention, we cannot forbear adverting for a moment to the representation which Dr C. has given of the opinion of the venerable Calvin respecting episcopacy. We shall not repeat the long extract which he has made from Calvin's Institutes, book 4. chap. 4. sect. 2. But we boldly assert that he has *kept back* something which he ought to have connected with this extract; and that he totally *misapprehends*, and of course *misrepresents*, the scope of what he *has* given. The part *kept back* is toward the close of the section immediately preceding the extract on which he lays so much stress, and is in these words: "As we have stated that there are three kinds of ministers recommended to us in the Scripture, so the *ancient church* divided all the ministers it had into *three orders*. For from the order of presbyters they chose some for pastors and teachers; the *others* presided over the discipline and corrections. To the deacons was committed the care of the poor and the distribution of alms." Then, after a few lines, the object of which is to show that the young persons called acolyths and readers were not considered as officers at all, but only as training up for office, follows the extract which Dr C. has given. Now it is plain that the lines just quoted are so essentially connected with that extract, that its *real import* cannot be understood without them. In those lines Calvin tells us that the three orders of officers in the ancient church to which he refers were teaching elders, ruling elders, and deacons: that the first only ministered in *teaching*; and that to the deacons were committed *the care of the poor and the distribution of alms*; that is, that deacons, as such, were *not preachers*. It was surely very convenient to keep this passage out of view when Dr C. ventured to assert that Calvin fully admits the *main facts* contended for by episcopalians."

But we further maintain, that the gloss which Dr C. has put on the extract from Calvin which he gives, is a perversion of the declared sentiments of the illustrious reformer, so entire and shameful, that we are at a loss to frame an apology for it. Our meaning will be apparent by attending to the following facts: Calvin has three consecutive chapters in the fourth book of his Institutes, (the third, fourth and

fifth), in which he treats of the history of ecclesiastical government. In the first of these he treats of the truly *primitive* and *apostolic* order, which he represents as appointed by the will of Christ, and as the only proper model for the government of the church. This he pronounces to have been the presbyterian form. That is, that in every church there was a bishop or pastor, together with a bench of ruling elders, and deacons; and that all who were authorised to preach the gospel and administer sacraments sustained the highest ordinary office in the church, and were all equal in rank or order. In the next chapter (the fourth) he delineates the state of the "ancient church." By the "ancient church" he explicitly declares he means not the apostolic church, but that which arose some time after the apostles, and which continued until the rise of the papacy. His meaning in reference to this point is made sufficiently plain in the chapter itself, and, if possible, still more so in his letter to cardinal Sadolet. "Not," says he expressly, "not that form which the apostles appointed, which is the only model of a true church; but the *ancient church*, as it stood in the days of Chrysostom and Basil among the Greeks; and of Cyprian, Ambrose, &c. among the Latins." Now it is manifest that when Calvin speaks of the "ancient church" Dr Bowden, and his humble disciple Dr Cooke, suppose him to mean the primitive, apostolic church. But this is a total misrepresentation of his meaning. In this second stage of the history, Calvin says, there was a considerable departure from the apostolic plan; and this departure he represents as consisting, first, in one of the presbyters being made *chairman* or *president*, who had, as such, no new ordination or higher official rank, but was properly *primus inter pares*. To this man the title of bishop, which before had been common to all the presbyters, began now to be applied by way of eminence. With this Calvin finds no fault. Nay, he thinks it highly desirable, if not necessary; yet of *human*, not *divine* origin. Afterwards, however, he supposes that a departure still more serious and less defensible took place, which consisted in the bishop gradually grasping at more power, and after awhile being regarded as the only one competent to ordain. This he blames, and considers as having arisen from criminal ambition. And this robbing of the ordinary presbyters of their ordaining power he supposes was accompanied by another departure from the primitive model, viz.

depriving each church of its original right to elect its own bishop. This second stage he considers as having been gradually lost in the papacy, which entirely subverted the "ancient" form of government.

Thus Calvin expressly declares, that in his opinion the apostolic plan of church government was the presbyterian; that this is the only plan for which a divine appointment can be claimed; but that the seeds of prelacy were early sown, and went on gradually to grow and bring forth fruit, until the papacy gained an establishment. But through the greater part of the second stage he thinks ruling elders were retained in the church, and that deacons still continued to bear their primitive character, not as *preachers*, but as *almshouses* and *guardians of the poor*. And, accordingly, in his letter to "cardinal Sadolet," and to "*a certain curate*," he expressly declares that the organization of the church in Geneva, which all the world knows was presbyterian, had been conducted in strict conformity with the apostolic model. In the latter epistle he has this remarkable declaration: "Nobody has yet appeared that could prove that we had altered *any one thing* which God has commanded, or that we have appointed *any new thing* contrary to his word; or that we have turned aside from the truth to follow any evil opinion. On the contrary, it is manifest that *we have reformed our church merely by God's word*, which is the *ONLY RULE* by which it is to be ordered, and can be lawfully defended. It is, indeed, an unpleasant work to alter what has been formerly in use, were it not that the order which God has once fixed must be esteemed by us as sacred and inviolable; insomuch that if it has for a time been laid aside, it must of necessity (and whatever the consequences may prove) be restored again. No antiquity, no prescription of custom, may be allowed to be an obstacle in this case, that the government of the church which God has appointed should not be perpetual, since the Lord himself has once fixed it."—*Epist. ad Quendam Curatum, in Calvin. Epist.* p. 386.

Accordingly, this venerable reformer, in his Commentary on *Philip.* i. 1, dated in 1541; in his Exposition of *Titus* i. 5, written in 1548; in his Commentary on *1 Peter*, v. 1, written in 1551, and dedicated to Edward VI. of *England*; in his Commentary on the first epistle to *Timothy*, written in 1556, and dedicated to the duke of Somerset, lord pro-

tector of *England*; and in his Commentary on *Acts* xx. 28, written in 1560, a short time before his decease; in all these works, the composition of which was extended through so many years, whether addressing himself to monarchs, noblemen or the public, he speaks one language; and that is, to declare in the most decisive manner his firm belief that prelacy was a *human invention*; that the primitive form of church government was by ministers of the word and sacraments, all of equal rank; together with ruling elders, for conducting the discipline of the church; and that a departure from this plan was a *corruption*.

As to the suggestion that Calvin and his brother reformers on the continent of Europe wished for prelacy, and excused themselves for not having it on the plea of *necessity*, it is too weak and incredible to be for a moment received by any thinking man who is acquainted with the lives and writings of those pious and faithful men. No one, we believe, has ever suspected either Luther or Calvin of being very plastic, pliable men, much less of compromising conscience, or trimming to the breeze of popular feeling. Wherein could any supposed *necessity* exist? Where was the *difficulty* of obtaining prelates, if they had chosen to have them? They might easily have been consecrated, in due form, either by the bishops in different parts of the continent who had abandoned the papacy and joined the protestants, or by sending to *England*. And if bishops had been thought of, or wished for, who in all protestant christendom would have been so certain of elevation to that office, in their respective denominations, as Luther and Calvin? Who was there to oppose them, or to be put in competition with them? The truth is, the suggestion that they yielded to *necessity* in arranging their forms of church government without prelates, is a suggestion so utterly unsupported by reasoning or fact, that it cannot fail to be discreditable either to the understanding or the candour of him who offers it.

But we are constrained to bring this long article to a close; not because we do not find matter enough for more extended animadversion; for the truth is, the greater part of Dr C.'s statements, and especially those on which he appears to place most confidence for discrediting Dr Miller and establishing prelacy, are quite as vulnerable as those which have been singled out: but because we fear that the patience of our readers will be exhausted, and that their estimate of the im-

portance of the work which we are reviewing, will scarcely bear us out in a more protracted notice. We shall, therefore, take leave of the subject, for the present, by asking a few questions, which we sincerely hope the good people of *Kentucky*, for whose special "use and behoof" Dr C. seems to have written, will ponder well before they accede to the high-church notions which this gentleman seems anxious to circulate among them.

1. The *first* question which we wish to ask is this : If the testimony, both from Scripture and from antiquity, in favour of the divine right of prelacy be so *unanimous*, so *demonstrable*, nay, so *unquestionable*, as Dr Cooke so often and so confidently declares it to be, how came it to pass that at the era of the reformation, *all* the protestant churches on the continent of *Europe*, *without one solitary exception*, gave up bishops, acknowledged them to be an order wholly unauthorized by Scripture, universally established presbyterial ordination among them, and to this day have no other ?* While in *England* *ALONE*, where the reformation was chiefly conducted in its several stages by the monarch, the leading prelates, and a few of the nobility, the ecclesiastical arrangements were so made as to retain the bishops ? Were the reformers more wise, more learned, or more pious in *England* than on the continent ? Were they more deeply read in the *Bible* and in the early history of the church ? This no one will pretend. Were Luther and Calvin and Melancthon and Zuingle and Bucer and Oecolampadius and Bullinger and Martyr and Musculus and Zanchius and

* It may be supposed by some that the Lutheran bishops in *Sweden* and *Denmark* are inconsistent with this statement. But this is by no means the case. There are no bishops in the whole Lutheran world, excepting those in the countries just named. Even *there*, those officers are scarcely more than nominal. Their having any pre-eminence by *divine right* is publicly and formally disclaimed. Their appointment is professedly a matter of *mere human authority and prudence*. And ordination is not confined to them ; but proceeds just as readily and validly when no one who bears this name is present, as when he is. In short, their ordination is strictly presbyterian. The only question that can arise on this subject is concerning that small body called *Moravians* or *United Brethren*. But, even in reference to that pious and interesting people, it is notoriously true, that, whatever may have been the history of their episcopacy, (and this is by no means friendly to Dr C.'s claim), they with one voice represent it, not as a divine appointment, but as an expedient of *human prudence*.

Bogenhagius, and scores of other men, scarcely less illustrious for talents, erudition and fidelity, all blinded by prejudice, or all willing to betray their Master's cause? While they, in fact, differed about so many things, and did not scruple to differ where they could not see alike, how came they, when perfectly at liberty to establish what form of government they saw best, so marvellously to agree in maintaining the doctrine of *primitive parity* among ministers of the gospel? We must say that, if we were prelatists, this would be to us a most intractable and posing fact,

2. A *second* question which we should be glad to ask and have answered is,—How did it happen that not only *some*, but *ALL* the English reformers, and indeed the whole body of the ecclesiastical administration of that country, up to the close of the sixteenth century, and even up to a later period, but certainly to that time, maintained fellowship with the protestant churches on the continent of Europe, none of whom had any other than presbyterian ordination; acknowledged them by formal and official acts, as true churches of Christ; and publicly sanctioned their ordinations, by admitting to benefices in their church, ministers who had received their orders “beyond the seas?” Dr C. hints at this difficulty, but says nothing which bears the least semblance to a solution of it. No man in his senses can doubt that if the ecclesiastical rulers of England at that time had entertained the opinions which Dr C. labours to inculcate, they would have considered it much more safe and suitable to hold communion with the papists than with the continental protestants. Nay, with such opinions, they could not possibly, as honest men, have consented to any ecclesiastical intercourse, with either the Lutherans or Calvinists of their day. The very fact, then, of their having actually and freely maintained such intercourse, affords proof little short of *demonstrative* that they held no such opinions. In other words, the illustrious founders of the reformed church of England *unanimously* differed from Dr C. in reference to the leading doctrine of his book.

3. A *third* question which we feel disposed to urge, with earnestness is this :—Do we, in fact, find the subjects of church government, of ordination in a particular form; and of uninterrupted ecclesiastical succession, making the same figure, and urged as of equal importance in the New Testament, as in Dr C.'s book? According to the doctrine which

this gentleman adopts, and labours to inculcate, as we observed at the commencement of the present article, without episcopal ordination there can be no true ministry; no christian church; no valid sacraments; no communion of saints, either with one another, or with Christ the Head; no "covenanted mercy;" and, of course, no hope of salvation resting upon any divine promise or warrant. If all this be so, episcopacy is a **VITAL MATTER**. Now, we ask, does the Bible so represent it? In declaring the foundation of christian hope, and in describing the fellowship of those who are "called to be saints," and who are represented as being, all over the world, "one body in Christ, and every one members one of another," do the Scriptures really represent an uninterrupted succession of an episcopal "priesthood" as essential to the existence of the church; essential, of course, to communion with Christ; essential to all the authorized means and hopes of gospel blessing? When men are represented in the New Testament as inquiring "what they must do to be saved?" as in the prison at Philippi, at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, &c. what is the substance, invariably, of the answer given? Is it in harmony with Dr C.'s volume? Do Peter and Paul and Silas say "See, first of all, that you be united with an authorized priesthood; receive no ordinances but those which flow through the bishop's hands; separated from him you can have no hope?" Did their language on any occasion bear the least likeness to this?" No such thing. But repentance toward God, —faith in the Lord Jesus Christ,—love to God and man, —and holy obedience to the divine commandments, are the characteristics every where insisted on as decisive of christian character and hope. Now, we ask, not in the spirit of captiousness or cavil, but because, on Dr C.'s plan; we are unfeignedly at a loss for an answer, how could this be, if a prelatical priesthood is essential to "the body of Christ," and of course to all its most precious privileges? If Dr C. be right, the New Testament is calculated to deceive us. It is no longer a "light to our feet and a lamp to our path." For a large number of the most learned and pious episcopal writers themselves freely acknowledge that prelacy is not taught in the New Testament; and *all* (unless it be a very few "highly rectified spirits") confess that it cannot be fully made out from **THE BIBLE ALONE**, even as a *matter of fact*, and much less as a *divine injunction*. That is, in plain

terms, the Bible is not at all explicit in reference to that which is alleged to lie at the foundation of the visible church, and to be essential to the validity of all its ordinances! This may answer very well for papists, but for protestants, it is monstrous! For our part, though we are zealous presbyterians, and though we are very confident that this form of church government agrees far better with the Bible than any other, yet we should abhor the thought of making presbyterianism essential to the being of a church and of valid ordinances. We have no doubt that a man *may* be "born of God," *may* be a true penitent, and a true believer in Christ, and of course in covenant with God, under *any form of church order*; nay, though he never saw the face of a church officer in his life, and never had the opportunity of attending on any ordinance of the visible church. And we believe so, because it seems to us impossible to believe otherwise without taking some other guide than that word of God which is "the only infallible rule of faith and practice."

4. We will ask one question more. Are the members of episcopal churches in general found in fact *more* spiritual, *more* holy, *more* conformed to the example of Christ, than the mass of presbyterian, congregational, and other non-episcopal professing christians? This ought by no means to be considered as an invidious comparison. For let it be kept in mind that the fundamental principle of Dr C.'s system is, that there is no other church than the episcopal; and that, consequently, all who are not in communion with that body are entirely out of the church, "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise." The comparison, then, which our question contemplates, is not between one church and another, or a number of others, but between that which claims to be the *ONLY* CHURCH, and "the WORLD which lieth in wickedness." Surely it is neither unreasonable nor invidious to demand that there be more piety exhibited, that is, more of the christian spirit and practice in the church of Christ than *out* of it. To suppose that those who are in a state of habitual alienation from God, and rebellion against him, should be as humble, penitent, believing and obedient; as much distinguished for love to God and love to man as those who are "fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God," is to suppose that there is no profit in being in the

church rather than in the world; that Abbana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, are quite as good as *all the waters of Israel*. What then is the *fact*? Are the great mass of members of episcopal churches in our land *more* serious, devout, humble, prayerful and exemplary, than other professing christians; *less* "conformed to the world," *more* zealous for the cause of Christ, and *more* abundant in all works of righteousness? Are their societies found in a *higher degree* than any other to *attract* spiritual, zealous and engaged believers, and to *repel* the gay, the worldly and the openly irreligious? We bring no charge against our episcopal neighbours; we arrogate no superior excellence to ourselves. The great Searcher of hearts knows that we have no special reason for self-complacency, far less for boasting. We only say, that if episcopalians form the *only church* among us, and all others are *without*, they ought, upon every principle of reason and Scripture, to exhibit *more*, far *more* pure, elevated, consistent and devoted piety than *any other* class of religious professors. Is this, we ask again, the *fact*? Let those who have the best opportunity of comparing the body of that church with other churches in our country, whom some of her members would deliver over to the "uncovenanted mercies of God," bear witness.

We shall here, for the present, take leave of the subject. It was with much reluctance, and constrained by a deep sense of duty, that we entered on the discussion. It is our earnest desire to live on the most amicable terms with our brethren of all denominations. We love peace; and especially in a day like this, when all the resources and energies of the christian church are put in requisition for purposes far more benign and holy than sectarian bickerings. The presbyterians in the United States never attacked their episcopal brethren; never in any one instance, as we believe, commenced a controversy with them; never called in question the validity of their orders or ministrations; never manifested the slightest disposition to draw away from them any who conscientiously preferred their government or worship. And we hope and believe that a great majority of that denomination in our country are disposed to reciprocate these feelings. But when, every now and then, such a volume as that now before us is cast forth, by one of those prelatists whom archbishop Wake calls "madmen;" and when, not content with this, its praises are trumpeted in

episcopal periodicals, and individuals attacked are called upon by name to come forth and speak in their own defence; when these things are done, we lament them; not because we have the slightest apprehension for the safety of presbyterianism; for we trust she will always have sons able and willing to come forward, in the name and strength of the King of Zion, to defend her; but because we are very sure that such conflicts among professing christians are not calculated to promote the best interests of vital piety in any denomination.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF PELAGIANISM.

With propriety the term militant has been applied to the church upon earth. No sooner was the light of truth sent down from heaven than it fell into interminable conflict with the darkness of error. And not only was it necessary to contend with the powers of darkness without the kingdom of Christ, but hideous forms of error were generated within the bosom of the church; according to the prophetic warning of our Saviour, "Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing;" and that of the apostle Paul, in his solemn valedictory to the elders of Ephesus, "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." Even while Paul lived the churches were exceedingly disturbed and distracted by false teachers, who brought in "another gospel," and endeavoured to overthrow from the foundation the doctrine of gratuitous justification by faith without works; and to substitute a legal system, according to which justification before God could be expected only from obedience to the ceremonial law of Moses. A large portion of the inspired writings of this apostle have direct reference to the opinions of these Judaizing heretics. Others arose in the church who denied the resurrection of the body, and maintained that all the resurrection to be expected was already past. They seem to

have explained all that our Lord had said respecting the resurrection spiritually, or as relating to the purification or revivification of the soul. As the former errorists manifestly came out from the sect of the Pharisees, the latter might have derived their origin from the Sadducees, or from some of the schools of heathen philosophy. From these facts in the history of the apostolic church we learn, that when converts were made to the society of christians, many of them retained something of the leaven of their old errors, and endeavoured to modify and corrupt the pure doctrines of the gospel by accommodating them to their preconceived opinions. And as all the first christians had been brought up in another religion, it is not wonderful that errors abounded among those professing christianity, even in the times of the apostles. This is, indeed, contrary to the vulgar opinion, which considers the primitive church as being in all respects near perfection. This opinion, however, is not founded on any information given to us in the apostolic writings; for in addition to what has already been observed, we may refer to the epistles of our Lord to the seven churches of Asia for further proof of the existence and prevalence of error in the days of the apostles. And towards the close of that age the impudence and licentiousness of the propagators of error may be learned from the catholic epistles of John, the second of Peter, and the epistle of Jude; all of which are filled with descriptions of false teachers, and warnings against their pestiferous influence.

Of the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles our information is very imperfect; either because there were few who had leisure or inclination for writing; or because their works have perished; which we know to have been the fact in regard to some important records. But from all the authentic history which has reached our times we learn that swarms of heretics infested the church, even while she was struggling under the direful strokes of sanguinary persecution. No age has produced more monstrous errors than the second century, of which Irenæus has given us a detailed account. And all this congeries of extravagant opinions originated in the false philosophy of those who professed to embrace christianity. The loathsome spawn of Gnosticism was cast upon the church from the corrupt but fertile source of the oriental philosophy. The original fountain of this extraordinary inundation of absurd heresy was

a fanciful doctrine of the nature of God. It would be interesting to pursue this subject, but we are admonished by the narrowness of our limits to forbear.

It does not appear, however, that, amidst the multifarious errors which were broached in the first four centuries, any controversy arose respecting the doctrines of *sin* and *grace*. In regard to the person of the Mediator, error had assumed almost every possible shape, both as it related to his humanity and divinity, and the nature and effects of the union between them. Council after council had been convened to discuss and decide on points connected with this important subject; and theologians of the first learning and highest reputation employed their pens in defence of the catholic doctrine.

But early in the fifth century a new doctrine began to be published by Pelagius, a British monk, on the subject of man's natural condition, and the connexion which subsisted between Adam and his posterity. That the doctrine of Pelagius was new, and different from the opinions which had commonly been received in the church, needs no other proof than the impression which it made on the minds of the great majority of learned theologians who lived at that time. And that the doctrine of original sin then received by the church was the same which had been always held from the times of the apostles, is exceedingly probable, from the fact that the subject never underwent any public discussion; and it is rarely the case that a doctrine entirely new can be introduced and propagated every where without giving rise to much controversy, and exciting much public attention. Pelagius did, indeed, in his controversy with Augustine, allege, that this father had invented the doctrine of original sin, which was unknown to preceding ages; but in answer to this charge Augustine appealed to many writers of the first ages, to show that they entertained the same views as those which he now advocated. These testimonies are not so explicit as could be collected from the writings of those who lived after the discussion of this subject took place. But this is always the case. When any point of doctrine is undisputed and received by all, while it is every where tacitly admitted or incidentally referred to, it is never made the subject of accurate definition; nor is it expounded with that fulness and caution which become necessary after it has been called in question or opposed. When Augustine was urged to bring

forward proofs from the fathers who preceded him, he answered the demand in the following sensible manner : " Quid igitur opus est ut eorum scrutemur opuscula, qui priusquam ipsa hæresis oriretur, non habuerunt necessitatem in hac difficili ad solvendum questione versari, quod procul dubio facerent si respondere talibus cogerentur." That is, " What occasion is there that we should search the works of those who, living before this heresy arose, had no necessity of handling this difficult question, which doubtless they would have done if they had been obliged to answer such men as we have to deal with."

Jerome, in several places in his works, ascribes the new opinions propagated by Pelagius to Rufin, who, he alleges, borrowed them from Origen : but as Jerome is known to have cherished an implacable hostility to Rufin, and also to the memory of Origen, his testimony on this subject ought to be received with caution. And we cannot find that he brings forward any passages from the writings of Rufin which are sufficient to gain credit to the allegation against him.

Pelagius is admitted, by his keenest opposers, to have been a man of learning, and of estimable character. And on other points, especially on the warmly contested doctrine of the trinity, he was not only orthodox, but wrote three books in defence of the catholic opinion, in which he gave deserved praise to Athanasius for his great constancy and soundness in the faith, and did not hesitate to pronounce the opinions of Arius impious. He, moreover, published fourteen books containing an exposition of the epistles of Paul, which, in the opinion of several learned men, are still extant in the commentaries subjoined to those of Jerome on Paul's epistles. One thing is certain in relation to these commentaries ; they do not contain the opinions of Jerome on the subject of original sin, but precisely those of Pelagius. Besides the books already mentioned, he wrote many letters to distinguished individuals, most of which are lost ; and also a book, *De NATURA*, in which he extols the powers and virtues of human nature ; and a small book, addressed to pope Innocent, containing a confession of the catholic faith, as he had received it. But it was a complaint against him by some of his contemporaries, that he left it to his disciples, principally, to write ; so that he might have the opportunity, when he judged it expedient, of denying that the opinions pub-

lished by them were his own. But, on the whole, it cannot be denied that the reputation of Pelagius stood high in the church before he began to propagate his heretical opinions. Jerome, who was never inclined to spare his adversaries, seems to have respected him, for in his first piece against his opinions, he refrains from mentioning his name; but speaks of himself under the fictitious name of Atticus, and of his adversary by the name of Clitobulus. Another writer of that age, who seemed solicitous to speak evil of Pelagius, found nothing to hold up to censure or ridicule but his bodily defects. Augustine acknowledges that he was a man of chaste and unblemished character: and Chrysostom laments that a man of so great probity should have fallen into heresy.

But although Pelagius was the author of the system which has been denominated from him, yet some of his disciples were much more distinguished in the defence and propagation of these opinions. Among these, the most celebrated was Cœlestius. Augustine admits that he was a man of most penetrating genius. Before he became a follower of Pelagius, he published three small treatises, addressed to his parents, in the form of epistles, which contained nothing erroneous, but were full of incitements to a virtuous life. What he wrote afterwards, we know only from the citations and references of Augustine, and others of his opponents. When he was condemned by the council of Carthage, he travelled into Asia, where, it is said, he was ordained a presbyter, and afterwards took up his residence in Sicily, where he continued by his discourses and writings to propagate the doctrines of Pelagius.

Julian, an Italian bishop, the son of Memorius, bishop of Capua, was, however, the most zealous and able writer in favour of the opinions of Pelagius. When quite a young man he was known to Augustine, and greatly beloved by him, as appears from a letter which he addressed to the father of Julian. This young man was so rich in mental endowments, and possessed of an eloquence so commanding and persuasive, that he received the appellation of the Roman Demosthenes. And from what remains of his controversial works, it is manifest that he had a mind of uncommon vigour and penetration. The character given of him by Gennadius of Marseilles is, "That he was a man of a penetrating genius, learned in the Scriptures, and an accurate scholar, both

in the Greek and Latin languages." Before he embraced the impious doctrine of Pelagius, he was distinguished among the doctors of the church. Afterwards, he undertook the defence of the Pelagian errors, against Augustine; first, in a work consisting of four books, and then in another work of eight books. He is said also to have written a work in the form of dialogue, in which the parties in this controversy are introduced as defending their respective opinions. But Gennadius, and others who followed him, are entirely mistaken in ascribing this dialogue, or *disputation*, to Julian. It is the production of Augustine, who selects from the eight books of Julian the arguments which are there used in favour of Pelagianism, and then answers them in his own name. The title of this disputation is *Altercatio Amborum*. The occasion of writing this book Augustine himself has informed us of, in his own preface, where he says that an illustrious man sent him certain extracts which some person had made from the books of Julian, the Pelagian heretic, and requested that he would give an answer. "To these" says he "I now return an answer, first setting down the very words of Julian, and then subjoining my answers to each particular, in order.

Julian also endited two letters, which were published; the one addressed to Zosimus, bishop of Rome, the other, in the name of eighteen bishops who united with him, to Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica. The venerable Bede, in his Commentary on the Song of Solomon, mentions and refutes a work of Julian on the same subject. Julian prefixed to his exposition of the Canticles a work entitled *De Amore*, in which he labours to prove that there is implanted in all men, a natural principle of love, which continues from infancy to old age, and is preserved, without loss of vigour, by mere human exertion.

He wrote, moreover, a book concerning the virtue of constancy, and an epistle to Demetrius; in both of which, according to Bede, he defended the Pelagian doctrine of free-will.

Pelagius came to Rome about A.D. 410, when Innocent, the bishop, was absent, in consequence of the capture of the city by Alaric, and there began to scatter the seeds of his doctrine, under the specious veil of certain interrogatories, which he proposed for consideration and discussion. Cœlestius, in Sicily, pursued the same policy, and about the same time. Not long after this both Pelagius and Cœlestius passed

over to Africa, but Pelagius did not long continue there, but travelled on to Asia Minor. By this time, the rumour of his heresy was spread abroad; Jerome in the east, and Augustine in the west, had taken up their pens against what they considered a pestiferous doctrine. A council was therefore called at Diospolis or Lydda, in Palestine, and fourteen bishops met to investigate the doctrines of Pelagius. Every thing here was as favourable to him as he could have wished; for neither of the two bishops who were his accusers were present; and as the writings of Pelagius were in the Latin language, his judges were totally incompetent to form an accurate judgment of his doctrines, for want of a correct knowledge of the Latin tongue. Moreover, John, bishop of Jerusalem, warmly espoused the cause of Pelagius, and he was without difficulty acquitted of the charge of heresy, and received by the assembled bishops as an orthodox brother.

The presbyter Orosius coming to Carthage from Palestine, brought with him the accusation preferred against Pelagius by Herus and Lazarus, and communicated this document to a council then sitting at Carthage on the affairs of the church. The bishops there assembled, before they heard of the decision of the council of Diospolis, were much alarmed, and wrote to Innocent of Rome their view of the opinions of Pelagius; adding, that if he and his partisans did not unequivocally reject these errors, they ought to be immediately excommunicated. These resolutions were signed by sixty-eight bishops. Another synod met shortly afterwards at Milevum, in Numidia, and addressed letters on the same subject to the bishop of Rome. The result of the eastern council being now known in Africa, Augustine, Alypius and Aurelius, with two other bishops, wrote a more full and particular account of the whole controversy to Innocent, and explained how the council of Diospolis had most probably been imposed on by the subtilty of Pelagius. Innocent entered fully into the views of the African bishops, and in his answer expressed the same conditional condemnation of the authors of the heresy. But as Pelagius had diffused his doctrine extensively, and put on it a fair face, it was necessary that he should be met with argument, as well as decisions of councils: and no man in the church was so well qualified for this work as Augustine, who did not shrink from the arduous task, but entered into this field of controversy, in which he was occupied for twenty years.

Pelagius gloried greatly in his acquittal; on which occasion he wrote to a friend that fourteen bishops had agreed with him that man might live without sin, and easily keep the commandments of God, if he would. He also wrote to Augustine an account of his acquittal; and immediately proceeded to publish his opinions more boldly, in four books which he wrote on the subject of free-will, and in which he entirely denied the doctrine of original sin.

The first thing which Augustine wrote expressly against the opinions of Pelagius, was three books addressed to Marcellinus, *Concerning the demerit and remission of sins, and the baptism of children*. In these, Pelagius is treated very respectfully, because Augustine still believed him to be a pious man, and because his reputation in the church was very high. In these books, Augustine said that it was possible for a man, by the aids of divine grace, to live without sin, but that no one had ever yet attained to that perfection, or ever would in time to come. At this opinion Marcellinus expressed some surprise; which gave occasion to Augustine to write another book, *Concerning the letter and spirit*, in which he keenly contends with the opposers of the doctrine of grace.

As Pelagius had now, by means of his letter to Demetrius, made known his opinions, and spread them abroad, Augustine did not any longer consider it necessary to forbear mentioning his name; he therefore provided an antidote to the aforesaid letter, in an epistle addressed to Juliana, the mother of Demetrius, which is numbered 143 in the *Collection* of his epistles.

In the year 414 he seems to have written his famous work *De Natura et Gratia*, which he dedicated to two young gentlemen, Timasius and Jacobus, who had recently been converted, from being disciples of Pelagius, to the catholic faith. These two young men had been induced by the persuasions of Pelagius to devote themselves to a monastic life, and at the same time drank in his self-righteous spirit: but by the exertions of Augustine they were brought back to the acknowledgment of the truth.

In the following year, 415, Augustine wrote a particular account of the proceedings in relation to Pelagius which had taken place in the council of Palestine, and addressed it to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage.

In the year 416 the council of Carthage met, and address-

ed a letter to Innocent; and Augustine, in addition, wrote one in his own name and that of several of his friends, Aurelius, Alypius, Euodeus and Possidius. As Augustine had already commenced writing against Pelagius, a request was made by this council that he should go on with the controversy; in consequence of which he published this year two books; the one *Concerning the grace of Christ*, the other *Concerning original sin*.

About this time, also, it is supposed that his letter to Dardanus was written, which is numbered fifty-seven, in the collection of his epistles, and, moreover, his book against Cœlestius, addressed to the bishops Eutropius and Paulus, *Concerning the perfection of righteousness*.

In the year 417 Augustine, having heard that there were some persons at Nola who had imbibed the doctrine of Pelagius, wrote to Paulinus, bishop of that place, *Concerning the Pelagian heresy*, which letter is the one hundredth and sixth in the collection.

In 418 he wrote two epistles to the Roman presbyter Sixtus, one of which was intended as an express refutation of the Pelagian heresy.

Thus it appears how indefatigable this father was in opposing the heresy of Pelagius. Almost every one of the above works is particularly mentioned in *The retractions of Augustine*.

Innocent, bishop of Rome, dying about this time, was succeeded by Zosimus, to whom both Pelagius and Cœlestius addressed epistles, in which they gave such a complexion to their system, and spoke in language so plausible and ambiguous, that Zosimus was completely deceived by their fair speeches. He accordingly wrote to the bishops of Africa that he considered Pelagius an orthodox man. But they showed, in their answer, that it was not enough for these men to acknowledge the truth in general terms; but that they should explicitly confess that we need the grace of Jesus Christ in every act. Zosimus did not remain obstinate, but upon receiving accurate information from Augustine of the true nature of the opinions of these men, issued a sentence of condemnation against them.

Upon this, the emperor Honorius also passed a sentence of banishment from Rome against the Pelagians. This was in the year 418. Cœlestius, on being condemned, went to Constantinople, where he met with determined opposition

from Atticus, the bishop of that city; so that his designs of propagating his opinions there were disappointed.

Pelagius still continued in Palestine, and complained grievously of the hard treatment which he received by the decisions and acts respecting him at Rome, and by the books written against him; and again succeeded in imposing on some respectable persons who held a conference with him, by leading them to think that his doctrine did not materially differ from the common belief. These persons on whom he made this impression, were so much interested in his favour, that they wrote to Augustine, stating their favourable views of the doctrine of Pelagius. This communication seems to have been the occasion of Augustine's writing his books *Concerning grace and original sin*.

Julian, of whom we have already spoken, having published severe animadversions on the conduct of Zosimus and his clergy, Boniface, the successor of Zosimus, sent them to Augustine, for the purpose of having them refuted; which he did in four books, inscribed to Boniface. And count Valerius, having received another of Julian's writings, in which he charges the catholics with condemning marriage, deriving this as an inference from their doctrine of original sin, caused this work to be sent to Augustine, who soon published an answer in his work *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*.

To this work Julian replied in four books. To these Augustine opposed six books; in the first three of which he answers what is contained in Julian's first book; but the fourth, fifth and sixth are employed in refuting the second, third and fourth of Julian; the one answering to the other in order. Julian was not a man to be easily silenced; for he now came out with eight books against the six of Augustine. These the venerable polemic was preparing to answer, when he was called away from all his earthly labours. Only two books of this last work were completed; these have come down to us with his other works.

The death of Augustine occurred, according to the testimony of Prosper in his Chronicon, A.D. 430; the latter was the friend and correspondent of Augustine, from whom this father received particular information of the progress of Pelagianism, or rather Semi-Pelagianism, at Marseilles, where these opinions took deep root, and continued long to flourish.

It may be satisfactory now to give a more particular ac-

count of the decisions of the several councils which met for the consideration of this subject, in their chronological order.

The first was the council of Carthage, convened, A.D. 407, on account of the dissemination by Cœlestius of the opinions of Pelagius, which also he pertinaciously defended. Of the proceedings of this council no fragment remains but one preserved in Augustine's work on original sin. Mention is made of this council, however, in the letter of the fathers of the second council of Carthage, addressed to Innocent. From the fragment preserved by Augustine, we learn that the accusation against Cœlestius was, that he had taught "that the sin of Adam hurt himself alone." Cœlestius acknowledged that he had doubted concerning the communication of sin by descent from Adam; but professed his willingness to be better instructed by those to whom God had given greater wisdom; yet observed that he had heard from presbyters of the church a doctrine different from that which was held by the council. And being called upon to name one from whom he had heard such an opinion, he mentioned Rufin, a holy presbyter of Rome. On being asked whether he had not asserted that infants are born in the same state in which Adam was before transgression, he would make no other reply but "that infants needed baptism, and ought to be baptized."

The council of Diospolis, in Palestine, consisted, as has been mentioned before, of only fourteen bishops. The accusers of Pelagius were not able to attend; one of them being prevented by sickness, and the other by some other cause.

Augustine mentions this council in several of his works, and ascribes the acquittal of Pelagius to his artful use of equivocal terms, by which his judges were deceived, and were induced to pronounce him innocent.

Jerome, in his seventy-ninth epistle, calls this "a miserable synod;" and says, that although they did not err in doctrine, they were deceived in the man, who deceitfully seemed to condemn his own opinions. Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, gives a more particular account of this council; but his information seems to have been derived from the works of Augustine, already referred to.

A.D. 416. Another council met at Carthage, which has already been noticed; not convened, indeed, to attend to

this controversy; but Prosius having brought intelligence respecting the proceedings instituted against Pelagius in Palestine, the fathers of this council took up the business, and wrote a letter to Innocent, in which they expressed their opinion freely and fully, relative to the heresy of the opinions of which Pelagius was accused, and of the course which ought to be pursued in regard to him, if he did not explicitly abjure them. Sixty-seven pastors were present at this synod.

About the same time, or a little later, a synod met at Milevum, in Numidia, consisting of sixty bishops or pastors, who took up the subject of the errors of Pelagius and Cœlestius, and, in imitation of the council of Carthage, addressed a letter to Innocent, bishop of Rome.

It appears from several notices in the writings of Augustine, that another full synod met in Africa, and addressed letters on this subject to Zosimus, the successor of Innocent; but all trace of the acts and proceedings of this council, except the short notices referred to above, have disappeared. This synod is said to have consisted of two hundred and twenty-four bishops, and is supposed to have been held A.D. 417 or 418. But great obscurity rests upon the whole matter.

A.D. 428. When Cœlestinus was bishop of Rome, a council was held in Gaul, occasioned by a deputation from Britain, who represented that the poison of Pelagianism had been imported into that country by one Agricola, the son of Jenerianus, a bishop; and that they greatly needed aid to prevent its diffusion among the people. On this occasion a large council convened, and two eminent men, Germanus and Lupus, were sent on a mission to Britain to check the progress of Pelagianism. By their exertions the catholic doctrine appeared to be every where restored: but no sooner had they taken their departure than heresy began again to germinate; so that the request to the Gallican church for help was repeated, and Germanus was again sent, and was accompanied by Severus, a disciple of Lupus, his former colleague. The witnesses for these facts are Constantius, in his *Life of Germanus*, and Bede, in his *History of the British Churches*.

The next council in which the subject of Pelagianism was brought up for consideration, was that of Ephesus, A.D. 431. This is called an œcumenical council. It was convened

not on account of the heresy of Pelagius, but to condemn Nestorianism; but as the followers of Pelagius would not join in the censure of Nestorius, the council expressed their disapprobation of that heresy also, which they denominate *the wicked doctrine of Cœlestius*. And in their synodical epistle to Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome, they approve of the sentence of condemnation which had been passed on Pelagius, Cœlestius, Julian, and their abettors, whom they call impious men.

The Pelagian doctrine was next condemned in a council which met at Arles, in France; the exact year is not settled. This synod denounced an anathema against the impious doctrines of Pelagius; and especially against the opinion *that man was born without sin; and that he could be saved by his own exertions*. They considered it a presumption worthy to be condemned for any man to believe that he could be saved without grace.

The council of Lyons met soon after that of Arles, and approved its decrees; but some other doctrines were also brought under consideration, and subjected to censure.

A.D. 494. Gelasius, bishop of Rome, convened a council of seventy bishops in that city, by whom the writings of Augustine and Prosper were approved and recommended; while those of the semi-Pelagians, Cassian and Faustus, were censured.

Other councils were held in after ages, which condemned the Pelagian heresy; but our object now is to give a view of this controversy in its first rise, in the fifth century.

Before we proceed to give a view of the opinions entertained and propagated by Pelagius and his followers, it will be satisfactory to ascertain what were the opinions of the church on this subject.

The doctrine of the church, then, on the subject of original sin, may be thus stated. It has ever been the judgment of the catholic church, that the first sin of Adam was imputed to all his posterity by the righteous appointment of God; and that its effects are transmitted to all his children; which effects, the church always believed, were, that they were born destitute of original righteousness, subject to the sentence of death, and obnoxious to eternal separation from God.

Man being created in the image of God, and being fully endued with all powers necessary for obedience; and, more-

over, being blessed with every thing requisite for his comfort, did transgress the law of his Maker by disobeying that commandment which was given as a test of his whole obedience.

This first act of transgression, it is true, was the criminal act of Adam as an individual; but as he was the root and principle of our whole nature, it may be considered the sin of the human race: so that his voluntary act, in opposition to the will of his Creator, may be reckoned that of his descendants; not indeed strictly and properly, (for those not yet born could not perform an act), but interpretatively, or by imputation; for this act was not only imputed to Adam to condemnation, but to all his posterity.

That the above is a correct statement of the commonly received doctrine of the church, at the period of which we treat, will appear from many explicit declarations, not only of Augustine and other individuals, but from the decrees and letters of councils, consisting of numerous bishops, living in every region of the earth to which the universal church extended.

Augustine, in book xvi. of his work *De Civitate Dei*, has these words, "Nascuntur, non proprie, sed originaliter, peccatores." "Men are born, not properly, but originally, sinners." And in book i. c. 15 of his *Retractions*, he says, "Peccatum eos ex Adam dicimus originaliter trahere; id est, reatu eos implicatos, et ob hoc pœnæ obnoxios detineri." We affirm that they derive sin originally from Adam; that is, they are involved in guilt, and on this account are held liable to punishment.

In his work concerning the demerit and remission of sins, he says, that *to impute* and *to remit* are opposites; therefore he asserts, *to impute* is to subject one to guilt; *to remit* is, *not to impute* to condemnation. Here it may be proper to remark, that by *imputation* Augustine meant, not a transfer of moral acts or moral character, but the opposite of remission; *to impute a sin*, therefore, according to him, is to hold the person bound to suffer its punishment. And by the word *reatus*, or *guilt*, he understood an obligation to suffer the punishment of sin, or a subjection to the penalty of the law. It is necessary to understand accurately the meaning of these terms, as used by theologians, or we shall be involved in perpetual perplexity in relation to their opinions. Most of the objections now made to the doctrine of

imputation, and to the transfer of guilt, proceed from a misapprehension of the true import of these terms. We, therefore, hear a great deal of declamation respecting the impossibility of making a transfer of moral character; and respecting the impossibility of ever removing the guilt of a sinner; but if the exact meaning of these terms was apprehended, the supposed difficulty or absurdity would vanish. For, although personal acts cannot be transferred, the consequences or legal penalties of those acts may be transferred; and although the ill-desert of one man cannot be transferred to another, the punishment due to one can be inflicted on another.

But to return, Augustine says again, book xiv. c. 11, *De Civitate Dei*, "A duobus primis transmissum est tam grande peccatum, ut in deterius eo natura mutaretur humana, etiam in posteros obligatione peccati, et mortis necessitate transmissa." Which may be thus rendered into English: "From the first pair so great a sin has been transmitted, that by it human nature is changed for the worse: also the bond of iniquity and the necessity of death are transmitted to their posterity."

And this manner of speaking of original sin was not peculiar to Augustine; for we find the same sort of language in Bernard. When speaking of the first sin, he has the following words: "Aliena est quia in Adam omnes nescientes peccavimus; nostra, quia, etsi in alio, nos tamen peccavimus; et nobis justo Dei judicio imputatur." The meaning of which is, "That this first sin, of which he is here treating, was *another's*, inasmuch as in Adam we sinned; being unconscious of it, *our own*, inasmuch as, although by another, yet we ourselves have sinned, and in the just judgment of God it is imputed to us."

Nicolas Lyra, who lived about four hundred years ago, speaks the same language when explaining the fifth of *Romans*. "Peccatum Adæ imputatur omnibus ab eo descendentibus, secundum vim generativam, quod sic sunt membra ejus, propter quod vacatur peccatum originale." A literal translation of which is, "The sin of Adam is imputed to all descending from him by natural generation, because they are his members, on which account it is called original sin."

And the later writers, until the council of Trent, do not deviate from this language of the ancient church. Cajetan, commenting on the same, (*Romans* v.) says, "The pun-

ishment of death is inflicted on him with his whole posterity ; by which it is proved, that the sin of which death is the punishment, is imputed to him and to his whole posterity."

And even Bellarmine uses as strong language on the subject of imputation as any who went before him. "Adam," says he, "alone committed that (sin) by actual volition, but it is communicated to us by generation, in that mode in which it was possible for that which is past to be communicated, viz. by imputation."

It is scarcely necessary to adduce testimonies from early protestant writers ; for it is known to all in the least acquainted with the opinions of the reformers, that with one consent they held that the sin of Adam was imputed to his posterity ; and that in consequence of this imputation a corrupt nature was communicated to all his natural descendants. We could fill volumes with citations in proof of this fact ; but it is unnecessary. Indeed, until Socinus arose, no one connected with the reformation ever intimated a doubt concerning the imputation of Adam's first sin to his posterity. This ingenious but heretical man utterly denied, as all his followers do, the whole doctrine of original sin. His words are, "Although all the posterity of Adam are liable to eternal death, this is not because the sin of Adam is imputed to them, but because they are his natural descendants ; so that their doom to death does not arise from imputation, but from the propagation of the human race."

It is now, by many who would be esteemed orthodox, and calvinistic too, considered so absurd to hold the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, that they will not even condescend to argue the point, and demonstrate its falsehood. If these be correct in their views of the subject, it must create some surprise that all theologians, from the days of Augustine, who were not acknowledged heretics, believed firmly in this doctrine, and considered it as fundamental in the christian system. Is it certainly the fact, that these modern impugners of the ancient doctrine of the church understand the Scriptures better than all who have gone before them ? Or is it undoubted that they are endowed with a perspicacity so much superior to that of Augustine, Calvin, Owen and Edwards, that what these thought, after profound consideration, might be defended as reasonable, is so absurd as not to merit a refutation ? Now we confess ourselves to be of the number of those who believe, whatever

reproach it may bring upon us from a certain quarter, that if the doctrine of imputation be given up, the whole doctrine of original sin must be abandoned. And if this doctrine be relinquished, then the whole doctrine of redemption must fall, and what may then be left of christianity they may contend for that will ; but for ourselves, we shall be of opinion that what remains will not be worth a serious struggle.

But we must return to our proper subject. It will next be satisfactory to know, by what sort of arguments the ancient theologians defended the doctrine of original sin. And although we will not vouch for the soundness of every interpretation of Scripture which the ancient expositors gave, yet it cannot but be satisfactory to the advocates of this doctrine now, that as far back as we can trace the history of opinions, the same views were entertained of the meaning of the principal texts which bear on this point as are now maintained.

The fathers, then, supported the doctrine of original sin by such texts as *Gen.* vi. 5.—xiii. 21. "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Ambrose, in his remarks on this text, does not confine it to the antediluvians, but considers it a description of human nature in every age, and extends it to persons in every period of human life: for he says, "Even the child of a day old is not without sin, for infancy cannot be exempt from sin, on account of the infirmity of the body."

Another text which they adduced in proof of original sin was *Gen.* xvii. 14. "And the uncircumcised man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people: he hath broken my covenant." On this text Augustine remarks, "That the soul which is not regenerated shall perish, since he, with all others, sinned in Adam." It seems that they interpreted the breach of the covenant to have reference to the covenant made with Adam, and not the covenant of circumcision. For thus we find Bede commenting on this text, "Not the covenant of circumcision, which an infant that could neither will good nor evil could not break, though his parents might; but that covenant is signified which God entered into with the first man, and which every one who has only lived a day upon earth has violated, and so stands in need of a saving remedy."

Job, xiv. 4. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one," is another text on which the ancient theologians relied for the proof of original sin. As they followed the Seventy, however, they found more to their purpose in this text than is contained in the Hebrew. For in the Greek version the text reads thus, *Τίς γὰρ καθαρὸς ἔσται ἀπὸ βρώτου; ἀλλ' οὐδείς, ἅν' καὶ μὲν ἡμέτερος ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ γῆ.* Which literally translated is, "For who is clean from filth? not one, if even his life has been but of one day on the earth." Hence, we find Augustine, in reference to this text, saying, "The stain of the vitiated root is diffused through the branches, being transmitted by natural generation; so that there is not an infant of one day old free from the guilt of sin, unless saved by unmerited grace. For he who has no sin properly of his own, has derived to him the sin of another, concerning which the apostle speaks where he says, by one man sin entered into the world, &c."

"The next argument the fathers derived from *Psalms* li. 5. "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." It was left for modern critics to discover that David was here bewailing the sinfulness of his mother: such an idea never seems to have entered the mind of any of the ancient commentators. They argue thus from the text. If David, that most holy king, and born of pious parents, contracted pollution in his conception, then certainly the same must be true of all other men. Thus reasoned Origen, Basil the Great, Theodoret, Rufin, Cassiodorus, Euthymius and Remigius, in their scholia on this text. Likewise Hilary, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Faustus, Isychius, Gregory the Great, Alcuin, Bede, and every other orthodox commentator for seventeen centuries after Christ. They who still believe that the psalmist is here speaking of the sin of his birth, notwithstanding the learned criticisms which have recently appeared on this text, have the comfort of knowing that they are supported by the opinions of all the ancients and all the moderns whose opinions carry weight in matters of this kind.

Another text adduced by the ancient advocates of this doctrine is *Is.* xlviii. 3. "And wast called a transgressor from the womb." On which Cyrill, on *Hosea*, makes several remarks, tending to show the original depravity of man.

But let us now come to the New Testament; and here the first text which the fathers urge in proof of original sin is *John*, iii. 3. 6. "Verily, verily I say unto you, that which is

born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." From which it was argued, that whatever was carnally propagated could only savour of carnal things, which in order to become spiritual must be born of the spirit; without spiritual regeneration it was impossible to enter into the kingdom of heaven. Augustine often makes use of this text in his controversy with the Pelagians; and it is used in the same manner by Prosper, and by Gregory the Great.

But the passage of Scripture on which they depended, above all, for the support of the doctrine of original sin, was the fifth of *Romans*, from the twelfth verse to the end of the chapter. "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so death passed on all men, because that (or in whom) all have sinned."

Ver. 14. "Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression."

Ver. 18. "Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation."

Ver. 19. "For as by the disobedience of one many were made sinners."

From this passage they reasoned in the following manner: That sin which the apostle so describes as that which has brought death on all men;—that by it all men have sinned;—and by it have been constituted sinners, even those who have not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, (that is, have not committed actual sin);—and in consequence of this sin all are become subject to death and condemnation: therefore, this sin, although committed by Adam alone, as it was a personal act, yet may be considered as the sin of human nature, since he stood as the representative of us all, who were then included in his loins; and are all therefore laid under an obligation to suffer the punishment of his sin.

The fathers also were particular in noticing that Adam is here called the type of Christ, whence they inferred, that as we are justified by the imputation and not the imitation of Christ's obedience, so the disobedience of Adam becomes ours, not by imitation but by imputation. They, moreover, remarked, that the particles *in* (in whom) teach us that the posterity of Adam sinned in him: or if you prefer rendering these words, *because that*, or *inasmuch as*, all have sinned, they must contain a sufficient reason for the death of all,

infants as well as others ; and therefore the word *all* must be considered as including infants ; when it is said, therefore, all have sinned, it will follow that infants also have sinned. This method of reasoning is pursued by Augustine in many different parts of his works : and the same method of reasoning from this passage is followed by Theodoret, by Prosper, by Faustus, by Gennadius, and also by the Carthaginian and Arausicanian councils.

Another passage of Scripture which the ancient theologians considered conclusive, on the subject of original sin, was *Rom. vii.* where Paul speaks of "a law in his members warring against the law of his mind. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing. For to will is present with me, but to perform that which is good I find not." The necessity of the aids of divine grace is argued from this passage by Irenæus, Tertullian and Augustine, in more places than one. This father, indeed, gives us two distinct expositions of the apostle's meaning in the afore cited words. According to the first of these, the conflict here described is between conscience and sinful desires drawing the soul to evil ; but according to the latter, the struggle is between the sinful nature which remains in the regenerate, and the new man or principal of grace, implanted by the Holy Spirit. But in either sense it furnishes strong proof of the natural proclivity of man to evil : but especially in the latter sense, in which a remaining leaven of iniquity is found in the regenerate, continually hindering his holy exercises, it furnishes an undoubted proof of the depravity of our nature.

They also appealed to *1 Cor. xv. 22*, "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." On this text the writer of certain ancient commentaries, which have been ascribed to Ambrose, says, "Paul says this, because as Adam by sinning found death, so he subjected all his posterity to the same punishment ; so also Christ, by not sinning, overcame death, and acquired life for all those who are of his body ; that is, the resurrection." And again, "As all die in Adam, whether they be just or unjust, so also all, whether believers or unbelievers, shall be raised from the dead by Christ ; but they who believe not, to punishment."

Augustine expresses his views of the import of this passage thus, "The opinion of the apostle is here clearly exhibited, that none are subject to death but through Adam, and

that none enter into eternal life unless by Christ. For by the word *all* repeated in this verse, we are to understand in the first instance, all who are naturally descended from Adam, and in the second, all who are united to Christ by a spiritual regeneration : so then it is declared that none die except by their connexion with Adam, and none are made alive but those who are quickened in Christ." The argument is simply this, as all are vivified in Christ, in like manner all die in Adam ; but Christ vivifies those for whom he has merited the forgiveness of sin, and on whom he bestows a new life by regeneration : therefore Adam, in like manner, by his sin, has merited death for all his posterity, and transmitted to them a corrupt nature by ordinary generation.

The last text of Scripture which we will mention, as furnishing satisfactory proof to the fathers of the doctrine of original sin, is *Ephes. ii. 3*. "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." On this many ancient writers comment, and all agree in the opinion that it means, that when born we are under condemnation, from which Christ came to deliver us.

Four of the texts above cited, as teaching the doctrine of original sin, Jerome applies to the same purpose in a single paragraph of his commentary on *Ezekiel*. Of his remarks, however, we shall only cite that which relates to the famous text in the fifty-first *Psalms*. "David says, I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin did my mother bring me forth : not in the iniquity of his mother, or his own personal sin, but in the sin of human nature. Whence, the apostle says, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression."

From this remark we learn, not only what Jerome thought was the meaning of being conceived in sin, but also that he understood the apostle to mean infants, where he speaks of those who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. And we believe that in regard to both these texts he speaks the language of all antiquity.

Among the reasons by which the doctrine of original sin, as held by the ancients, was supported, the sufferings and death of infants was believed to hold the first place, because it was considered that it would be altogether unjust that they should be thus punished, unless they were charged with the guilt of some sin. Hence Augustine, in his fourth book against the two letters of Pelagius, says, "But how is it that the Pelagians

hold that death only is derived to us from Adam? According to them, we die because he died; but he died because he had sinned. They hold, therefore, that punishment passes upon us without any fault: innocent infants then are punished by an unjust sentence; suffering death without having merited this punishment." And again, in his sixth book against Julian, he says, "The sins of parents, in one respect, are not ours, but in another respect they are ours. They are not ours as it relates to the personal act, but they are ours by the contagion of our descent: which, if it were not true, a grievous yoke would be upon the children of Adam from the day of their birth, which could by no means be reconciled with justice." And in his last answer to Julian he says, "This judgment (viz. death) on infants would be altogether unjust if there were no original sin." And again, "Why are little children so grievously afflicted if they have no sin at all. Could not an omnipotent and just God prevent these unjust punishments from falling on infants."

The writer of the book entitled *Hypognosticon* argues in a similar manner. "If the sin of our first parents hurt no one but themselves, how does it happen that the punishment of their fault falls upon us? unless you maintain that God is unjust, who suffers those who are free from all sin to be held bound under the chain of punishment."

Prosper reasons in the same manner. In his book against Collator he says, "Unless you choose to affirm what is evidently false, that punishment, not sin, has been transmitted to the posterity of Adam; for it is too impious to think this of the justice of God, that it is his will to condemn those who are free from sin to the same punishment as the guilty. But wherever punishment is manifest, there is complete evidence of the existence of sin; for sin and punishment are indissolubly united; therefore human misery is not from the constitution of the Creator, but from the retribution of the Judge."

It must be confessed, however, that some among the orthodox of that age held that God, as a sovereign, might punish his creatures, and even doom them to eternal death, although they had never sinned. Of this opinion was Macarius the Egyptian. The opinion of Augustine and Prosper, however, has commonly been entertained by sound theologians in all ages. Some indeed think that the two opinions may be reconciled, by supposing that the one party speak of the pun-

ishment of loss merely; while the others speak of the punishment of sense. But this is not very satisfactory; and the opinion of Macarius, which has been received by some since the reformation, is dishonourable to God. And so it was esteemed by the council of Arausicanum; for in their second canon they declare, "That to say that God inflicts death, which is the punishment of sin, where no sin exists, is to charge him with injustice." The same opinion is given by Anselm, who says, "It is repugnant both to wisdom and justice, that they whom God hath fitted for eternal happiness should, without being chargeable with sin, be forced to suffer punishment."

The fathers also relied on this argument, "That if infants were not involved in the guilt of sin, Christ cannot be their Saviour. On this subject Augustine says, in his first book against the two letters of Pelagius, "They contend that infants are in a safe state already, so that they dare deny that they owe their salvation to the Saviour." And again, in book second, "The Pelagians assert that God is not the Purifier, Saviour, and Deliverer of men of all ages." And in his answer to Julian, ch. xxxi, "The multitude whom you despise, that acknowledge the catholic faith, confess that infants are redeemed by the Saviour; and therefore they detest the error of the Pelagians who deny this." The same sentiments are found in many other passages of the writings of this father.

But scarcely any argument was more frequently resorted to by the advocates of the doctrine of original sin, than that derived from the baptism of infants. This argument is handled by Augustine in the following manner: "The church borrows for them (infants) the feet of others that they may come, the heart of others that they may believe, the tongue of others that they may confess. For being sick, they are oppressed with the sin of another; so, when made whole, they are saved through the confession of another for them. This practice the church always had; always held. Let no one, therefore, whisper in your ears a contrary doctrine. The church received it from the faith of our ancestors, and perseveringly holds it fast, even to the end. For where there are none sick, there is no need of a physician. What need, therefore, can infants have of Christ if they are not sick. If they are well, why seek a physician to take care of them? If they are infected with no sin

when they are brought to Christ, why is it not said to those who bring them into the church, 'carry these innocents hence; they that be whole need not a physician, but the sick.' Christ came not to call the righteous, but sinners."

So also the council of Milevum, or rather of Carthage, denounced such as denied that infants should be baptized for the remission of original sin. Can. 17. "For in no other sense can that be understood which was spoken by the apostle—that by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death hath passed upon all men, in whom all have sinned—than in that adopted by the universal church, every where diffused. For by reason of this rule of faith, even infants, who were never capable of committing any sin themselves, are nevertheless baptized according to truth for the remission of sins: so that the pollution contracted by them in their birth might be cleansed by their regeneration."

But that which was thought to give peculiar force to this argument was, that Cœlestius himself, in a book which he edited at Rome, was constrained to confess "That infants are baptized for the remission of sins, according to the rule of the universal church, and according to the doctrine of the gospel." It seems, then, that from this argument the Pelagians were never able to extricate themselves; but of this more hereafter.

The view which has been given of the opinions of the universal church, on the subject of original sin, relate only to the age of the Pelagian controversy. It may still be a matter of proper and important inquiry, what opinions were commonly entertained on this point before the commencement of the fifth century? From the almost universal concurrence of theologians in Africa, Asia and Europe, in the belief of this doctrine, we may infer that it did not originate in this age. We may be sure, from this consideration, that the doctrine of original sin was not invented by Augustine, as some have pretended. Jerome was more learned, and at this time much more known than Augustine, and he held the same doctrine, and commenced writing against the heresy of Pelagius before Augustine took up his pen; and these distinguished fathers lived in parts of the church widely separated from each other; the one in Africa, the other in Palestine. But in every council, except the little one of Diospolis, the doctrine of Pelagius was condemned, and the

doctrine of original sin affirmed; and commonly without a dissenting voice. And at some of these councils there were present several hundreds of theologians; and in the council of Diospolis, which acquitted Pelagius, there was nothing determined inconsistent with the catholic doctrines; but the case was, that Pelagius, by artfully concealing his true opinions under plausible but ambiguous terms, deceived the fathers who sat in that council, as Augustine has shown. Then, if it be a fact that at the commencement of the fifth century all the theologians in the world, except a few who were soon rejected as heretics, agreed in maintaining the doctrine of original sin, how shall we account for the universal prevalence of such a doctrine, but by supposing that it was handed down from the first planting of the christian church? For if it had been an error introduced by some particular doctor, or by some section of the church, it would not have been universal in its diffusion, nor would it have united the suffrages of all the faithful ministers of the gospel, as we see it did. And again, supposing that by extraordinary efforts this doctrine, so repugnant to the natural feelings of men, could have been every where propagated by the commencement of the fifth century, would there be no trace of such an universal change of opinion, and no record of the extraordinary efforts necessary to bring it about? Among all the writers who have touched on this subject, is it not strange that not one is found who gives the least hint of any such thing? Surely a change in relation to a doctrine so radical must have occasioned controversy. All would not have adopted a new and distasteful doctrine upon its first proposal. These are things which never can be cleared up on the hypothesis that the doctrine of original sin was not the doctrine of the apostolic churches.

Here we might gather up, from the writings of almost all the fathers who preceded Augustine, testimonies incidentally given, which would serve to show that they all believed in the same doctrine of original sin, which was so strenuously defended by the whole christian church in the beginning of the fifth century: and it would be easy to pursue this course, because Augustine has travelled over the same ground before us, and has adduced testimonies on this subject from Ignatius, from the work under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and others, who, although they do

not enter into any discussion of this subject, (for it was not a matter of dispute), yet drop such expressions incidentally, when treating other subjects, as are sufficient to prove that there was from the beginning one uniform faith on this fundamental point. The reader who is desirous of further information on this subject is referred to the various treatises of Augustine on original sin. But our limits and our plan require that we should now exhibit a brief but impartial view of the real opinions of Pelagius and his followers, which shall, as far as possible, be given in their own words; which testimonies, however, are taken from the writings of Augustine and others, their own works having for the most part perished.

Pelagius, in his book *De Natura*, as quoted by Augustine, says*, "When it is declared that all have sinned in Adam, it should not be understood of any original sin contracted by their birth, but of imitation." Again†, "How can a man be considered guilty by God of that sin which he knows not to be his own? for if it is necessary, it is not his own; but if it is his own, it is voluntary; and if voluntary it can be avoided." In his exposition of the epistle to the *Romans* he says‡, "The opposers of the propagation of sin thus endeavour to impugn the doctrine. The sin of Adam has not injured those not sinning, just as the righteousness of Christ does not profit those not believing: for it is said, that in like manner, yea much more, is salvation by one, than perdition by one. And if baptism cleanses that ancient sin, then they

* "In Adamo peccasse omnes, non propter peccatum nascendi origine attractum, sed propter imitationem dictum est."

† "Quomodo Deo pro illius peccati reatu subditus esse poterit, quod suum non esse cognoverit? Suum enim non est, si necessarium est. Aut suum si est, voluntarium est. Et si voluntarium est, vitari potest."

‡ "Hi qui contra traducem peccati sunt, ita illum impugnare nituntur. Si Adæ, inquit, peccatum etiam non peccantibus nocuit, ergo et Christi justitia etiam non credentibus prodest: quia similiter, imo et magis dicit, per unum salvari, quam per unum ante perierunt. Si baptismus mundat antiquum illud delictum, qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerint, debent hoc carere peccato: non enim potuerunt ad posteros transmittere, quod ipsi minime habuerunt. Illud quoque accedit, quia si anima non est ex traduce, sed sola caro, ipsa tantum habet traducem peccati, et ipsa sola pœnam meretur; injustum esse dicentes, ut hodie nata anima non ex massa Adæ, tam antiquum peccatum portet alienum. Dicunt etiam, nulla ratione concedi ut Deus qui propria peccata remittit, imputet aliena."

who are born of two baptized persons must be free from that sin; for they could not transmit that to posterity which they no longer possessed themselves. Moreover, they say that if the soul is not by tradition, but the flesh only, then the flesh only is concerned in the propagation of sin, and it alone deserves to be punished; for they allege that it would be altogether unjust that a soul just born should be obliged to bear that ancient sin of Adam, from whom it has not derived its origin. For they allege that it can by no means be conceded that God, who pardons our own sins, should impute to us the sin of another person." Pelagius does not speak here in his own name, but as personating others, whose opinions and arguments he exhibits; for at this time he durst not openly declare his real sentiments. In like manner Cœlestius disseminated the same doctrine, as will be shown below, and also pursued the same insidious policy in propagating his opinions.

Julian, also, in his last work against Augustine, charges this father with holding, "that infants were oppressed with the guilt of no sin of their own, but only with that of another person." Again he says, "whoever is accused of a crime, the charge is made against his conduct, and not against his birth." And in the conclusion, where he recapitulates what he had written, he says, "Therefore we conclude that the triune God should be adored as most just; and it has been made to appear most irrefragably, that the sin of another never can be imputed by him to little children*." And a little afterwards, "Hence that is evident, which we defend as most reasonable, that no one is born in sin, and that God never judges men to be guilty on account of their birth†." Again, "Children, inasmuch as they are children, never can be guilty, until they have done something by their own proper will." And as the ground on which the doctrine of communicated guilt was held was a certain natural conjunction of the parties, by reason of which Paul declares that we sinned in Adam, therefore they used their utmost exertion to elude the force of this argument. Julian reasons

* "Conclusum est, nos Deum æquissimum in trinitate venerari; et irrefutabiliter apparuit, non posse ab eo peccatum alienum parvulis imputari."

† "Ex quibus necessario conficitur, nos rectissime defendere, neminem cum peccato nasci, et Deum reos non posse judicare nascentes."

thus, "If there was no such thing as one man imitating another, and the apostle had declared that all had sinned in Adam, yet this mode of speaking might be defended by Scripture use : for Christ called the devil a father, although he is incapable of generation ; so the apostle, in describing how the first man was imitated by those who came after him, might without impropriety use such language as that before cited." And again, "The apostle Paul gave no occasion to error, and said nothing improper, when he declared that the first man was a sinner, and that his example was imitated by those who followed him." "By one man sin entered into the world ; but one man was sufficient to furnish an example which all might imitate." "He speaks of one, that he might teach that the communication of sin was by imitation, not by generation." "Which sin, although it did not become a part of our nature, was, however, the pattern of all sin ; and hence, although it is not chargeable on men in consequence of their birth, is by reason of their imitation of it." Prosper, in his epistle to Demetrius, expresses the opinion thus, "The sin of Adam hurts his posterity by its example, but not by natural communication."

These opinions were rejected and firmly opposed by the orthodox. Jerome, at the close of his third book against the Pelagians, writes thus, "If it be objected that it is said there are some who have not sinned, it is to be understood that they did not actually commit the sin of which Adam was guilty by transgressing the commandment of God in Paradise, but all men are held to be guilty, either in consequence of the sin of Adam, their ancient progenitor, or by their own personal act. The infant, by the engagement of his parent in baptism, is released : and he who has arrived at years of understanding is delivered, both by another's engagement and his own, namely, by the blood of Christ. And let it not be supposed that I understand this in a heretical sense, for the blessed martyr Cyprian, in the letter which he wrote to Tibus the bishop concerning the baptism of infants, says, 'how much more ought infants not to be debarred from baptism, who being recently born have committed no sin, unless that by their carnal birth from Adam they have contracted the contagion of that ancient death in their first nativity. They ought, therefore, more readily to be admitted to receive the remission of sins, since that which is for-

given them is not their own sin, but that of another." Augustine also strenuously opposed this opinion of the Pelagians in all his writings, "For" says he, "we were all in that one man, when he, being one, corrupted us all." *De Civ. Dei.* lib. xiii. c. 14. And in lib. i. c. 10 of his *Retractions*, he says, "The opinion which I delivered, that sin injures no nature but that in which it is committed, the Pelagians apply to the support of their own doctrine, that little children cannot be hurt by the sin of another, but only by their own; not considering that, as they belong to human nature, which has contracted original sin, for human nature sinned in our first parents, it is true, therefore, that no sins hurt human nature but its own." Orosius, in his apology for free will, says, "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God, either in Adam or in their own proper persons: the universal mass, therefore, is obnoxious to punishment. And if the punishment of condemnation due to all should be inflicted, certainly it is not unjustly inflicted." In like manner, the writer of the book entitled *Hypognosticon* says, "Truly then the sin of Adam hurt him alone while he was alone, and Eve his wife: but in them we were all included, because they were the nature of the whole human race, which is one in all of us, for we partake of their nature."

What has been brought forward relates to the imputation of the first sin; let us next inquire what was the Pelagian doctrine respecting the communication of its stain or pollution. Pelagius, in his book *De Natura*, says, "First it is disputed concerning this, whether our nature is debilitated and deteriorated by sin. And here, in my opinion, the first inquiry ought to be, what is sin? Is it a substance, or is it a mere name devoid of substance; not a thing, not an existence, not a body, nor any thing else (which has a separate existence) but an act; and if this is its nature, as I believe it is, how could that which is devoid of substance debilitate or change human nature?" And in his book *Concerning Free Will*, "Every thing, good or evil, praise-worthy or censurable which we possess, did not originate with us, but is done by us; for we are born capable both of good and evil, but not in possession of these qualities; for in our birth we are equally destitute of virtue and vice; and previously to moral agency, there is nothing in man but that which God created in him."

Cœlestius held precisely the same doctrine. Augustine

testifies that he held and taught "That the sin of Adam hurt himself alone, and that infants are born in that state in which Adam was before he sinned." Julian maintained the same doctrine, which he repeatedly expresses and pertinaciously defends: "Human nature," says he, "in the time of our being born, is rich in the gift of innocence." Again, "Even if the devil should create men, they would be free from all evil in their origin; and so now they cannot be born in sin, because no one can help being born, nor can it be just to demand from any one, what is to him altogether impossible." The same says, "There is no sin in the condition of our nature." And, "Nobody is born with sin; but our free will is so entirely unimpaired, that before the exercise of our own proper will, nature in every one is free from every taint." Hence Prosper, in his *Chronicon* for the year 414, has this remark, "About this time Pelagius the Briton published his doctrine, that the sin of Adam injured himself alone, and did not affect his posterity; and that all infants are born as free from sin as Adam was before his transgression." It cannot be a matter of surprise that the Pelagians held that Adam's posterity inherited from him a corrupt nature, when they did not believe that his own nature was deteriorated by sinning. Julian, therefore, says, "A man's natural state is not changed by sinning, but he becomes guilty and the subject of demerit; for it is of the very essence of free will that the man should have it in his power as much to cease from sinning as to deviate from the path of rectitude."

In opposition to these opinions, the doctors of the catholic church held, that all the posterity of Adam were now destitute of original righteousness, with which he was endowed, and hence proceeds an inordinate exercise of all the powers of the mind, which is called the fuel of sin, the law in the members, concupiscence, &c.

Augustine is full and explicit on this subject. Lib. xxi. c. 3, *De Civitate Dei*, he says, "On account of the greatness of the crime, the nature of man was changed in its punishment; so that what was inflicted as a punishment on our sinning first parents, comes naturally on others born of them." Again, lib. xiv. c. 12, "Human nature was changed by the sin of the first pair; so that a silent corruption pervades it, such as we see and feel, and by reason of which we are subjected to death, and to so many and great evils, and are disturbed and agitated with so many contrary and

conflicting passions, such as had no existence in paradise before man sinned, although he was there invested with an animal body." Also, "How else shall we account for that horrible depth of ignorance, from which all error originates, by which all the sons of Adam are involved in a certain dark gulf, from which they cannot be delivered without labour, sorrow and fear." Speaking again of the many kinds of vices to which men are subject, he adds, "All these sins of wicked men proceed from the same root of error and perverse love with which every child of Adam is born."

Prosper also expresses himself strongly on this subject. "By the wound of original sin the nature of all men is corrupted and mortified in Adam, whence the disease of all manner of concupiscence hath sprung up." The same writer says, in another place, "Whence is it, that if what Adam lost his posterity did not lose; he himself is not alone the sufferer by his sin, and not his posterity? but the truth is all have sinned in one, and every branch from this corrupt root is justly condemned. What Adam lost, then, by the fall, all have likewise lost."

The writer concerning the Vocation of the Gentiles, lib. i. c. 6, has these words, "Human nature was vitiated by the transgression of the first man; so that even in the reception of blessings, and in the midst of helps and divine precepts, there is a continual proclivity of the will to evil; in which, as often as we confide, we are deceived." Again, "All men were created in the first man without fault; and we all have lost the integrity of our nature by his transgression." "Adam was by nature free from sin, but by the disobedience of his will he contracted many evils, and transmitted them to be multiplied more and more by his posterity."

Vincentius Lyra asks, "Who, before Cœlestius, that monstrous disciple of Pelagius, ever denied that the whole human race was held guilty of Adam's sin?"

Peter, the deacon, in his book concerning the Incarnation, says, "Therefore, seduced by the cunning of the serpent, of his own accord he became a transgressor of the divine law; and so, agreeably to the threatening, he was in the just judgment of God condemned to the punishment of death; that is, both body and mind were changed for the worse, and having lost liberty, he was enslaved under the servitude of sin; hence it is that no man is born who is not

bound by the bond of this sin, with the exception of Him who was born by a new mode of generation, that he might loose the bond of sin; even the Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus."

It was also a doctrine of the Pelagians, that temporal death was by the necessity of nature, and did not fall on the human race in consequence of the sin of our first parents. They alleged that Adam would have died, although he had never sinned. Very far then were they from acknowledging that we had incurred eternal death by the sin of Adam. Augustine relates, that it was one of the charges against Pelagius, in Palestine, that he held the doctrine of Cœlestius, "that neither by the death nor transgression of Adam do the whole human race die, nor do the whole human race rise from the dead in virtue of Christ's resurrection." "Death," said he, "passed to the posterity of Adam by imitation of his sin, not by generation." Augustine, in his last answer to Julian, addresses him thus, "You will not agree that by reason of original sin death passes on the human race, for then you would be forced to acknowledge that sin had been propagated through all our race. For you cannot but perceive how unjust it would be to inflict punishment where there is no guilt."

Orosius, against Pelagius, has these words, "Your followers, who have sucked the poison abundantly from your breast, assert, that man was made mortal, and that he incurred no loss from the transgression of the precept." And the writer of the *Hypognosticon* says, speaking of the Pelagians, "They tell us, that whether Adam had sinned or not, he would have died."

On the other hand, the orthodox maintained "That death, temporal and eternal, together with all pains and diseases connected with the death of the body, flow from the first sin; and that unless Adam had sinned he never would have died."

Augustine fully expresses the opinion of the church catholic in his book *De Peccat. Mer. et Remiss.* "Although, as to his body, he was of the earth, and partook of an animal nature, yet if he had not sinned, his body would have been changed into a spiritual body, and into that incorruptibility which is promised to the saints at the resurrection." Again, "If Adam had not sinned he never would have been divested of his body, but would have been clothed with immortality and incorruption; so that mortality would have

been swallowed up of life; that is, there would have been a transition from animal to spiritual life." "According to my judgment, he had a resource in the fruits of the trees of the garden against the decays of nature, and in the tree of life against old age." "So great a sin was committed by the first two of our race, that human nature underwent a change for the worse: also the obligation of their sin and the necessity of dying have been transmitted to posterity. And the reign of death over men will prevail until due punishment shall precipitate into the second death which has no end, all except those whom the unmerited grace of God shall bring into a state of salvation."

From this last question arose another. Why are infants baptized; and if they should depart without baptism, in what state do they deserve to be placed? Pelagius, lest he should be obliged to confess that they were under the bond of original sin, and by their birth exposed to eternal death, denied that they received baptism for the remission of the guilt of the first sin, or that they might be translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of God. Thus Augustine declares "That the Pelagians will not believe that original sin is removed by baptism, for they contend that no such thing exists in those just born." Hence many inferred that they did not believe that infants were redeemed by Christ; and some affirmed that they denied the propriety of the baptism of infants altogether. But Pelagius, in the book which he addressed to Innocent, bishop of Rome, clears himself from imputations of this kind. "Who was ever so impious," says he, "as to wish to interdict infants from a share in the common redemption of the human race?" And the council of Carthage acknowledges that Coelestius admitted the redemption of infants. Augustine also, in his 89th epistle, addressed to Hilary, among other things says, "He was forced to confess, on account of the baptism of infants, that redemption was necessary for them also. Where, although he was unwilling to speak explicitly concerning original sin, yet by the very naming of redemption he involved himself in difficulty; for from what should they be redeemed but from the power of the devil, under which they could not be unless they were under the guilt of original sin? Or with what price are they redeemed, unless with the blood of Christ, concerning which it is most manifestly declared, that it was shed for the remission of sins?" But Pelagius put

- another meaning on the word redemption, concerning which Augustine speaks in another place. Hilary expresses their opinion thus, "That an infant dying unbaptized cannot justly perish, since it is born without sin." And Augustine describes it in these words, "Nor do little children need the grace of the Saviour by which, through baptism, they may be delivered from perdition, because they have contracted no guilt from their connexion with Adam." The Pelagians, however inconsistent it may appear, not only retained the baptism of infants, but also the very form which had been long in use, according to which it was said to be for the remission of sins. On which subject Augustine remarks, "Of what advantage is it that you make use of the same words in the baptism of infants as adults, when you take away the thing signified in this sacrament?" And the author of the *Hypognosticon* addresses them with severity respecting the same thing: "Who is not shocked at the mere naming of your practice, in which you make the faithful word of God in part true, and in part a lie; that is, true as it relates to adults, for you admit that they are indeed baptized for the remission of sins; but false as it relates to infants, who are not, according to you, baptized for the remission of sins, although you use in their baptism this very form of words." To these things the Pelagians had nothing to reply, except that although infants were free from sin, they were the subjects of the same sacrament which, when applied to adults, was for the remission of sins. But when urged to state why they were at all baptized, they offered two reasons; the one was, that by baptism they were adopted into the number of sons; the other, that by it they received the promise of the kingdom of heaven. This made it necessary for Pelagius to feign some intermediate place between heaven and hell, to which unbaptized infants might be sent after death. But he was cautious about what he said on this point. We learn from Augustine that he was wont to say, "Whither infants do not go I know, but whither they do go, I know not." This same father, therefore, in writing against Julian, adverts to this opinion in the following words: "You make two places of everlasting happiness; the one within, and the other without the kingdom of God." From what has been said, it is evident what were the opinions of the Pelagians respecting the future state of infants, and the reasons of their baptism. The opinions of the orthodox on these points were far

different, for although they disputed among themselves what kind of punishment was due to infants, on account of original sin, whether of loss or of sense, yet there was an almost universal consent among them, that in consequence of original sin, we are children of wrath, and obnoxious to eternal punishment; and, moreover, that baptism was for the remission of sins; and that by baptism infants were regenerated, and thus made partakers of life and eternal felicity.

Augustine often brings up this subject, and may be considered as speaking the sentiments of the whole church in his time. "I do not affirm" says he "that infants dying without baptism will be in a worse condition than if they had never been born, for our Lord uses this expression respecting sinners of the most abandoned character: for from what he says about Sodom, and does not restrict to the wicked inhabitants of that city, that it will be more tolerable for them than some others in the day of judgment, the inference is clear that there will be a difference in the future punishment of men; who then can doubt but that unbaptized infants, who are chargeable with the guilt of original sin only, which has not been aggravated by any actual transgressions of their own, will fall under the lightest punishment of all? But what will be the nature or the degree of their punishment, although we cannot define, yet I should not dare say, that it would have been better for them never to have been born, than to exist in the state which will be allotted to them." Again, "It may be truly said, that unbaptized infants, leaving the body without baptism, will suffer the very mildest punishment; yet he who says that they will fall under no degree of condemnation, both deceives others and is deceived himself; for the apostle has said that the condemnation is of one sin; and that by one offence condemnation hath come upon all men." "We say that little children should be baptized; and of this no one doubts, for even they who differ from us in other points, all concur in this; we maintain, however, that this is that they may be saved, and may inherit eternal life, which they cannot possess unless they are baptized in Christ; but they say, it is not for salvation, not for eternal life, but for the kingdom of God."

Jerome also, in book iii. against the Pelagians, says "This one thing I say, and will then conclude: either you should have another creed, which after the words Father, Son, and

Holy Spirit, should contain a clause, that ye shall baptize infants for the kingdom of heaven; or if you use the same baptism for infants and adults, you should confess that the former as well as the latter are baptized for the remission of sins."

Paullinus, in his book addressed to Zosimus, after the condemnation of Pelagius and Cœlestius, says, "They strive against the apostolical doctrine of original sin, which hath passed on all men, for our race will possess that inheritance received from Adam, even unto the end of the world, and which is only by the sacrament of baptism removed from infants; who cannot inherit eternal life nor obtain the kingdom of God by any other means." A multitude of testimonies might be adduced of the same import, but it is unnecessary. The reader will perceive from those above cited, what is exceedingly evident to every one in the least conversant with ecclesiastical history, that the fathers of this period seem universally to have fallen into the mistake of confounding baptism with regeneration. From an erroneous interpretation of *John*, iii. 5, they concluded that there was no salvation without external baptism; and the next step was that the internal grace of regeneration uniformly accompanied the external rite; and this notion had taken such full possession of their minds, that they commonly gave the name *regeneration* to baptism. We have not kept back the evidence of this fact, whatever may be its operation; for we now have to act the part of faithful historians, and to exhibit fairly to the view of our readers the opinions of the ancient church on an important point of doctrine, which may be considered as lying at the foundation of the Christian system.

The cardinal point of the Pelagian system was the denial of original sin; this was their *πρωτον ψωδος*, their radical error, from which all the rest naturally germinated. The controversy did, however, include many other distinct points of no small interest, concerning which our limits do not permit us to say any thing at present. Probably, in some future number we shall resume the subject, and exhibit a view of other controversies which have arisen in the church respecting original sin. It is attended with many advantages to bring into view ancient heresies; for often what modern innovators consider a new discovery, and wish to pass off as a scheme suited to remove all difficulties, is found upon ex-

amination to be nothing else than some ancient heresy clothed in a new dress. That the doctrine of original sin is involved in many difficulties, which no mortal has the wisdom to explain, we are ready to admit: but the question with us is,—is it taught in the Bible? And if any one choose to move a previous question, it will be,—can that book be divinely inspired which contains such a doctrine? And here, if we could get clear of the thing by rejecting the Scriptures, something would be gained; but the evidence of original sin is deeply recorded in the acknowledged depravity of our race, and in the dispensations of God towards us. To account for the facts which experience teaches beyond all possibility of contradiction, we need the testimony which the Bible contains, which if we reject we may escape one set of difficulties, but shall assuredly plunge into others more formidable and unmanageable, although they may be more out of sight.

It is our opinion, therefore, after looking on all sides, and contemplating the bearing and consequences of all theories on this subject, that no one is on the whole so consistent with facts, with the Scriptures, and with itself, as the old doctrine of the ancient church, which traces all the sins and evils in the world to the *IMPUTATION* of the first sin of Adam; and that no other theory of original sin is capable of standing the test of an impartial scrutiny.

THE MEANS OF REPENTANCE.

The hearers of the gospel are often disposed to ask, when the obligation to immediate repentance is urged upon them, *how are we to repent?* a question which we ought not to be unprepared to meet. The prophet Hosea, chap. v. 4, has, we think, clearly shown the true answer to that question. He there teaches that the way of repenting or turning to God, is *to frame one's doings to that end*: an expression of which an explanation seems needless. Universally, when men would accomplish any thing requiring the use of means, they frame their doings, or direct and order their conduct to

the proposed end; and the same, the prophet takes it for granted as a matter understood and unquestionable, is the way to repent or turn to God.

In order, however, to present this subject in a just and proper light, it is necessary, first, to show, notwithstanding the prophet's clear assumption of the point, that there is a way of repenting as well as of doing other things; secondly, to declare that way, or how a man's doings must be framed in order to repent; and, thirdly, to vindicate our doctrine against objections.

I. There is a way to repent. Repenting is a thing to be done in the use of means and endeavours, and not otherwise.

Repenting, or turning to God, is a state of mind which a man cannot bring himself into by one mere volition. He cannot repent simply by resolving or saying within himself, *I will repent*. That resolution may fix his mind on repenting, and be the beginning of a series of mental acts and exercises which will result in his repentance; but his repentance is not its immediate sequent, any more than a man's becoming pleased or pensive, or affected in any way, is the immediate result of a volition to become so affected. If a man determine that he will be in any frame of mind whatsoever, he does not find himself in that frame as soon as he forms the determination; he finds himself using the means—the necessary volitions and exertions, in order to get himself into it: he finds his thoughts and affections employed about those things which have a tendency to produce the desired frame: in this way, and not otherwise, he fulfils his purpose. If a man would revive in his heart a lively affection for an absent friend, the affection does not instantly glow in his breast as the immediate effect of his volition; it may exist there very quickly, but not until he has given some thoughts to the absent person's image and excellencies. Thus is it in respect to repentance: it cannot be experienced by the mind in any other way than by the mind's action and exercise towards those things which have a tendency to produce repentance. These are the things the mind must address itself unto and employ itself about, in fulfilling the obligation to repent and turn to God. If a man, when commanded to repent, would obey that command, these are the things he undertakes in order to obey it; for in the nature and necessity of the case, it cannot be obeyed in any other way.—We are sometimes much in earnest when we are urging

men to immediate repentance, to obtain from them a promise to do what we press upon them; but if they give us a promise, it amounts only to this, that they will employ their minds about those awful and holy objects of which repentance in the soul is the impress and counterpart. And, perhaps, if instead of exacting a promise we would give our whole labour to the business of making these objects stand out before them in their grand importance and excellence, we should be more likely to gain our point.

Perhaps these observations may be regarded by some in the light of mere assertions: to us, however, they are full of evidence; and we cannot but think they must appear so to all who will give them due consideration. It strikes us as a thing hardly needing more than correct statement to produce conviction, that the mind, to be justly affected by things without itself, must have those things present to its thoughts and contemplations; and we have only been inculcating this principle in respect to the matter of repenting or turning to God. All we have said is, that in order to repent, the things that work repentance in the mind must be thought of and considered;—that this is truly the way to repent—and can any one doubt it? If testimony from scripture be demanded, many other passages besides that of our prophet are explicit. David shows us that there is a way to repent, and to some extent what that way is, when he says “I thought on my ways and turned my feet unto thy testimonies.” And Ezekiel, in chap. xviii. 28, “Because he considereth and turneth away from his wickedness, he shall save his soul alive.”

II. There is then a way to repent, and that way has been vaguely brought into view. But here more precision and care are necessary, and therefore have we proposed it as a distinct topic, to show what a man must do in order to repent.

We have said he must employ his mind about those things which have a tendency to induce its repentance. Let this condensed view of the course to be pursued be justly expanded, and the way to repent will be fully understood.

What then are those things which have a tendency to bring a man to repentance, or without which his repentance is an impossibility? Here it is obvious that men, being in different circumstances, and having shades of difference in character, are not all under a necessity to pass through the

same process of acts and exercises in order to their reformation and recovery to God. A heathen man cannot come to repentance without a knowledge of the true God and of the vanity and wickedness of idolatry. He must, therefore, use the means of acquiring that knowledge, as those who are endeavouring to win his soul must use the means of imparting it to him. An infidel cannot repent while he remains an infidel, nor a heretic while he remains a heretic; the one must renounce his unbelief, and the other his error; and must do whatever is necessary to such renunciation; and much honest and serious research into the evidences of the truth may be necessary, if, as doubtless has been the case with some, they are sincerely convinced, and deeply rooted in their false and fatal opinions. An immoral man cannot repent while he continues to be unchaste or dishonest, or intemperate or profane; the mind is incapable of exercising repentance while it remains the slave of such flagitious propensities and habits. A man addicted to any vicious practice whatsoever must forsake that evil way, or continue an impenitent and perishing sinner.—But the abjuration of gross delusions and sins, though indispensable, is not sufficient. This must be done, and something else also, or the soul will never come to the turning point of its salvation. Repenting, or actually turning to God, supposes in the soul a lively and commanding perception of God's supreme excellency; but the soul cannot acquire such a perception without apprehending and considering the proofs and manifestations of the divine nature in creation, providence and scripture; that is, without deeply searching after God, in his works and his word, where alone he is to be found.—Again, repentance supposes the renunciation of the world as the chief good; since it is impossible that both the world and God should be embraced as the chief good at the same time; but how can the world be renounced without a deep conviction of its vanity, and how can that conviction be obtained but by reflecting on its character, and comparing it with the soul's everlasting need? The action of the mind in thus reflecting and comparing may be too quick to be discerned, but of its necessity as a means of repentance there cannot be a question.—Repentance also implies sorrow for sin, its essence being love for him against whom all sin is committed, and whose glory and government it aims to destroy; but to be grieved for sin, its turpitude must be seen, and how can it

be seen but by exercising the mind on those things wherein the evil of sin appears.—Repentance in persons indoctrinated in the gospel supposes, moreover, cordial acquiescence in the principles of the oracles of God, the truths of the gospel, the christian rule of life, the terms of saving mercy, and all the revealed prescriptions and enactments of the divine administration; and without employing the mind about these things, how is it possible intelligently and truly to acquiesce in them?

III. But this subject will be further explained when, as proposed, thirdly, we shall have answered some objections.

It may be objected that we give license to sin by allowing that any thing may be done before repentance. What—if nothing is allowed to be done which is not in order to repentance, and without which repentance would be an impossibility? Can that be evil which has a direct tendency to good? Can that be unlawful without which duty cannot be done? Can that be contrary to the commandment which is absolutely necessary in order to the fulfilling of the commandment? Nay, the commandment itself includes and requires it. Universally and necessarily, when a command to do something is given, the things indispensable to the doing of the main thing are as much required as the main thing itself. When a master commands a servant to perform an errand, he commands him to use whatever means may be necessary to its performance. When an instructor commands a pupil to learn a lesson, he requires at the same time all the pre-requisite conning and seclusion. This is so evident that no argument could make it more certain. It is equally evident that when God commands repentance, he commands also whatever may be indispensable to repentance. So that when a sinner considers his ways, and turns away from them, and meditates on the evil of sin, as a transgression against God, and calls to mind all the infinite claims of God to his supreme love, and does all this, in order to, and as included in true repentance, he is not rebelling against the commandment, but falling in with its scope and intention.

Our doctrine may appear to some persons as tending to self-righteousness, by setting men to strive in the exercise of their own strength; whereas the gospel cuts off all hope at once from this quarter, and binds men to come instantly to Christ. But what is it for a sinner to come immediately

to Christ? Let those answer who make this objection to our doctrine. Is there not some movement of mind, some mental act or operation necessary in order to his coming? We insist upon nothing to be done before his coming, but as in order, and absolutely indispensable to it. We do not plead for any thing in itself sinful, as we have shown: we would not set the sinner on a course of self-righteous doings; but by all the motives of eternity, we would dissuade him against such a course; and urge him in the opposite direction, by binding him to the performance of those things, and only those, which have a direct tendency to bring him to repentance. There is a distinction between self-righteous doings, and those which our doctrine defends, as broad as the difference between the way to hell and the way to heaven. When sinners are directed to do things admitted to be, in their very nature, sinful, they are directed to pursue a course directly unfavourable to their repentance. When admitting their excuse for continued disobedience, they are told to wait God's time for converting them, in the use of formal or legal prayers, &c. they are set forward on the road to entire infatuation and destruction. But when they are urged to arouse themselves to the immense concerns of their souls, and employ their minds and hearts about the great objective causes of repentance and salvation, they are not urged to any thing sinful, but to things which, though not holy in themselves, are, as the means of holiness, of indispensable importance.

It may be deemed an objection to our doctrine that it admits of some delay in the infinite concern of repentance, whereby the soul is left exposed, and may perish. But how does our doctrine admit of any, even the least, delay? If a servant is commanded to do a thing, and he instantly betakes himself to the use of the means by which only it can be done, is he delaying, or does the command which requires of him the immediate use of these means, encourage, or even tolerate delay? Our doctrine recognises the obligation, and inculcates the duty, of *immediate* repentance. No repentance can be conceived more immediate than that which it enforces. It requires a man to repent as quickly as in the nature of the case it can be done. A man cannot set himself to the business of repenting without employing his mind about the things which have a tendency to beget repentance. A doctrine which urges him to an

instant occupation of his mind about these things, urges him to the speediest way of repenting. If repentance were a thing to be done without any such occupation of the mind, the objection would be valid; but not, surely, since the fact is otherwise. Besides, the appearance of delay in the objector's view probably arises from some misconception of the nature of the preliminary process. It is not a process of *selfish* exercises, prescribed on the supposition of insuperable difficulty, as a means of procuring divine grace to remove that difficulty. It is not a sinful waiting for the spirit, in formal or selfish praying, reading, &c. To plead for the necessity of such a process were indeed to be opposed to immediate repentance; but as we have said and shown, such is not the nature of the acts and exercises of the mind which are preliminary and indispensable to repentance. They are acts not sinful; and though in the order of nature *previous* to repentance, they are not necessarily previous by any distinguishable distance of time. Repentance ought to ensue upon them instantaneously. As soon as the sinner thinks upon his ways, he ought to forsake them. Thought, previously, is admissible merely because they cannot be forsaken without it. As soon as he turns his mind upon the evidences of the evil of sin and the goodness of God, he ought to be ashamed and humbled and broken-hearted. Not *after* but *as soon as*: not one second should follow: motive should prevail; moral influence should sway the heart, as if it were almighty physical power: to resist it one instant, to resist at all, is wilfully to thrust away the end, after coming to it in the use of the means. Our doctrine demands only that the impenitent sinner do not hope to repent without properly and reasonably exercising his mind to that end; that he rouse himself up, and look about him, and behold the innumerable evils that encompass him, and the countless motives that require his immediate return to God; and then *at once* comply with the force of those motives. To wait with his mind open to evidence and reason is the madness of rebellion, and may be punished by a sudden stroke of the divine anger.

It may, finally, be thought an objection to the view that has now been given of this subject, that it makes the business of repenting too much like any other work or doing of the mind; and leaves no place for that special agency of the Holy Spirit which alone can change the heart. We do in-

deed represent the human mind as acting freely, reasonably, and according to its own proper laws, even in this high matter; and maintain that no affection ever takes place in the heart more naturally and regularly than repentance, though *the immediate effect of the Holy Spirit's agency*. We would have the mind exercise itself in a way which tends to make it penitent; which of itself ought to, and if not resisted invariably would make it penitent: this we acknowledge—and who finds fault with it? Who would pursue any other course? Should we seek to give a direction to the mind's exercises which *would not be favourable* to its repenting? Should we set it upon selfish exertions and strivings, a course which would lead it into stupidity or self-righteous confidence? Or should we set it upon no exertions whatever, but simply repeat the demand for repentance; refusing to give ignorant and unthinking sinners any further explanation or direction, as if they *could* repent without engaging their minds about the things that objectively cause repentance; as if one simple volition, or saying in thought *now we will repent*, were repenting indeed. No reflecting person can hold to this way of dealing with sinners.—It does not follow that the influence of the Holy Spirit is made unnecessary, because the mind is set upon a course of exercises, which, of themselves, have a tendency to repentance. Things may have a strong tendency to what, after all, owing to some hindrance or interference, may not be attained. Deep and intense consideration of sin and holiness, God and eternity, mightily tends to the mind's actually turning to God; but there may be, as there *is*, in the mind, a principle of adherence to the world, which no motive of itself is sufficient to overcome; so that if the Holy Spirit do not lend the might of his invisible hand, the preliminary exercises, however favourable, will terminate ill. Is it asked, then, why set the mind upon these preliminary exercises rather than the way of selfish waiting, since both are alike unavailable? I answer, 1. Both are not alike sinless. 2. The latter has a tendency directly unfavourable, the former a tendency directly favourable to the mind's repentance. 3. It is more likely that the Holy Spirit will co-operate with what is not sinful and is favourable to his good work, than with what is both sinful and utterly unfavourable to it. The fact that the sinner is dependent on the Holy Spirit, and so dependent that he never will repent but in the day of the

Holy Spirit's power, that fact, therefore, is compatible with our doctrine; and need not, nay, ought not, to be concealed from the sinner. The knowledge of it will but encourage his exertions. It will encourage them more than all other considerations besides. Let it enter into the sinner's mind, while he is pondering the vast affairs of his soul, that the Almighty arm must be stretched out in his behalf, before his sinful heart will ever give up the world for God; and that the probability of his having the help of that arm is greater or less, according as his mind is more or less engaged in the exercises necessary to his repentance; and he is put under the force of the mightiest of all reasons for diligence in those exercises. And thus it is, that the doctrine of the sinner's dependence on the Spirit, rightly used, instead of leading to apathy, as it has been made to do by unskilful management, is, in the light of motive or moral influence, one of the most powerful of all the things of revealed truth.

These remarks, we think, expose two errors on the subject of the means to be used by sinners in order to their repentance and salvation.

Some maintain that the means of repentance and regeneration are selfish praying, reading and waiting on ordinances; but the inconsistency of this way with the end to be attained cannot escape remark. Sinning certainly is not the way to repenting. No excuse for sin, in any circumstances, is admitted by God, or ought to be admitted by us, as his ambassadors. If men are saved in a course of sinning, *whatever that course be*, they are saved *against* their own endeavours, and in spite of themselves.

Some allow sinners to use no means whatever. They call upon them to repent, and then cease. As to the manner of repenting they have no explanation to give; they know of no manner: they insist upon repentance, and warn against all exercises of mind and body, but those of repentance itself, or that flow from repentance. The reason of their doing so is, that they suppose all such exercises to be necessarily sinful; and it cannot be right to encourage sin in any case or in any way. Nor can sinning be the way to repent, or doing evil the way to do good. But it is not true that man is capable of no exercises before repentance which are not essentially and necessarily sinful. He is capable, and is in fact, the subject of instinctive and unavoidable exercises and operations, which, in themselves, are

neither sinful nor holy. All such are those which, *in the nature and necessity of the case, are in order and have a tendency to holiness.* These exercises and actions are not holy, for they are in order to holiness. Neither are they sinful, for what is sinful cannot have a *tendency* to holiness. They are *necessary, indispensable*, and that is their vindication. They are the true means of repentance. To say that there are no means of repentance; that nothing can be done before, and in order to repentance, which is not sin; is to condemn not the sinner's doings only, but, to a certain extent, those also of the minister of the gospel. He ought not to call sinners together to hear the word, for they cannot come together but in sin. He ought not to require doubting men to examine the evidences of christianity, for that is requiring them to sin. He ought not to urge consideration on his hearers, for that too is rebellion. He cannot proceed a step in his work, as a messenger of God to sinful men, without making himself, on this supposition, the minister of sin. But he is not so in fact. The things which men must do in order to meet and hear him, and accept the overtures of the divine mercy, are not sinful, because they are absolutely indispensable. Men *must* do these things or remain and die in sin.—Nor are ministers only inculpated. God himself calls on perishing men to hearken to the gracious voice which, through the sacred ministry, speaketh to them from heaven, and to frame their doings to turn unto Him; and does He necessitate men to sin as preliminary to their repentance?

PROFESSOR STUART'S POSTSCRIPT TO HIS LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY.

An edition of Professor Stuart's Letter to the Editors of this Journal, published in our last number, has recently been published, to which is attached a Postscript of sixteen pages.

We deem it necessary to make a few remarks, in order to remove from Professor Stuart's own mind, and from the minds

of our readers, an impression which we think injurious. At the commencement of the Postscript, a complaint is made in the following terms, viz :

"The above letter was written, and forwarded to the Editors of the Biblical Repertory for publication before the close of last September. After waiting a considerable time beyond the period when the Repertory was expected to make its appearance, it was at length received, and the foregoing letter was found to be accompanied by thirty-seven pages of 'Remarks' upon it, purporting to be made by the Editors."

"That the Editors of any work have a right to control the manner of its appearance, and to select the matter which it shall contain, is in the abstract a very plain principle, and one which I should be among the last to question. But after inviting discussion on a point of deep interest to the religious public, and having given in very strong terms their own views respecting it, that they should refuse to publish a reply which held up to view a different side of the question, and in such a way as to let it take its course in the same manner as the original review had done, the friends of the American Education Society could hardly have expected."

With regard to the delay in the publication of the strictures here complained of, we would say that the work was hurried through the press with all possible expedition. The time of publication, for more than a year past, has not been the first, but from the middle to the close of the month on which the number is due. Professor Stuart's article was received, we think, about the 28th of September, and the number was out a little more than three weeks after that time. There was no delay occasioned by preparing the reply; it was ready before the printing of the other article was finished. We were kept waiting for one of the previous articles, which was the real and only reason why the number appeared a day later than usual. If the number did not reach Andover about the first of November, any delay beyond that time is to be attributed to the fact, that the great mail passing through this place is often so heavy that pamphlets cannot be forwarded immediately.

As to inviting a discussion of the merits of the American Education Society in the Repertory, we would say that an invitation was not otherwise given, than that the Editors, at the request of a gentleman connected with that society, consented to publish a reply to the review in the July number.

To the complaint that we did not permit the letter of Professor Stuart to take its course and have its full effect,

unobstructed by any remarks in reply, we answer, that we thought we were doing as much as could reasonably be expected of the conductors of any work, in giving up more than forty pages to an article which tended to present the conductors themselves in a most unfavourable light before their readers, which contained severe censures on the course they had taken, and heavy charges of misrepresentation and unfairness. We felt bound, in duty to ourselves and to the cause, not to permit these representations to go forth with an implied assent on our part to their correctness.

The spirit of the article which Professor Stuart received, was, as he readily admits, as mild as could be expected. We had, therefore, reason to hope that the objections to the American Education Society would be met and answered in a corresponding manner. The strictures, however, charged us with ignorance, misrepresentation, exciting sectarian jealousies, filling the mouths of infidels with arguments, &c. They were written in such a manner, that it became as necessary to resist the spirit, as to controvert the reasonings. We feel ourselves called upon to make this remark, because Professor Stuart gives, as one of his reasons for declining a continuance of the discussion, the severity of the reply to his first communication. If we have transcended the limits of a proper resistance to the spirit manifested in the strictures, we are willing to make every becoming acknowledgment: but as far as we have yet learned, the impression made by the two articles, is generally in favour of the comparative mildness of the reply.

As to the fact that the remarks of the Editors were published in the same number with the strictures, we observe, that the character of the strictures constrained us to take this course, which we considered as perfectly consistent with established usage in such cases. In the third number of the *Christian Spectator*, we find a letter, addressed to the Editor of that work, criticising the spirit of the articles on the subject in discussion between Dr Taylor and Mr Harvey, and followed by remarks intended and adapted to meet the objections of the writer of the letter.

Before leaving this unpleasant part of the subject, we wish to make a single remark on an additional reason assigned by Professor Stuart for declining to continue the discussion, viz:

"That he has given his name to the public, and thus stands directly and avowedly responsible for all that he says: but the reviewer and

the writer who comes forward in the name of the Editors, have declined doing this, and consequently have shunned to meet the discussion on equal terms of responsibility."

We doubt not Professor Stuart had satisfactory reasons for giving his name to the public, and while we readily admit, that to do so is "evidence of his sincerity and of his full persuasion that his cause can be honestly supported," we can see other reasons than "caution" why the name of the writer on the other side was not publicly avowed. The articles in the *Repertory*, as in other periodical works, are anonymous, and as Professor Stuart's letter was originally signed "A Friend to the A. E. Society," we were not authorized to know the writer until two-thirds of the reply was written, and part of it in the printer's hands; and it could not reasonably be expected that we should then change the whole form of expression and address. And, indeed, if the name had been originally given in the communication, it could not materially have changed the purport of our remarks. Whatever be our respect for the character of that gentleman, and it is truly great, we could, in such a discussion, have known him only as he appeared in the letter before us. We may also add, it was our wish that the important subject discussed, might be impartially examined and decided, according to its real merits, by the christian public, unswayed by the influence and authority of names*.

We duly appreciate the fourth reason for not pursuing the subject, expressed in these terms, viz :

"That, having been long in the habit of the most brotherly and confidential intercourse with some of the gentlemen whom I suppose to be among the Editors of the *Biblical Repertory*, and cherishing towards them the most unfeigned respect, confidence and fraternal affection, it would be a sacrifice, to which nothing but the most imperious duty would force me, to trespass on their affection and confidence by dispute."

The Editors to whom reference is here made most sincerely and cordially reciprocate these kind sentiments, and beg leave to assure Professor Stuart, that no one concerned in conducting this *Journal* cherishes towards him any other

* If, however, it would be any gratification to the friends of the American Education Society to know who is personally responsible for the articles in question, we are authorized to name the Rev. Dr Carsthan, President of the College of New Jersey.—*Ed. Bib. Rep.*

sentiments than those of high respect, with a sincere desire that his valuable labours, in the high department in which Divine Providence has placed him, may be long continued.

In the reply, contained in the Postscript, to our arguments on the merits of the question, it gives us unfeigned pleasure to find nothing in the manner or spirit to which we object, although we do not assent to the conclusiveness of the reasoning.

For reasons assigned, the writer does not undertake to reply to all our remarks in the last number; and as we wish to be as brief as possible, we shall in this respect follow his example, touching only those points which appear to us material.

In pages 34 and 35, the writer of the Postscript endeavours to show the insufficiency of our objections to the minuteness of the details in the quarterly returns, and gives several reasons with a view to prove that our objections have no weight. We shall not follow the writer in all his remarks on this subject. It appears to us that the whole matter depends on this single point, the necessity of these minute reports, in order to prevent the abuse of sacred funds. We supposed it was not necessary, on the principles of the American Education Society, and we ventured to suggest a method of avoiding the pain which the beneficiaries feel in the operation of this system. And we are assured that our expedient will not answer. Now, we say, if it is necessary, and admits of no remedy, the objection which we thought not very important, when first proposed, becomes truly formidable. The organization of the society is such as requires a measure to be rigorously enforced which wounds the feelings of young men. This necessity results from making all the young men who need aid, in the most distant parts of our vast territory, dependent on one man or one body of men: if the society were organized in a different way, equal security might be attained against the misapplication of the funds, and those evils of which we complain avoided.

In page 35 of the Postscript, it seems to be intimated that a compliance with these quarterly returns is a test of piety, and that to refuse such compliance is a proof of the want of piety.

"If" says the writer "piety has led the nine hundred young men in question to submit to the accountability required by the American Education Society, then what has led others to refuse such sub-

mission? Some other principle, it would seem, which must be different from piety. But is it a better one? Either the nine hundred young men must be wanting as to a praise-worthy degree of delicacy and ingenuousness, or the others are wanting in piety."

We will not agree to take either horn of this dilemma. We think it is easy to account for this difference of conduct, without asserting that one class wants delicacy, or the other piety. We have elsewhere assigned the reason why the nine hundred submitted without any impeachment of their delicacy: and we now say, other young men, equally pious, may not submit, because they think the requisition unnecessary and unreasonable.

In the argument before us, it seems to be assumed as certain that the reluctance which men generally feel to make known their wants and dependence on the aid of others, is in all cases sinful and inconsistent with piety. In the sentence already quoted, the writer says in substance, "the principle which induces some young men to refuse submission to the disclosures required by the American Education Society, must be something different from piety:" and in the following sentence he says:

"I would ask whether the pride, independence and unwillingness to feel obligation which are natural to the human heart, are to be palliated, I might even say justified and encouraged, by being saluted as ingenuousness and delicacy and noble-mindedness?" Page 35.

Now, if the sensation of pain which usually accompanies the disclosure of our wants be in all cases sinful, then the entire want of any such feelings must be the perfection of virtue. If the existence of the feeling described be pride, then the want of it is humility. And the man who is not ashamed to beg, who is totally indifferent on what terms he receives his subsistence, is more to be commended than the one whom nothing less than imperious necessity can induce to disclose his wants. We have supposed that to avoid unnecessarily wounding the feelings of those who are in need, was one object in giving that divine injunction, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." There are persons, and those not the most destitute of piety, who may be more pained by the manner of giving them assistance than if they were left without aid. We hope it is not the object of the American Education Society to break down all feelings of this kind. A system which our fathers resisted unto blood, enjoined voluntary austerities, probably with a view to destroy that pride and independence

which are natural to the human heart. Superiors inculcated submission on those who were in training for holy orders, and novices submitted without a murmur to the course prescribed. The consequence was, that a race of mendicants sprang up, who were not troubled with those natural feelings which it is deemed criminal to palliate and foster.

There is a numerous class of feelings natural to man (for they are in every man) which we do not know that the religion of the gospel is intended to extinguish; such as the love of parents, of children, of life, and we will add, of independence on the will of man. All these feelings, we are aware, are very liable through excess to become criminal; and there are cases when a sense of duty must induce a good man to sacrifice all these feelings. But then the will of God must be clearly ascertained. To crush these feelings by a course of discipline, to make a man regardless of parents, of children, of character, of life, is not, in our opinion, the way to cherish that supreme devotedness to God which the gospel requires. In defence of loans, the writer of the Postscript has said much respecting the energy and strength of character which that part of the system is calculated to cherish. But here, in this minute and repeated development of private concerns to the officers of a great society, more is lost as respects energy and strength of character than can be gained by the other measure, even if all the hopes of the society were realized.

We shall now notice the reasonings in the Postscript on the subject of loans. And as our objections to the loaning system are stated in an explicit manner in two previous articles on this subject, it is not necessary to enter into a full discussion of this point. We shall merely examine, in as brief a manner as possible, the fairness and conclusiveness of the arguments in the Postscript against the principles we have avowed on the subject. Our first remark is, that the writer has used the word *salary* or *salaries* in such a manner as to make an erroneous impression on the minds of his readers.

"The doctrine, says he, is avowed and advocated, that the churches are as much obligated to pay salaries to those who are preparing for the ministry, as to pay salaries to their pastors." Page 36.

And the same term is repeated again and again in the sequel, and that it may not escape the eye, the word is print-

ed in italics and capitals. It is well known that many persons have a strong repugnance to the idea of salary, both in church and state, especially in the former. The very mention of the name *salary* is sufficient to chill their blood. They consider it as synonymous with *sinecure*, and look upon it as a tax paid by the industrious poor to support the rich in idleness. And it seems to us that the use of this word assists very much to give plausibility to the writer's conclusions. Neither in the Review nor in the Remarks have we used the word so conspicuously displayed in the Postscript, in reference to the young men educated by the church for her service. In the *Biblical Repertory*, p. 612, the principle we maintain is expressed thus:

"Whenever any man devotes his whole time and talents to the service of any community, at their request, it is obligatory on that community to provide for his support."

Between the proposition thus expressed and that put into our mouths by the writer, there is this obvious difference: The one conveys the idea of nothing more than a bare subsistence; the other may mean, and usually does mean, according to established usage, an annual income, varying from that which is necessary to support an individual to what is adequate to maintain a family in splendour and luxury.

We think, then, that the intelligent, as well as the vulgar reader, is liable, from the representation given in the Postscript, to misconceive the real principle we advocate. Substitute the word *support* for *salary*, as applied to young men preparing for the ministry, wherever it occurs in the argument, and the force of the writer's reasoning will appear very different from what it now does.

In the next place, we object to the conclusiveness of the argument. The general principle we have laid down may be true, and we believe is true, and yet the absurdities to which the writer thinks he has driven us may not follow. The general proposition is, "that whenever any man devotes his whole time and talents to the service of any community, at their request, it is obligatory on that community to provide for his support." Let the reader notice the qualifying terms "at their request." The absurdities which are deduced from this general principle are, first, that

"The sons of the rich who are preparing for the ministry are as much entitled to the support of the church as the sons of the poor."

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And secondly,

"That all our youth, from childhood up to mature age, in a course of preparation for the service of the public, in whatever capacity, ought to be maintained at the public expense during the whole term of their preparation."

In order to arrive at these conclusions, the writer has to violate one of the fundamental principles of sound reasoning. He argues from what is true in particular circumstances, that the same thing must be true in other circumstances, and in all circumstances. That since a community is bound to support a man when he engages in their service "at their request," they are also bound to support him when he commences without their request.

In physics we know that a general principle may be so modified or counteracted by circumstances as not to produce the same effect as if it were permitted to operate unobstructed. In morals, also, our duties are greatly modified and varied by circumstances, so that what ought to be done independent of circumstances, often ceases to be obligatory when certain circumstances exist. Thus it is a natural principle of justice that all men are entitled to liberty; but the criminal who has violated the laws of his country cannot plead that this general principle should operate so as to throw open his prison doors. In like manner we think the broad principle expressed in our former remarks is strictly true; yet circumstances may and do exist, which render the application of this principle to individuals, in particular circumstances, inexpedient and improper. It is improper to support the sons of the rich on the funds of the church; because their parents are able to pay the expense of their education; and every young man of a right spirit would wish to give evidence of the purity of his motives in seeking the ministry of the gospel, by deducting the expense of his education from the patrimony he expects to receive. It is also impracticable, because the church is not able to educate all who are needed for her service, and the poor have a superior claim, on the ground that they have no other means of subsistence. When, therefore, the church *requests* a young man who has no means of subsistence to commence a course of preparation for her service, we say she is bound to provide means for his support while thus employed; for on no other condition can he engage in her service. Yet when

the church educates indigent and pious young men, we maintain, in virtue of our principle, that she should not consider the aid she gives as *charity*, but as the *support* which she, as their moral parent, is bound to give. And if this view of the subject were taken, we flatter ourselves that those painful and odious epithets "*charity scholars*" would not so often be heard. We cannot agree with the writer, on the other side, that this view of the subject is calculated to cherish feelings of pride and self-importance, and to annihilate those of gratitude and obligation. The individual, it is true, need no longer consider himself as an idle beggar; but he ought not to cease regarding himself as a son, whose industrious and liberal parent has furnished him with the means of an education, and who expects no other remuneration than that he will employ his talents and acquirements and property (if any he should have) for the benefit of the common family and of the world. Motives to gratitude towards God are certainly not diminished. That he has received his support during his education not in the ordinary way, through the hands of parents moved by the impulse of natural feeling, but through the hands of strangers, governed by a sense of duty, seems to us a consideration as well adapted as any other to inspire the heart with gratitude towards God. But, it is said, these motives in some cases are not felt, and that we have mournful instances of young men thus educated becoming vain and self-important, and even extravagant. Let it be admitted that it is so; it only proves that the most sacred and solemn moral obligations cannot bind some men; and if this page should meet the eye of one such, we would say, Ungrateful man, remember this word, *to whom much is given, of him shall much be required*. But is the possibility of such an occurrence prevented by the system of loans? Suppose a young man, when the time arrives, is able to pay his bonds, and does so; may he not then think his own hands have done this, and become vain of his talents and uncommon worth? Or if an individual be employed in missionary or other service, where he receives a scanty subsistence, and the bonds are cancelled, or the payment not demanded, may not he, amidst poverty and privation, be induced by the favourable decision of the directors to think that his services and merits are very great, and spiritual pride reach his heart through the chinks of his wretched cabin?

The truth is, no means which man can devise, no bonds

which he can impose, no severities which he can enjoin, can inspire that spirit which should actuate a minister of Jesus Christ. You may embarrass and perplex, and even crush him, but you cannot compel him by bonds and fetters to love his Master's work, and joyfully to spend his strength and life in His service.

The answer we have given to the writer's first inference from our doctrine applies with greater force to the second, when he says,

"It must be admitted, on the same grounds of reasoning, that all our youth, from childhood up to mature age, is a *course of preparation for the service of the public*, in whatever capacity, ought to be maintained at *public expense* during the whole term of their preparation."

In addition to what we have already said, bearing on the same point, we answer, that a wise government will adopt the course which the writer here points out, whenever it becomes necessary. If the emoluments of professional and public men be not now sufficient to induce parents, who have the means, to educate their sons for these stations, then the government ought to give larger salaries, or to afford such facilities in acquiring a suitable education, even if the youth should be supported at "*public expense*," as would bring into its service men competently qualified. This principle, which the writer of the Postscript thinks is attended with such alarming consequences, is acted upon by our general and state governments, though not to the extent which we could wish. Not to mention for the third time the provision made for supplying our army and navy with competent officers, we say, that almost every state in the Union, except that in which we have the honour to live, has endowed academies and colleges, furnished them in whole, or in part, with buildings and libraries and apparatus. And why is this done? Obviously to facilitate education and to diminish the expense to individuals. Young men, the sons of the rich as well as of the poor, are now educated in all our colleges of any respectability at an expense less than cost. Calculate the interest of the capital sunk in buildings, in libraries, in apparatus, in salaries to professors, and you will find that it is far greater than the amount paid for instruction and accommodations, exclusive of board, which is usually furnished at cost. Now, whatever is paid for the education of a young man less than it actually costs, is so much given indirectly

to that young man; for it saves so much of the patrimony which he is to receive.

According to the reasoning which we controvert, this difference ought to be refunded by those who are educated; or these institutions ought never to have been endowed by public or private liberality. If the argument we oppose be conclusive, then New Jersey has always had the wisest legislature in the Union. Whenever application has been made to aid either of the two colleges located in the state, our legislators were easily persuaded that if they gave any thing to these institutions it would diminish the expense of an education, and would be so much given those educated, and be virtually a salary. These applications have uniformly been rejected after a brief speech from one of the members to this effect—"Do you not see the consequence of giving money to a college? It will enable them to pay their professors, and then they can live and receive as much as they now do, and charge less, or perhaps nothing, for the instruction of rich men's sons. If they will make their sons gentlemen, let them pay the full amount. You might as well give those young chaps a *salary* at once. It is in fact a *salary*, not quite sufficient to pay their expenses, but it goes a good way towards it, and saves so much in their father's pockets. Go on in this way and even our common farmers will be tempted to educate their sons, and we shall have nobody left to raise bread. Yes, hold out the prospect of *salary* from early life, and see what the consequence would be in one year. Why there would be more statesmen, magistrates, lawyers, physicians, (and may I not add) preachers too, *in the bud*, than there would be citizens to support them. The state would soon sink under its own burdens." It will be seen at once that there is strong resemblance in this speech to a passage at the top of the thirty-seventh page of the Postscript; and the reasoning from the premises is about as conclusive in the one case as in the other.

In page 37 of the Postscript we are a second time presented with the resolution of the Assembly's Board of Education, as confirming the system of loans adopted by the American Education Society, and contradicting the principles advocated in this Journal.

In our remarks in the last number we passed over in silence the resolution of the Assembly's board referred to, because we had not pledged ourselves to defend every thing

that board had done, and are now doing, and may hereafter do, in executing their responsible duties. Our object was to present our own views, and to let others adopt or reject our principles, as they might deem them correct or otherwise. As we are called on a second time to answer this objection to our principles, we shall give the resolution of the Assembly's board, and then state our own views; so that it may appear in what respect we differ, if indeed there is a difference of opinion on this subject. The resolution is as follows, viz :

"That no written obligation shall be required of any beneficiary to refund the monies which may be granted him by this board, because we act upon the principle, that the church, as a moral parent, ought to provide for the education of such of her sons as may be indigent, and at the same time may probably become her faithful servants in the ministry of reconciliation; but we nevertheless desire every beneficiary to remember, that his duty to the church and to his younger brethren, who seek the same holy office, and to his Saviour, requires that so soon as he is able he should refund the benefaction conferred on him with interest. Every beneficiary shall be furnished with an attested copy of this resolution."

In our remarks, page 615 *Biblical Repertory*, in answer to the question, whether we consider young men educated by the church under no obligation to return the money expended on their preparation for the ministry? we say,

"That every such man, and every other man who enters the ministry, is bound to do all he can for the cause of Christ. If the education cause be the loudest and most imperious in its calls, let him devote his resources and his efforts in that direction. If there be most need, in the time and place where his lot is cast, to advance the cause of missions, let this command his money and his time."

In accordance with this declaration, we add, that if the resolution of the Assembly's board regards their beneficiary as under an obligation to refund to them the money expended in his education, in preference to every other claim of religion and humanity; if he is bound in duty to give to the cause of education the first money he can save from supporting himself and family, although other objects much more urgent and important may present themselves; if he is not at liberty to exercise his own judgment in deciding what he shall do with the money in his possession, then we say we are opposed to the resolution, and are ready to give our reasons for our dissent. If the board consider their benefaction precisely like a debt contracted in the ordinary

transactions of life, then the beneficiary has no discretion; he must pay his debt before he is at liberty to give to any benevolent object. Thus, if a man has borrowed a sum of money, and promised to return it as soon as he is able, he has no right as an honest man to give to any benevolent object until that debt is paid. The money in his possession is not his own, and he has no right to be charitable with another man's property.

If the board consider what they have advanced as a debt, in the common acceptation of the term, they may involve their beneficiaries in numerous perplexities, and greatly diminish their usefulness. For example, the cause of education may not be so urgent as that of missions. Those prepared for labour may not be able to go forth into promising fields for want of means, and more money may be on hand for education than is needed. (This is a possible case). Yet in these circumstances, the beneficiary cannot give to missions; he must pay his debt. Calls to relieve the distressed and afflicted may be made on him, but he can give nothing. He must say *Corban*: all I have is devoted to the treasury of the Lord for the education of indigent pious youth for the gospel ministry. How can a man in these circumstances be useful as a pastor? Can he encourage his people by his example to acts of benevolence and christian effort? These difficulties, and others of a similar kind, press on the beneficiaries of the American Education Society with full force. The money expended in their education was borrowed. It is a loan; a debt both in a moral and legal sense. The beneficiary has promised, and bound himself by legal bonds, to pay at a fixed period a certain sum of money to a legal corporation, for a specific object; and when money not needed for the necessities of life comes into his hand, he can with a good conscience no more withhold or divert it to any other object than if he had bought a horse and given his promissory note to make payment at a certain time.

The directors, it is true, have a discretionary power to cancel a part or the whole of the debt, and the writer of the letter seems to think it will greatly relieve the feelings and conscience of the individual, that the directors assume the responsibility of standing between him and his God, and of deciding whether he ought to pay or not.—*Bib. Rep.* p. 590.

For our part, we should be unwilling to transfer to any man, or any body of men, the right of judging what is or what is

not our duty; we can acknowledge no earthly power as competent to give a dispensation respecting matters which our own conscience ought to decide. In cases of doubt respecting our duty, we might indeed ask the advice of prudent and pious men, and their counsel might assist, but not control us in forming a decision. This provision, which is calculated to throw the responsibility of deciding what he ought to do from the individual on others, we think has an injurious tendency. It teaches us to regard the opinion of men, and not the law of God, as the rule of duty.

Having made these limitations, we are now prepared to say, that if it be the design of the resolution of the Assembly's board, to press upon the mind and conscience of those they educate, their obligation to devote themselves and all they have to the service of the Lord, in whatever way they can best promote his cause in the world, we have no objections to it, nor is it inconsistent with the doctrine we have avowed. When a young man deliberately and sincerely forms a determination to devote himself and all that he has to the service of the Lord, we see nothing in the act which is ensnaring to the conscience or contrary to the word of God. Jacob made a vow of this kind when he was in very trying and destitute circumstances, but he did not say to what particular department of the Lord's service he would devote the tenth of his possessions. Indeed, unless he was instructed by a spirit of prophecy, he could not know in what part of divine service his property might be needed at the distant day contemplated. An indefinite resolution to devote himself to the Lord, would not bind a beneficiary of the Assembly's board to refund the money-expended in his education, if that board some twenty or thirty years hence (which is possible) should become corrupt and patronise the most pernicious heresies.

We have, moreover, no objection to the resolution of the Assembly's board, if the design be to impress on the heart of those assisted that they are under peculiar obligations to aid the education cause; that it is their duty to use economy, to exercise self-denial, to make every exertion consistent with the great work to which they have devoted their life, to obtain the means of aiding their younger brethren who are seeking the same holy office, provided this call be more urgent than any other.

We should be willing that the Assembly's board, or any

other education society, should enjoin it on their beneficiaries to remember through life the difficulties under which they laboured during their preparatory studies, and (having received seasonable assistance) to render, when practicable, similar assistance to others.

This is the kind of obligation under which we conceive the church is authorized to place the sons she has educated for her service; their obligation to aid in educating their young brethren is not in its nature different from that under which every other christian is to contribute to this object. When money is needed for the education of indigent and pious youth for the ministry of the gospel, it is the duty of every christian, according as the Lord has prospered him, to contribute to this object. And ministers of the gospel, in whatever way they may have obtained their education, are not exempt from this duty. But if you go on the principle of debt and credit in this manner, then those ministers who were educated at their own or their parent's expense might say that they had long ago paid their proportion, and owed nothing to this cause.

We do indeed believe that those who are educated in whole or in part by the church, are more likely to feel their obligation to aid in educating others. They know from experience the embarrassments and trials of a poor young man struggling to prepare himself for the gospel ministry: and he must be destitute indeed of common human sympathy, who does not feel for others in the same circumstances in which he once was. We may say it is the duty of every man to pity and relieve the stranger in distress; but we cannot make the same appeal to every one that was made to the Israelite: "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

From these remarks every reader may judge for himself how far our views differ from the resolution of the Assembly's board. And if they do differ, we have not charged ourselves with the task of reconciling them. We are happy, however, to notice that the Assembly's board recognises the principle that "the church as a moral parent ought to provide for the education of such of her sons as are indigent, and at the same time will probably become her faithful servants in the ministry of reconciliation." And after this declaration we cannot suppose that they consider their "benefaction" pre-

cisely as a debt or loan, which must in justice be repaid in kind as soon as the beneficiary is able; leaving him no right to judge whether the claims of education are more imperious than any other and every other.

But between the resolution of the Board of Education and the principles of the American Education Society, there is this remarkable difference. The board do not hold their beneficiaries as bondsmen perfectly dependent on their pleasure, liable to have their secular concerns inspected and examined, so that it may be known whether or not they are able to pay their debt. If a corporation will not leave it to a man's conscience to say when he is able to pay the money he has borrowed; if they must have a legal bond, and assume the right of judging of his worldly circumstances, they certainly ought to examine how he lives; whether he is economical; and whether he has not more than is necessary for his immediate support. All creditors have this power, and we cannot see how those who charge themselves with the responsibility of judging when their debtor ought to pay, can perform their duties unless they exercise this power. If they cannot trust to the conscience of a minister of the gospel to pay his debt when he is able, they ought not to trust to his word when he says he is unable: they ought to examine for themselves. We are perfectly sure that the present directors of the American Education Society will never think of adopting measures so odious. Yet when we are looking at the extent of their power, every thing that they may lawfully do, and every thing necessary to the faithful execution of their trust, may fairly be brought into view.

We are reminded, page 38, of our misapprehension in stating the principal reasons which led the directors to adopt the system of *loans* instead of a system of entire *charity*. It is possible we may have been in an error on this point. And since we are assured it is an error, we admit the correction, and have only to say that it was unintentional. Still we are at a loss to see how loans can have a happy effect on the character of those patronised. Look at the operation of the loaning system during the period of preparatory studies. If the beneficiary be constitutionally imprudent, regardless (as some good men are) of remote consequences in pecuniary concerns, the fact that the money in his possession is borrowed, and that he is bound to pay it at some future day, will have no effect in restraining him from extravagance.

The smallness of the sum advanced is the only means of limiting his expenditures. We see that this is the fact with men in all kinds of business. Are not merchants and mechanics who transact business on borrowed capital generally more extravagant than any other class of men in the same line of business? If they have money in their hands, they seem not to think how it came there, or that it will one day be called for. The ruin brought on thousands of families by the accommodations afforded by banks, is a proof that *loans* will not teach all men economy. There is another class of persons : prudent, calculating, afraid of incurring responsibilities in money matters ; these do not need to be restrained in their expenditures by the weight of a loan resting upon them. Indeed it often damps their spirits, and paralyzes their faculties, when they look at the heavy load which is daily accumulating. This may be called pride, but when we see young men, as we have seen them, give up their studies, engage in teaching school, or return to a laborious occupation, in order to earn something to enable them to avoid placing themselves under bonds to the American Education Society, we could not call the feeling which led them to adopt this course by so hard a name. We repeat it, we have seen this course preferred when every assurance was given that the directors of the American Education Society would not oppress or injure them. We must say, candidly, that instances of this kind first led us to doubt of the propriety of the system adopted by this society, and to examine more minutely than we had previously done, the tendency and bearings of the whole plan. That it promotes the strength and energy of a young man's character to bring him to submit entirely to the direction of other men, to bind himself so that he must be subservient to their wishes, however wise and good they may be esteemed, we must still be permitted to doubt.

Enough, we think, has already been said in our former remarks, to show that bonds resting on a man after he enters the ministry, can have no very happy tendency.

We cannot think, as seems to be suggested in the last part of the extract from the eleventh annual report, that giving money in the way of loans is the most effectual method of preventing men of ambitious or worldly minds from entering the church ; and in this way endangering her purity and safety. There are men of grovelling minds, mean enough

to submit to any thing, in order to accomplish their object. We should think that the door was not opened very wide, and that no very strong temptations of this kind were held out, when Judas entered. Caution, watchfulness, and the pressing continually and solemnly on the consciences of men wishing to enter the holy ministry their responsibility to God, is, in our opinion, a much greater security for the purity and safety of the church than loans secured by bonds.

Near the bottom of page 39 the writer commences his answer to the objections which we have made to the American Education Society, on account of its organization, and the power which, in consequence of its permanent funds and system of loans, this mode of organization is calculated to throw into the hands of a few. His first remark is, that much which we have said under this head depends for its effect upon our objections to the loaning system. And "that if these fail of being supported, the remarks growing merely out of them can have no weight."

It is true, the power of the society is very intimately connected with the system of loans. In one respect, also, we admit, these loans are less formidable than they were three months ago, in consequence of the resolution of the board of directors, that the monies returned should be pledged to the branch societies from which they were originally derived.

This was indeed a most alarming feature of the system, but our other objections to the loaning system, and they are not a few, remain unremoved. We have stated them elsewhere, and we shall not now repeat them.

But without intending to excite sectarian jealousies, or intimating any want of confidence in the integrity and benevolent intentions of those who have the management of this concern, we must be permitted to remark that the bonds of ministers aided by the American Education Society are in the hands of the parent board; that they can demand and compel payment when they think proper. Now, is it safe, is it proper, that the temporal interests of any one church should be in the hands of those who have no connexion with that church, or who, at least, are not responsible to her tribunals? We put this question, not from any want of confidence in the board of directors. Our opinion of them is not changed since we published the first article on this subject. Let it be considered coolly and answered candidly: would the gentlemen concerned like to be themselves dependent, or to

have their brethren of the same theological opinions and ecclesiastical connexion dependent, as to their worldly interests, on a board of episcopalians or baptists, or reformed Dutch or presbyterians? It can hardly be denied that a board of intelligent, liberal and pious men might be selected from any one of these denominations. Why should we be charged with exciting sectarian jealousies, if we lay before those of our own communion objections to a union with the American Education Society? Why are our congregations invited and urged to form such a connexion? Why be grieved and offended if any one say that these bonds may one day become a snare, and at the same time explicitly declare that he believes those who now have the management have no such intention? But the money returned is now pledged to the branches from which it was originally derived, and this "removes even the semblance of an objection." But is there not another way by which the parent society, consistently with the constitution and rules, may have the distribution of this money returned? The branch may draw for it, and it goes into their contingent fund, and consequently increases the sum for current expenses, and renders it probable that there will be a surplus at the end of the year. This surplus goes to the parent board at least once a year. The branch may ask for aid when needed, and the parent board may determine whether it is convenient to grant it. See Art. 13 of the constitution. In page 40 several facts are stated with a view to show that there is no danger of "the accumulation of power in the hands of a few in consequence of monies refunded, and the income of permanent scholarships." The first fact is, "that all moneys refunded form part of the contingent, and not of the permanent fund: and they are therefore expended as fast as received. Of course there can be no accumulation from this source, any more than from any other contingent fund." From this declaration we understand that it is and has been the practice of the board to place into the contingent fund moneys refunded, yet we have no document in our possession which shows that this is a fundamental and permanent rule.

It will be recollected that we have not undertaken to show that the board had abused their power; but merely that, consistently with the constitution and rules, the board, as the organ of the society, had immense power, and that they might increase their permanent funds to an indefinite extent

by adding to them the money returned, and that received from other sources; and so become independent and carry on their operations in defiance of the whole christian community. And unless we greatly err, the second article of the constitution gives the directors this power. It is as follows, viz.

"A permanent fund shall be formed of bequests, legacies, donations and grants thus appropriated by the donors, and of any other property of the society, as the directors may think best calculated to promote the object in view."

Here we see no limitation to the accumulation of permanent funds. And if the directors have not thought fit to exercise the power given them, what is there to prevent them or their successors from doing so at some future period?

In the same connexion the writer states the comparative smallness of the present permanent funds of the American Education Society. We have no information on this subject, except that given in the pamphlet before us. We have made some efforts to find the treasurer's last report, and also that of the directors, but have hitherto been unsuccessful.

In the comparison instituted between the amount of money belonging to scholarships in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and the money in the hands of the American Education Society for the same object, we think an error has been committed. It is taken as certain, that all the money pledged to the seminary has been actually paid, and is productive, which is not the fact; while only the money *received* by the treasurer of the American Education Society is estimated. If, in both cases, the calculation were made in the same way, the result of the comparison would be very different. The funds of the seminary would appear less, and those of the American Education Society greater than they now do. In May 1828, besides permanent funds, sixty-eight permanent and about an hundred temporary scholarships were reported as held by the society. It is supposed that some additional subscriptions have been obtained since that time. But these matters are unimportant. It is from the provision made in the constitution for increasing the permanent funds and scholarships to any extent, together with the fact that the bonds of all the ministers in the United States educated by that society and its branches are in the hands of the directors, and may be put in suit whenever they please, that we apprehend danger.

In the course of this discussion the comparative safety of funds in the hands of the General Assembly, and in those of the American Education Society, has been brought into view. This point is discussed in pages 42, 43 and 44, of the Post-script : and the writer, by an analysis of the constitution of the Presbyterian church, endeavours to show that the congregations, composed of all who hold pews and contribute to the maintainance of divine service in any way, i. e. the world, do virtually elect the General Assembly. We must be permitted to say, that in arriving at this conclusion, the writer left entirely out of view one very remarkable feature in the constitution of the Presbyterian church in the United States. It is this : every presbytery judges of the qualifications of its own members ; and what is the result ? If a congregation choose a pastor, who, in the opinion of the presbytery, is heretical, or otherwise unfit for his office, the presbytery refuses to ordain or install him : and if the congregation persist in its choice, they must become independent, and consequently have no influence in the judicatories of the Presbyterian church, and cannot be members of the Assembly. And farther, if a presbytery become corrupt, it is amenable to its synod, and to the General Assembly, and may be cast off as easily as single members. These provisions are not a dead letter. They take effect every year to a less or greater extent. It generally, indeed, happens, that when a presbytery refuses to receive a pastor elect, the congregation, confiding in the more enlightened judgment of the presbytery or synod, desists and chooses another pastor ; but if not, they cease to have any connexion with the presbytery. This, also, is a provision which no civil legislature can touch, until they are prepared to say that we shall not worship God in our own way. It has no connexion with secular interests, as was the case in Massachusetts, when the legislature took from the church her ancient right of choosing a pastor, or of having a veto on the vote of the congregation.

We do not contend that the General Assembly or its Board of Education is incorruptible ; like every thing managed by human hands, the admirable organization of that body may be destroyed. Still we think that funds, according to human probability, are much safer in the hands of a body thus organized, than with a corporation where eleven corrupt men may, consistently with its constitution, get the management of the whole concern.

But it is not necessary that the Board of Education should have large permanent funds, and if our views be followed, this will never be the case. Such an arrangement may be made, that individuals and congregations and presbyteries will engage to contribute a certain sum annually, or found temporary scholarships, while the board will be a centre of union and action, and the agent in distributing these contributions to those places where they are needed.

Having already been more tedious than we anticipated, we omit noticing several subordinate parts of the Postscript, believing that the reader, if satisfied with our answer to the principal arguments, will find no difficulty with any thing that we have passed over.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from expressing a hope that a large portion of our readers, whatever they may think of the force of our objection to the principles and organization of the American Education Society, will not condemn the course which we have taken in bringing this subject before the christian public. It is one of vast and lasting importance. It concerns the best interests of the present age and of posterity. If there be any reason to apprehend the dangers we have pointed out, the sooner measures are taken to avert them the better. The interests of the great society of which we have spoken may soon become so involved with the concerns of every branch of the church, that it may be impossible to separate the one from the other. If these dangers did not, in our opinion, threaten that part of the christian community with which we are connected, we should have been silent. But this being the fact, we felt ourselves called on to let our voice, however feeble, be heard. It was indeed with no feigned reluctance that we published a syllable on this subject. To differ from brethren whom we respect and love, whom we believe to be honest in their great exertions and labours to do good, brethren with whom we agree in all essential views of evangelical truth, and with whom we are happy to co-operate, and do co-operate, in other efforts to evangelize the world, is no light matter. We commenced not without feeling the painfulness of the task, and the same conviction of duty which induced us to begin, has led us to reply to the strictures on our principles.

We consider ourselves as acting in self-defence, and not carrying the warfare into a foreign territory. The system we oppose was making rapid progress in various parts of the

Presbyterian church ; and we considered it not only our right, but also our duty, to point out the dangers which appeared to our mind, so that if evils did follow, we might not hereafter accuse ourselves of a criminal silence.

The friends of the American Education Society cannot be more fully persuaded than we are of the importance and necessity of the general object. Yet we cannot reconcile it to our views of duty to use any means and all means to attain even the most desirable end. We should rather proceed by safer, though apparently slower steps.

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Notices of New Publications.

The Evidences of Christianity, stated in a popular and practical manner, in a Course of Lectures on the Authenticity, Credibility, Divine Authority and Inspiration of the New Testament. Delivered in the Parish Church of St Mary, Islington. By Daniel Wilson, A.M. Vicar. Published by Crocker & Brewster, 47 Washington Street, Boston. J. Leavitt, 182 Broadway, New York. 1829. Pp. 348, 8vo.

The author of these lectures is one of the most popular and evangelical preachers, belonging to the establishment, in the vicinity of London. Some years ago Mr Wilson's field of labour was in the central parts of the city of London; but he now has charge of one of the largest parishes in the suburbs: perhaps no other in the kingdom contains a greater number of souls. We are informed, in the author's preface, that at a late visitation of the bishop of London, above seven hundred young persons were presented in this parish for confirmation; and that these lectures were prepared for the instruction of those young persons, with relation to that transaction. We had heard much of the want of room for the worshippers in some of the populous parishes in and about London, and in other parts of the kingdom; but nothing that we have seen has given us so impressive a conviction of the real state of the case, as the simple fact, related by the author, that the church in which he ordinarily officiates is not sufficient to accommodate more than one twelfth part of the people in the parish; and that the whole number of souls within its limits is not less than thirty thousand. We are pleased to learn, however, that several new churches are now building for the accommodation of the people.

In these lectures, thirteen in number, the author does not profess to bring forward any new arguments in defence of divine revelation: this, indeed, would be next to impossible, after the subject has been discussed in almost every variety of form by men of the acutest intellect and most profound learning. It is natural to inquire, then, why multiply books on a subject which is already exhausted? To which it may be replied, that, in many cases, the arguments of a man known and esteemed will be read in a particular district, when other writings would not be so likely to be perused, or if perused, would not have the same weight as those coming from the pen of one in whom the people have confidence. This is a sufficient reason why any judicious man, capable of preparing discourses fit for publication, should consent to write for the benefit of those over whose minds he has acquired an influence; and this consideration will have double weight, if, as in the present case, the discourses have been heard with approbation and profit by a large number of people. Besides, every man who is possessed of an inquisitive and independent mind has a method of treating subjects, however familiar they may be, peculiar to himself; and almost every able writer on the evidences of christianity exhibits some part of the argument in a stronger light than any one who preceded him: and as writers have their peculiar style of thinking and reasoning, so there are classes of readers which will be suited by each writer. It often happens that an argument handled in one method produces no conviction, while the same, exhibited in another form and dress, gives full satisfaction. But the impartial reader of the lectures now under consideration will need no apology for their publication. If we mistake not, the mere perusal will convince all unprejudiced men, that the excellent author has performed a service to the cause of religion by the publication of this volume, which demands the gratitude of all the lovers of genuine christianity. It is our deliberate opinion, that the historical evidence of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament is here presented in a manner better adapted to convey instruction, and produce conviction in the minds of young persons, and other sensible people not liberally educated, than any thing which we have ever read. The great excellence of the style of Mr Wilson is, that it is every where transparent; and the points of light

are kept so distinct, that they can be easily contemplated by any attentive mind without confusion.

The first lecture is merely introductory, in which the duty of being able to give a reason for the hope which is in us, with meekness and fear, is stated; the importance of the subject is insisted on; and the propriety of commencing the investigation of the subject with prayer, is shown to be reasonable and proper even in a deist.

In the second lecture, the temper of mind in which the subject should be studied is clearly exhibited. The necessity of a meek and docile disposition is urged; also, the importance of seriousness and prayer, accompanied with a disposition to obey the will of God. The entire want of such a temper in unbelievers of every class, the literary, scientific, uninformed; the negligent, the law and profane, is evinced equally by all. How vain it is to expect to persuade those of the truth whose understandings are under the governing influence of earthly passions, is strongly set forth. This lecture closes with an address to unbelievers, to the young, and to believers.

The third lecture shows the necessity of a divine revelation, from the state of man in all ages. There is nothing remarkable here but the luminous perspicuity for which this writer is so much distinguished.

The fourth lecture treats of the authenticity of the New Testament; or rather paves the way for the consideration of the subject, by stating facts and establishing principles respecting the authenticity of books in general; and shows that the burden of proof in such cases lies upon them who call in question the authenticity of a book. But in regard to the christian scriptures, every circumstance which could lead to the least suspicion of forgery is absent. God has made ample provision for proving the authenticity of the books which contain his own word.

The fifth lecture contains an exhibition of the direct testimony in favour of the authenticity of the books of the New Testament; and is, in our opinion, the most important part of the work. We have been so well satisfied with the author's method of treating this fundamental point in the evidence, that if we had room, we should be tempted to transfer a large portion of this lecture to our pages; but it occurs to us that there is an American edition of the work, which

can now be had in any of our cities; and every one who feels an interest in the subject ought to read the whole volume.

The sixth lecture treats of the credibility of the gospel history, which is also an able discourse.

The seventh treats of miracles; their true nature, the certainty of the facts, the character of the witnesses, &c.

The eighth and ninth lectures exhibit the evidence of prophecy.

The tenth, the argument derived from the rapid and extensive propagation of the gospel.

The eleventh, the beneficial effects of christianity.

The twelfth treats of the inspiration of the scriptures.

The thirteenth continues the same subject, and concludes with a review of the whole argument.

On the subject of inspiration, upon which so many writers on the evidences of christianity have stumbled, Mr Wilson maintains a sound and wholesome doctrine; teaching that the sacred writers, in all cases, possessed such a degree of inspiration as was necessary to render them infallible in what they wrote. Less would have been insufficient to render the scriptures a safe foundation for our faith, in all that they inculcate; for what if their slips and errors should only affect matters of small importance, who shall tell us what those things are which belong to this class? But how easy was it for that Spirit which guided them in great matters to superintend their pens also in things of apparently small moment? For it is in revelation as in creation, some things appear unimportant which have very important relations and connexions. And if all the scriptures of the Old Testament were given by inspiration, as is expressly and repeatedly taught in the New, why should the opinion be entertained, that the latest inspirations of the Holy Spirit were less perfect; although we know, that under the new dispensations, his effusions were much more abundant than under the old? This is a point on which, if we begin to yield, there is no place afterward where we can obtain firm footing. The idea of a partial or imperfect inspiration is in itself so unreasonable, that he who adopts this opinion will for consistency soon reject the inspiration of the writers altogether. A controversy is sometimes raised respecting the words of scripture, whether they were all suggested by the Holy Ghost; and if so, how it is that we find every man writing in

his own peculiar style? Concerning this, we would merely observe, that if the plenary inspiration of the writers be granted, it involves such a superintendence of the Spirit over the language, as to prevent the use of unsuitable words and phrases; and as more than this was unnecessary, so the complete accomplishment of this object is consistent with each writer's retaining his own style and peculiar manner.

*Memoirs of the Rev. John H. Livingston, D. D. S. T. P.
Prepared in compliance with a request of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America.
By Alexander Gunn, D.D. Pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church at Bloomingdale, in the city of New York.—
Rutgers Press, New York. 1829. Pp. 440, 8vo.*

We congratulate the religious public on the appearance of this volume. It is a memorial richly merited, and well adapted to do good. The truly venerable Dr Livingston had adorned the Dutch church, as one of her most distinguished and eminently useful ministers, for more than half a century; and for more than forty years was her most prominent professor of theology. It was to have been expected, therefore, that the reverend synod of that church would take a deep interest in his memory. She owed it to herself, as well as to him, to erect this monument to his uncommon worth.

Dr Gunn has executed the task assigned to him by the synod with a very commendable degree of industry, talent and success. He has taken occasion to introduce sketches of the history of the Dutch church in this country, which cannot fail of proving both instructive and interesting. And while Dr Livingston is the principal figure on his large canvass, he has included smaller likenesses, and occasional notices of so many individuals, that it will long and often be referred to for much useful information.

We learn from this volume that Dr Livingston was descended from a distinguished and honourable Scotch family; that his great great grandfather was the celebrated John Livingston, the eminently pious and successful minister of

the kirk of Shotts, in Scotland, whose labours, persecutions and fidelity have given him so noble a name in ecclesiastical history ; that he was born at Poughkeepsie, in the state of New York, on the 30th of May, A.D. 1746 ; that he graduated with honour at Yale College in July 1762 ; that he soon afterwards commenced the study of the law, with the view of devoting himself to the bar as a profession for life ; that he continued in this pursuit about two years ; that at the end of that time, his health declining, and his impressions of religion becoming more serious, deep and practical than ever before, he quitted his legal studies, and soon afterwards determined to devote himself to the gospel ministry ; that having commenced his theological studies in New York, he embarked for Holland in May 1766 ; that after spending nearly four years at the university of Utrecht, during which time, in the course of the long vacations, he travelled extensively in that country, and after paying a short visit to England on his way home, he returned to New York in 1770 ; that almost immediately on his return he entered on a pastoral charge in that city ; that in 1784 he was elected professor of theology for the Dutch church ; and that he continued to take an active and leading part in all the ecclesiastical affairs of that respectable denomination until his decease, in the month of January 1825, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, in the fifty-fifth of his ministry, and in the forty-first of his professoral labours.

We forbear to make extracts from this biographical memorial, or to give specimens of its style ; taking for granted that all who wish to become acquainted with the life and character in detail of one of the most venerable and excellent men that ever adorned our country, will make a point of procuring and reading the whole ; and assuring all such that they will be well rewarded.

Dr Gunn, towards the close of the volume, has introduced attestations to the pre-eminent accomplishments and excellence of Dr Livingston, from several clergymen of different ecclesiastical connexions. From these it will be apparent that the reputation of this great and good man was by no means confined within the bounds of his own church ; but that he was among the most extensively known, and highly honoured ministers of religion in the United States. He seems, indeed, every where, and among all classes of christians, to have been regarded as a kind of ecclesiastical pa-

triarch, whom all loved and all delighted to honour. Nor was this tribute undeserved. For, although in powerful and original talents a pre-eminent rank could not be claimed for this excellent man, yet he possessed faculties of a very solid and commanding order; in digested and sound theological knowledge he had few equals; and in dignity, urbanity and benevolence; in fervent, habitual, elevated piety, he had, perhaps, no superior in the sacred office. Such a man was a gift of Providence, in which our whole country had reason to rejoice; and his removal was a bereavement which all had reason to deplore.

We regret to observe that the respectable and excellent author of this volume had scarcely completed its publication before he was himself summoned to take leave of his earthly labours, and, we doubt not, to join in a better world the venerable father whose memorial he had been engaged in forming. In such bereavements every friend of the Redeemer's kingdom will feel disposed to sympathize; and to pray without ceasing that they may be sanctified to all survivors, and especially to surviving ministers; and that the mantles of the departed may fall upon many who may rise up and more than supply their places.

Select List of Recent Publications.

Mahometanism Unveiled: an Inquiry in which that Arch-Heresy, its Diffusion and Continuance are examined on a new principle, tending to confirm the Evidences and aid the Propagation of the Christian Faith. By the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. Chancellor of Ardsfert, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Limerick. Two vols, 8vo, London.

Pickering's Diamond Greek Testament. This is the smallest edition ever printed, and is adorned with a frontispiece, engraved by Worthington, from "The Last Supper" of Leonardo da Vinci. 48mo, London.

Lectures on the Elements of Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Literature. By the Marquis Spineto. With plates. 8vo, London.

Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr. By the Right Reverend John Kaye, D.D. Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 8vo, London.

Testimonies in proof of the separate existence of the soul in a state of self-consciousness, between death and the resurrection. To which is added, the Psychopannychia of Calvin. By the Rev. Thomas Huntingford, M.A. Vicar of Kempesford, Gloucestershire. 8vo, London.

Aids to Reflection, in the Formation of Manly Character, in the several grounds of Prudence, Morality and Religion; illustrated by select passages from our older divines, especially from Archbishop Leighton. By S. J. Coleridge. First American from the third London edition. With an Appendix, and illustrations from other works of the same author, together with a Preliminary Essay, and additional notes, by James Marsh, President of the University of Vermont. Burlington, 8vo, 1829.

Lectures on Infant Baptism. By Leonard Woods, D.D.

Abbot Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. Second edition. Andover, 1829.

Lectures on the Inspiration of the Scriptures. By Leonard Woods, D.D. Abbot Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover. 12mo. Pp. 152. Andover.

Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, a new edition, with notes. By Calvin E. Stowe.

Advice to a Young Christian, on the importance of aiming at an elevated standard of piety, by a Village Pastor. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Dr Alexander, of Princeton, N. J. 12mo. Pp. 209.

Lectures on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, addressed to Youth. By Ashbel Green, D.D. 8vo. Pp. 350. Philadelphia.

[A more particular notice of this excellent work may be expected.]

Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature. By a Society of Clergymen. Vol. I. Containing chiefly Translations of the works of German Critics. New York. 8vo. G. and C. and H. Carvill. 1829.

[This interesting volume contains, 1. History of Introductions to the Scriptures, from the German of Gesenius. 2. A Treatise on the Authenticity and Canonical Authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, from the German of Eichhorn. 3. Essay on the Life and Writings of Samuel Bochart, by William R. Whittingham, A.M. 4. Dissertation on the meaning of "The Kingdom of Heaven," in the New Testament; from the Latin of Storr. 5. Dissertation on the Parables; from the Latin of Storr. 6. Translation of Tiltmann's Dissertation on the Question, Whether there are any traces of the Gnostics to be found in the New Testament. 7. History of the Interpretation of the Prophet Isaiah; from the German of Gesenius. 8. Treatise on the Use of the Syriac Language; from the German of John D. Michaelis.

It is our intention to give a more extended notice of this volume in our next number; at this time, therefore, we merely state its contents, and recommend it to the attention and perusal of our readers.]

William Penn on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians; first published in the National Intelligencer, in twenty-four Essays. With an Appendix, con-

taining a Letter of the Secretary of War to the Cherokee Delegation; Resolutions of the Old Congress from 1775 to 1785; Chancellor Kent's Opinion in the case of Goodell *vs.* Jackson, touching the rights of the Oneida Indians in the State of New York; Extracts from Judge Story's Centennial Discourse; Treaty with the Choctaws, &c. Pp. 112. New York.

A Key to the Shorter Catechism; containing catechetical exercises, a paraphrase, and a new and regular series of proofs on each answer. First American from the fifth Edinburgh edition.

Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. John Summerfield, A.M. By John Holland. With an introductory Letter, by James Montgomery. New York. William A. Mercein. 8vo. pp. 360.

New Views of Penitentiary Discipline, and Moral Education and Reform. By Charles Caldwell, M.D.

A Catechism of Natural Theology. By the Rev. Dr Nichols. Portland. Shirley and Hyde. 12mo, pp. 184.

SERMONS.

A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. Matthias Bruen, preached in the Bleecker Street Church, New York, by Thomas H. Skinner, D.D. 8vo. pp. 48.

Consolation in Death. A Sermon preached at the funeral of the Rev. Matthias Bruen, A.M. late Pastor of the Bleecker Street Church, New York. By Samuel H. Cox, D.D. Pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church.

Regeneration and the Manner of its Occurrence. A Sermon, from John v. 24, preached at the opening of the Synod of New York, in the Rutgers Street Church, on Tuesday evening, October 20, 1829. By Samuel H. Cox, D.D. Pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church. New York. 8vo. pp. 42. 1829.

Baccalaureate. A discourse delivered to the Senior Class in the College of New Jersey, on the sabbath preceding the Annual Commencement, September 1829. By James Carnahan, D.D. President of the College.

Holding fast the Faithful Word. A Sermon delivered in the second Presbyterian Church in the city of Albany, at the installation of the Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D. as Pastor of said Church. By Samuel Miller, D.D. Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey.

The proper mode of conducting Missions to the Heathen. A Sermon delivered before the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others in North America, November 5, 1829. By Benjamin B. Wisner, Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston.

The Victorious Christian awaiting his Crown. A discourse delivered on sabbath evening, January 3, 1830, occasioned by the death of the Rev. John M. Mason, D.D. S.T.P. By William D. Snodgrass, his successor as Pastor of Murray Street Church, New York.

A Sermon delivered January 10, 1830, in the Scotch Presbyterian Church, Cedar Street, New York, on the occasion of the death of the Rev. John M. Mason, D.D. S.T.P. By Rev. Joseph M'Elroy, D.D. Pastor of said Church.

A Sermon delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Lancaster, November 1, 1830, on assuming the pastoral charge of said Church. By Richard W. Dickinson.

A Selection of the most celebrated Sermons of M. Luther and John Calvin. To which is prefixed, a Biographical History of their Lives. New York. R. Bentley. 12mo. pp. 200.

THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY, AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

FOR APRIL 1830.

CHURCH MUSIC.

How shall a reform in the music of our churches be effected?

In a former number of this Journal, we endeavoured to show, by comparing the original design of church music with the art in its present state, that a reform is both necessary and practicable. The argument, thus far, we presume, has been satisfactory. But here, in the minds of many, a serious difficulty presents itself. A good thing, which is in its own nature practicable, cannot always be carried into effect against the habits and prejudices of the community. To obviate this difficulty, it is necessary to show, somewhat in detail, how a reform can be effected. This is the object of the present article.

We shall take it for granted that in the present day of activity, some share of enterprise and self-denial might be easily enlisted in favour of a reform in church music, if once its full importance were to be distinctly seen. There are men in our country who know how to give an impulse that will be felt in every portion of the land. Only let it be seen that such an impulse is really needed, that the best interests of religion and of good order in the community require it, and the thing will be certainly done.

Time was, within the period of our own recollection, when this position would not have been granted us. Who would have believed, thirty years ago, for instance, that missionary, Bible and tract operations could have been carried forward to such an extent and with such rapidity? Who could have believed that theological seminaries, Bible classes, Sunday schools, infant schools, societies for African colonization, for the observation of the Sabbath and for the promotion of "entire abstinence" would have thus succeeded? But times have changed. Every good thing which is taken in hand at the proper season, and urged forward with christian principle and pious zeal, is found, under the blessing of God, to prosper. Prejudices and habits, are every where to be encountered, but they form no insurmountable obstacle. Nothing of this nature can stand before an impulse which has once been given. The prevailing motto is Onward. Nothing is now seen of a retrograde movement in all this mighty field of effort.

And who that has clearly reflected upon the subject will say that a reform as to the praises of Zion's King is unworthy to be made the object of christian enterprise? Is there any portion of public worship which may continue to be offered in an empty, formal, thoughtless manner, without offending the great Master of assemblies? Yet we have seen distinctly that there is one portion of the exercises of the sanctuary which does in general bear these exact characteristics. Church music, according to the design of the institutions, requires peculiar solemnity, fixedness of thought, and elevation of feeling; but for the most part it is associated with special indifference, and often with weariness and disgust. The words have been instituted as the very basis of song, but these are seldom heard in singing. Music should be superadded to the words in such manner as to operate like a refined species of elocution; yet, in singing, we destroy the character of the words even where the enunciation is in some measure preserved. It is in fact the tune that we are endeavouring to sing, and often a most miserable one it is, and wretchedly executed; while, at the same time, characteristic expression and pious emotion appear to be considerations of no more than secondary interest. Musical cultivations in the Jewish and the apostolic times, and in the days of the reformers, was conducted, as we have seen, under the special guardianship of the church; and men of

ardent piety, as well as of respectability and influence, had the entire charge of it ; but for these many years past the reverse of this state of things has been witnessed. Not only the higher ranks of cultivation, but all the subordinate ranks have been occupied by men of the world, and men too, who, to say the least, have generally exerted an anti-religious influence. Quite at the head of the musical list stand a class of artists who are generally destitute of religious principle, and often grossly immoral, like the Byrons and the Moores of a sister art. Next stand the class of professional performers, who spend most of their life in the theatre. Next in order are the celebrated conductors of concerts and oratorios, and the professional organists, who are all more or less associated with theatricals, copying their style and manner, and too often their licentious practices. And as for the teachers of our psalmody, the greatest proportion of them are either, on the one hand, the pupils of this same school of the theatre, or on the other, the imitators of self-taught men, who are alike destitute of almost every requisite qualification. Church music, which originally emanated from the schools of the prophets, has now, properly speaking, no school of its own. Our primary singing schools have indeed been, in every point of view, so miserably conducted, that men of distinguished piety have uniformly looked upon them as serious hinderances to the progress of vital religion. And it is not surprising that they have thus regarded them, when the whole business of management has been conducted chiefly on the principles of amusement and display, and associated more or less with ignorance, lightness and profanity. Publishers, also, have largely participated in the degeneracy. Up to the present time their chief object has been to make books which would sell ; and for this purpose catch-pennies have hitherto proved the most valuable. The church has its authorized selections of psalms and hymns ; but nothing that answers to them which she can call her own in the musical department. The latter, by common consent, has been abandoned to the mercy of the booksellers. Add, also, to the list of musical grievances, that the clergy are in the habit of sanctioning them by complimentary addresses, as often as they are officially called upon for this purpose, while at other times they treat the whole subject with marked neglect ; and it is easy to see that the reform for which we are here pleading is one of no common character. If it is

a solemn fact, that those who worship God must worship him in spirit and in truth. If it is true that our God is a God of order and not of confusion, that he is a God that searcheth the heart, a jealous God, a God that will not be mocked; then surely the enterprise of restoring to the order and dignity and power of spiritual worship, that which has long since degenerated into lip-service, is worthy of the most serious consideration before we presume to pronounce upon it as hopeless or unprofitable.

We have said that an impulse can be given to the public mind. For this purpose, let the periodical press be put in requisition. Let our quarterly reviews and journals, our monthly magazines and miscellanies, our weekly gazettes, religious, literary and political, be made to speak upon the subject. Let lectures also be given in our theological seminaries, our colleges and academies, and before the various ecclesiastical judicatories. Let the subject be brought up at the anniversaries of our benevolent societies, and presented before the churches in our cities and principal towns; and if it should be thought advisable, let some missionary be appointed for this especial purpose. Let it be the object every where, and by every proper means, to show that psalmody has been prostrated, and that christians are bound to raise it up from its degradation, instead of suffering it to remain in the churches as an instrument of systematic profaneness. Let such efforts as these be continued with earnestness, and with heartfelt dependence upon God, until the consciences of christians are enlightened and brought to feel upon the subject; let all this be done, and our word for it, the work of reform will have been half accomplished. And who will say that there is any insurmountable obstacle to the performance of all that is here proposed? If the single vice of intemperance, with all its forbidding aspects and disgusting associations, can call forth far more effort than this for years together, till ecclesiastical bodies become temperate societies, and whole towns and counties and states begin to follow the example; if all this can be done, and done with propriety, for the suppression of one single vice in the community, let it not be said that the enterprise of reforming one of the constituted ordinances of the church, which has, by long neglect, and by abuses innumerable, been reduced to empty formality and systematic profaneness,—let it not be said in a land of christian privileges, and in a day

of christian effort, that such an enterprise as this may be lightly esteemed, or accounted too difficult to be undertaken. We are proposing here no useless work; we are pointing out no difficult labour. We ask for no acts of supererogation, but we plead for the performance of an important duty, which ought to be better known, a duty which cannot be neglected when it is understood, without incurring great criminality.

When the christian community shall have been thus convinced that the work of reform ought to be commenced, then let them begin to act consentaneously and with due intelligence, discretion, energy and perseverance.

Here the first object, and, indeed, the only one respecting which the least difficulty is to be apprehended, is that of making a just, practical discrimination between the style of the church and that of the concert-room and oratorio. These styles should, in practice, be kept as distinct from each other as the style of pulpit oratory is distinct from that of a mere political harangue; and the efforts which have recently been making throughout the country to produce an amalgamation of these styles, have probably done more than all other things combined towards the deterioration of true christian psalmody, and towards destroying the little remaining interest which had latterly been felt in this solemn ordinance. So much, indeed, has been done—unwittingly, as we presume—to corrupt the public taste in this respect, that the very power of discrimination seems to have been lost. The exact lines of distinction cannot at once be drawn. The circumstances of amusement and exhibition have become so interwoven with the forms of worship, wherever music has been much cultivated, either in composition or execution, that it is impossible for the most accurate observer to say at once what precise features are to be ultimately retained and what rejected. Nor is this necessary at the outset. Experience will decide many a question of propriety, which lies beyond the reach of abstract speculation. A few points of discrimination, however, can be fixed upon at the commencement; and others can be afterwards adopted, as occasion requires. The same identical plan may not be suited to all places or circumstances. Prejudices, habits and practices on this subject are various and contradictory. Different obstacles are to be encountered, opposing interests to be harmonized, and, in not a few instances, it may be supposed that direct hos-

tility will show itself. For, depend upon it, an important field, which has so long been held by the adversary of souls in quiet possession, will not be relinquished without a struggle. The contest may, for a time, appear doubtful, but the victory will be sure. Christian effort, rightly conducted in this department, will not be lost. The signs of the times, if we mistake not, already invite us to action; and, in a few instances, the work appears to have been actually begun. What, therefore, we have further to offer, will not be regarded merely in the light of an experiment.

1. Every one acknowledges that union is power. Let a number of religious societies, therefore, comprising perhaps a whole presbytery or synod, be organized into a general association for the cultivation of devotional music, and to this association let the individual churches or religious societies become directly auxiliary. Let the primary object be, not the cultivation of music as one of the fine arts for the purpose of tasteful gratification or display, but chiefly that of redeeming the music of the sanctuary from its deadening influence and unhallowed associations. This point of discrimination, as has been just intimated, must be kept distinctly and constantly in view, or all efforts towards a radical reform will be impracticable.

2. In every auxiliary association, the church, as a body, must become interested. This regulation is evidently one of prime importance. If the office of sacred praise is to be rendered highly spiritual, then obviously the cultivation of it should be chiefly under the guidance of those who are spiritually minded. The same principle holds good in every department of practical religion. The Bible will be read and explained to little purpose by those who have not been taught by the Spirit. The preacher of righteousness must himself be righteous, or at least be esteemed so in the judgment of charity, if he would preach to edification. Nor in social prayer should we think to be edified by the mellifluous tones or the appropriate language of one who makes no pretensions to vital religion. And is church music to be esteemed an ordinance of a less spiritual nature? If it is, then let us no longer embrace in it themes which are pre-eminently spiritual and holy, lest by so doing, our professions of penitence, and faith, and hope, and love, and fixedness of thought and purpose, should prove but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

Devotional music never has flourished, and it never will flourish, without the effective co-operation of christians. And here, as in social prayer, whether they can take an active part in the exercises or not, they must be frequently present, if they would cultivate the habit of social worship. The habitual neglect of any christian privilege will, of course, be visited by leanness of soul. Let the christian neglect his closet, his Bible, his hours of meditation; let him undervalue the preached word or the ordinance of the Lord's Supper—could he thus maintain the habitual fervour of devotion? The thing would be impossible. In social worship, too, especially in that department of it which we are now considering, much depends on the cultivation of right associations of mind. These, to a certain extent, are favourable to the production of legitimate emotions. They do by no means constitute the essence of religion, yet they are the necessary concomitants of devotion. Nor are they peculiar to persons who have a musical ear, but, on the contrary, may be cultivated by every one who has a feeling heart. The christian, therefore, whether he has musical susceptibilities or not, should be often present at the meetings for musical improvement, if he would learn to derive any advantage from the ordinance of church music.

3. Meetings for improvement should be conducted strictly in a christian manner. Let anti-christian executants and amateurs occupy their own sphere, and let the gay and the thoughtless, and the lovers of pleasure follow in train, enjoy their amusement, and receive all the reward they are seeking. The church is at present in no condition to interfere with them, even if she had the disposition. She must first begin her own proper work, and set the example of reform. She must begin at once in earnest, and with a christian spirit. The voice of prayer, as well as of praise, must be heard at the meetings, or the lovers of prayer will never be edified. The meetings must, on the whole, be rendered profitable in a spiritual sense to those who are spiritually minded, or the latter will soon forsake them, and feel themselves entirely justified in so doing. Here, as in Sunday schools and Bible classes, there can be no amalgamation of conflicting interests without defeating the whole design of the institution. Let the meetings be begun, continued, and ended, strictly in a christian manner, and then the church will be edified; and those who are of a serious mind, even

among musicians, though not real christians, may still remain and assist in the performances with becoming solemnity, while those who choose to separate themselves may do so without finding any real cause for complaint.

The necessity of abiding by this rule is, in every possible case, absolute and indispensable. Not one step can be taken towards a radical reform without it. Set aside this rule, and you open the door at once for every species of influence in the whole circle of musical refinement, which is foreign from the purposes of devotion. Here is the very rock upon which every enterprise of reform has hitherto failed. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can be effected without the entire predominance of christian influence. Well conducted Sunday schools and Bible classes, and meetings for social religious conference, where the influences of the Spirit are really felt, may serve to exemplify the character of the meetings here required. The christian who lives near to God delights to visit such places when every thing is regular, solemn and impressive; but how is his heart pained when the savour of vital godliness is wanting! He is quick to discover it when it exists, and nothing can satisfy him when it is withdrawn.

4. The exact manner in which religious influence is to be promoted must, in some measure, depend upon circumstances. Then, as in other religious meetings, different persons may adopt different methods, and yet the same ends be accomplished. In all cases, however, the voice of prayer, instruction and exhortation must be intermingled more or less with the voice of song. All who wish to be benefited must frequently meet together at the request of their pastor; and if any are not willing thus to meet, perhaps the time may at length come when it will be found expedient to request them to remain silent on the Sabbath. Where the singing has been conducted with a choir, a considerable number of whom give evidence of piety, and all maintain a character for decency and outward morality, the choir should have its own separate meetings for improvement, and special efforts should also be made for replenishing its numbers. Most choirs are too small and too little disciplined. Children and youth, as well as adults, should be instructed, and schools for this purpose should every where be constituted under the care of pious teachers, when these can be obtained. At least the teachers should be such as seriously respect religion; and if this is the case, the clergyman or some of the lay

members can lend the necessary influence by leading in prayer and offering an occasional word of instruction or exhortation. Indeed elementary schools of this character are every where indispensable. However the singing may have hitherto been conducted, whether by a choir or by a whole congregation, or by both united, there must be trained up a select number of performers, whose talents and influence shall be such as future circumstances may require. Doubtless great improvements might also be made in the method of teaching.

5. There is, at the present time, some difficulty to be apprehended in obtaining good teachers. The number of these, however, has been latterly increasing. Twenty years ago, there could scarcely be found an eminent musician who was distinguished for piety; at present, several of the first musicians of the country are no less eminent for their christian standing in the churches than for their musical attainments. An unprecedented number of pious youth are also now preparing for this department of labour; and the numbers would soon be found to increase with the progress of reform. But besides these considerations, which are certainly encouraging, it should be recollected that a very small number of teachers would suffice for the commencement of the work. One only, whose influence is of a commanding character, would serve for the partial superintendence of all the schools embraced in a general association. The introduction of the monitorial plan of instruction might afford still further facilities. Choristers and private singers would thus act as temporary instructors, and at the same time be fitting themselves for a higher charge. We speak advisedly on this subject, and ours is the language of personal experience, not of visionary speculation.

6. We have said that the schools should have their separate meetings for improvement. It is no less important for them, as has also been intimated, to meet often in connexion with the whole church and congregation. The manner of conducting such meetings has been specified, so far as regards the commencement of the work of cultivation. But when a school has made considerable advances in the art, the church and congregation must be apprized of the fact; and be induced, through their example, as explained and illustrated by the teacher, to sing collectively, in an improved manner. This, though an undertaking of some delicacy, is

by no means impracticable. It was accomplished by the ancient Jews, by the primitive christians and by the modern reformers. Examples of the kind are still found in Europe; and they are not altogether unknown in our own country. Only let a high measure of christian influence be carried into the meetings, and the work can be easily accomplished. Let the devotional exercises be entirely separated from the business of criticism, that the heart may be at full liberty to pour itself out before God : but in some of the brief intervals for the business of necessary practice, let the criticisms and illustrations be presented before the meeting in an acceptable manner, and the majority of the numbers present will soon be found to possess the powers of successful imitation. At this stage of improvement the cultivated singers will occasionally sing by themselves a few lines or stanzas of a delicate character, while the congregation are ready, at some concerted signal, to join in full chorus. Sometimes the cultivated singers may also be divided according to ancient custom, into two bands, and placed opposite to each other, in the extreme parts of the house, with the congregation between them. Here they may sometimes sing in response, and at other times together, or with the whole assembly, after the manner of the prophets, apostles and reformers. The following two stanzas will illustrate this method of performance :

1st Band alone. } " We seek a rest beyond the skies,
In one eternal day ;"

2d Band, as if }
by objection. } " Through floods and flames the passage lies,"

1st Band in }
reply. } " But Jesus guards the way."

Both bands in }
concurrence. } " But Jesus guards the way."

Chorus: both }
bands with } " The swelling flood, the raging flame,
the whole } Hear and obey his word :
congregation. } Then let us triumph in his name,
Our Jesus is the Lord."

recurrence to this method would be at-
taining the happiest results. How far it should be re-

stored to the church is a point which, like many others, must be determined by experience. The same, too, may be said as to the frequency of the meetings we have been describing. Every thing of this nature must be managed in such a way as at once to keep up the general interest, and secure the great ends of spiritual worship.

7. Similar meetings to those we have just described should occasionally be held by deputations from the auxiliary societies. The advantages of such a measure must appear sufficiently obvious. These meetings would, of course, be made to differ entirely from the popular concerts of the day; which, under the pretence of sacred music, are really secular in their character and influence. Let there be no rhetorical flourishes from the pulpit on these occasions. Let there be no passing of compliments, or commendations, or criticisms among the people assembled, and no efforts of display among the singers. Let all the business of the day, the prayers, the exhortations, and the performances, be conducted in the most solemn manner, as in the presence of the heart-searching God. Such meetings cannot fail to give increasing impulse to the work of reform; and they will do perhaps more than every thing else towards enabling us to make practical discriminations in the manner of our performances.

8. In the selection of tunes, recourse must first be had to the simplest of the approved specimens, and in afterwards proceeding to such pieces as are more refined or intricate, reference must continually be had to the immediate production of devotional interest. Music may be intrinsically excellent, and yet be ill adapted to the public taste, or to the circumstances of the choir or congregation. It may also be elaborate to little purpose, or simple without effect. Much, also, that is applied to sacred words, and associated with names of the highest celebrity, will be found to answer almost any other purpose than that of real worship or religious edification. If the selection of the tunes is wholly fortuitous, such, also, it is probable, will be the result of the performances. Or if the selection is left wholly to the decision of mere amateurs, then there will be endless differences of opinion, without accomplishing the chief end in view. But let the experience of results actually witnessed by the numbers associated be made the criterion, and there will be unanimity of feeling and of effort, and the great ends of selection and adaptation will thus be, in a measure, answered.

9. When the principles of reform, as thus laid down, shall have been carried so thoroughly into the schools and the meetings as to produce in some measure the anticipated result, then, and not till then, should a change in the order of things be attempted at church on the Sabbath. A disregard to this rule has often led to disastrous consequences. A church, for instance, has sometimes been known to rise up suddenly to effect a reform, without plan or concert, and to drive out the singers from the orchestra, without having any thing prepared as a substitute. But let every arrangement be first matured. Let the required influence be carefully cultivated and secured; let a band of singers, composed of suitable persons, receive the necessary instruction; and let leaders be appointed, and thoroughly drilled to their employment; let all this be done, and then not the smallest difficulty need be anticipated. Some plan may then be adopted by the general consent, at least for a time, as an experiment. Afterwards, if necessary, another plan can be substituted in its place; and this again, if need be, can be laid aside for a third, and that for a fourth, till the best practicable method shall have been thus discovered.

Where there is an organ, the player must, by all means, be made to co-operate systematically, thoroughly, and sincerely, or be dismissed from the service. Something more than mere professional skill must be required of him. Indeed, there is much, very much of this, which must be laid aside, while there must be substituted in the place of it, chaste simplicity, and perfect consentaneousness of purpose, if he would not defeat the whole object of this enterprize. And when we reflect how much power there is thus entrusted to the player, and how few there are to be found who would not persist in abusing this power, we may well call in question the propriety of the general introduction of the organ into our churches, at least till experience has given us further proof of its practical utility.

Congregations that have hitherto employed the organ, either with or without a choir, will generally find their advantage in placing one band of singers in the orchestra, and another (a smaller one perhaps) in the opposite end of the house below. Here each band may have its leader; the leaders can readily co-operate with each other, and the bands can sing separately or consentaneously; and, by a concerted signal, the whole congregation can unite as occasion re-

quires. Or where there is no organ and no established choir, the two bands of singers may both sit below, so as to act simultaneously upon the two extreme parts of the congregation. In case their numbers are too small for this arrangement, they may be united under a single leader, near the desk. This last method will answer where the congregation is small and compact, and too deficient in musical cultivation.

But before either of the above, or any other plan of a similar nature is attempted on the Sabbath, it will, of course, be necessary to call the whole congregation together for the purpose of discussion and preparation, so that there may be no misunderstanding or dissatisfaction, and that the influence of novelty may, as far as possible, be done away previous to the stated time of worship.

But not to enlarge, the preceding hints are offered as the mere outline of a plan which is at once plain and practical. Other things might have been suggested; but the sole object at this time has been to show, that the proposed work of reform is no less practicable in the present state of things than it ever was at any former period. If this point be now admitted, nothing remains before us but the plain question of duty. A reform is certainly needed. There can be no doubt of this. A reform in itself considered must, of course, be practicable; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the whole institution of sacred praise has become a perfect nullity. This, also, was fully demonstrated in a former article. We have now seen that there are no insuperable objections to the immediate commencement and prosecution of the work. Obstacles there are, but these may be easily overcome. Nothing is wanting in this respect but pious activity. Religious influence, rightly directed, is the simple charm which alone will dissipate every obstacle. Nor is the necessary labour to be regarded as disproportioned to the importance of the object. Nothing valuable can be acquired without labour. And, in the case before us, nothing is demanded which does not bring with it a present reward. The grand secret of enjoying church music is to practise it; to practise it habitually and intelligibly on christian principles; to practise it in the schools, at the meetings, and at the family altar. This has always been the secret of musical influence among christians; and what is there in it that is too laborious? Nothing, absolutely nothing. There are

no lions in the way. There is no Sylla or Charybdis to prevent us from safely embarking in the enterprise. Nothing but sloth, criminal sloth. This is all. Whether this will longer serve as an apology for the neglect of a plain practical duty, our readers may now be permitted to judge. The subject is before them. The undertaking is fairly proposed: nor is it too much to believe, that the great Master of assemblies is ready to smile upon the efforts of those who will faithfully engage in its accomplishment. And more than this, some portion of the work has been partially commenced. A kindling impulse is now felt in various portions of the land. Discussions have been afloat. Experiments have been made. And in all that has here been proposed, not a single item is found which has not the advantages that are to be derived from careful and repeated personal observation.

REVIEW.

Provincial Letters; containing an Exposure of the Reasoning and Morals of the Jesuits. By Blaise Pascal. Originally published under the name of Louis de Montalte. Translated from the French. First American edition. New York and Boston. 1828. Pp. 319. 12mo.

The works of Pascal, "that prodigy of parts," as he is called by Locke, belong to the treasury of literary and religious property, which can never become obsolete, and which pertains to every age. Among the writings of this wonderful man the Provincial Letters justly hold the highest place; as well from the intrinsic merits of the book, as from the events to which the production gave rise. "In these letters" says Voltaire "is concentrated every species of eloquence. There is not one word that, during a hundred years, has suffered the change which alters so frequently all living languages. To this work must be attributed the *fixation* of the French language. I have been informed by the bishop of Luçon, son of the celebrated Bussy, that Bos-

suet, the bishop of Meaux, having been asked by him what work he should most desire to have written, if he had not produced his own, replied *The Provincial Letters*.* It is therefore with great satisfaction that we welcome this work of genius, in an English dress and an American edition, as eminently adapted to open the eyes of our countrymen to the insidious designs of that order, which appears to have selected the United States as the most promising field for its operations. Although the inimitable graces of style, and often the poignant severity of satire, must be lost in a translation, yet there is in this production a merit higher than the beauty of exquisite language or even the glow of impassioned eloquence; a ground-work of sacred truth and irresistible argument, which no version can impair. The form and outward grace may perish in the transfusion, but truth, like the gold which passes the furnace, remains unaltered in its essential excellence.

The controversies between the Jesuits on the one part, and the Jansenists and Dominicans on the other, may be said to have fairly commenced at the opening of the seventeenth century. The council of Trent had taken all practicable measures for the suppression of the Augustinian doctrines concerning grace and human ability, which were subsequently espoused by Jansenius and his followers. It was left for the order of Jesuits to urge still further this warfare against the truth. The leader in this controversy was Louis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, who about the year 1588 had published a work in which he treated of the freedom of the will, the co-operation of man with divine grace and the decrees of God, and maintained the semi-Pelagian doctrines upon these heads. Upon all these points the Jansenists came forward in a body, taking shelter under the authority of Augustine.

A still more tempting mark for opposition, however, was held up in the casuistry of the Jesuits, which had now received its form, and become a subject of public disputation. In the mysterious assemblies of the order a system of morals had been framed, upon which we can hardly look without horror; a mixture of equivocation, licentiousness and contempt for the divine law, which would seem too gross to have been

* Sur le Siècle de Louis XIV.

tolerated even in the darkest age of paganism. The press teemed with elaborate works upon casuistic theology, in which every imaginable case of conscience was resolved, and we might add, every lust and wicked propensity made venial. That we do not err in attributing to the society of Jesus (for so they profanely styled themselves) the tenets which were avowed by individual casuists, will appear from the fact that it was contrary to the rules of the order that any work should be published without the licence of the superior. And as no age or nation has ever been inundated with such a multitude of ingenious, learned and voluminous works on morals, all marked with the appalling signature of the same lawless spirit, we cannot but view them as emanating from a great and united body, in unholy concert for the demolition of public virtue.

Here, in a christian land, by a body of men who almost monopolized the instruction of youth, were taught principles so monstrous as to disgrace the church which gave them toleration. Here was promulgated the doctrine of *probable opinions*; according to which, if but one authority could be found for a certain questionable act, there is that degree of probability that it is justifiable. "An opinion is called probable" says Escobar "when it is founded upon reasons of any consideration. Hence it is that sometimes a single doctor of eminence may render an opinion probable." (*Letter 5.*) Nay, by some of their writers it was maintained, that one might proceed to act upon such an opinion, even when there was reason to fear that the authority might have erred; and of two probabilities the least might be chosen, although contrary to Scripture and to the conscience of the very man who acted upon it.

Here, in the very heart of the Romish church, it was established as a principle, that a *good intention* was sufficient to sanctify any action. By this we are to understand, that the purpose to sin is necessary to constitute any act a sinful act. He who commits a crime, is, according to this doctrine, exempt from guilt if he does not deliberately purpose to offend God; and unless a man at the moment of transgression should be thinking of the divine law, he cannot be said to violate that law. It was taught, moreover, that the slightest degree of sorrow for sin, the smallest measure of *attrition*, as the Romanists call it, would suffice to appease the wrath of God, even though it rose no higher than the

natural dread of misery. To this may be added their well known permission of equivocations, mental reservations, pious frauds and perjuries. For an ample exposure of these anti-christian tenets the reader is referred to the authorities cited by Pascal himself. (See also Heidegger, *Historia Papatus*, per. vii. § 283.)

In the imaginary conversation between the writer and a father of the order, the latter reveals the secrets of this easy method of avoiding all pangs of conscience; yet not without exciting the astonishment of his questioner.

"But father, in such cases it must be very embarrassing to know which to prefer.' 'O no, not at all; it is only to follow the one which is most agreeable to yourself.' 'But what if the other opinion should be the most *probable*?' 'It does not signify.' 'But what if it should be the most *sure*?' 'Still it does not signify; only observe the explanation of father Emanuel Sa, of our society, in his Aphorisms *de Dubio*, p. 183;—"A person may do what he conceives to be permitted by one probable opinion, although the contrary be more sure; but the opinion of one grave doctor is sufficient." 'But suppose an opinion is both *less probable* and *less sure*, is it permissible to follow it, rejecting that which is believed to be *more probable* and *more sure*?' 'Yes, once more; hear that great Jesuit Filiatius, *Mor. Quæst.* tr. 21. c. 4. n. 128. "It is allowable to follow the opinion which is less probable, though it be also less sure. This is the concurrent sentiment of modern authors." Is not this explicit?'—P. 77. "They (confessors) are obliged to absolve penitents who hold some *probable opinions*, upon pain of committing a mortal offence; so that they can never be at a loss. This is luminously stated by our fathers: amongst others, by father Bauny, tr. 4. *De Penit.* q. 13, p. 93. "When the penitent" says he "follows a probable opinion, the confessor must absolve him, although his opinion be contrary to that of the penitent." 'But, father, he does not affirm that it would be a mortal sin not to absolve him.' 'How hasty you are! Hear, hear! he proceeds with this express conclusion: "To refuse to absolve a penitent who acts conformably to a probable opinion, is a sin in its own nature mortal;" and he quotes, in confirmation of this sentiment, three of our most distinguished divines, Suarez, tom. 4. dist. 32. sect. 5; Vasquez, *Disp.* 62. c. 7; and Sanchez, n. 29.'"—P. 78.

There was still left, however, even in the bosom of the Romish church, enough of sound morality, and as we cannot but believe of genuine piety, to forbid the silent connivance at such abuse and perversion of all that is sacred. Janse-
nius became an opponent of the Jesuits, while he was a professor at Lyons; and when he afterwards was promoted

to the bishopric of Yvres, in Flanders, he continued his opposition. It was the study of Augustine's works which opened his eyes to the errors of the Romish theologians, and although he did not, like Luther, awake to a full sense of the corruption of the man of sin, he nevertheless defended the doctrines of grace with a zeal and constancy which might cause many protestants to blush. The book called *Augustinus*, a posthumous work of this great and good prelate, contained a defence of the doctrines of original sin, total depravity, the necessity of spiritual influences, and other fundamental doctrines of grace, upon almost the same principles with those which were maintained at Geneva; indeed, his followers found it no easy matter to exculpate themselves from the charge of Calvinism. In the year 1641 the book was proscribed by the inquisition at Rome. In 1643 Urban VIII. condemned it by a bull, and in 1653 Innocent X. condemned five propositions which the Jesuits professed to have extracted from the work. The great question now at issue was, whether the pope was competent to determine the *fact* that Jansenius had taught such doctrines as those which were condemned: the Jansenists professing to join in the condemnation, but denying that any such propositions were contained in the book *Augustinus*. In this controversy the Jesuits, as sworn defenders of the papal infallibility, and deadly enemies of Jansenius, took the highest ground known among papists, and contended that by the decision of the pope it became a matter of faith that the fact was as stated by him. On the other hand, the fathers of the Port Royal, a monastery of St Bernard, in a lonely vale near Paris, among whom were the celebrated Arnauld, Nicole, and Quesnel, espoused the cause of the Jansenists. It was at the instance, and with the aid of these men, that Pascal, under the feigned name of *Montalte*, composed and published the Provincial Letters.

The first of these letters bears date January 23, 1656; and was intended chiefly to expose to ridicule the intemperate debates which had originated in a caustic epistle of M. Arnauld to a doctor of the Sorbonne; but to the astonishment even of those who were in the secret, it became the most interesting topic of conversation throughout the whole city of Paris. Learned and unlearned men, all classes of society, found themselves attracted by the brevity, the *naïveté*, the gentle sarcasm, and the finished elegance of this anonymous

production. The dispute in the Sorbonne resulted in the condemnation of M. Arnauld's book, and the expulsion of himself from the theological faculty. Pascal, animated at the same time by zeal for the honour of his friend, and indignation at the intrigues of the Jesuits, produced in rapid succession the second, third and fourth letters. When, however, he entered upon the discussion of the casuistry and morals of the order, he found himself involved in a work where haste would have been criminal. So unchristian and odious did the precepts of their writers appear to him, that with the patience of a veteran in controversy, although this was among his first works, he sat down to examine and digest the shapeless mass of abominable error which is spread through these volumes. We are told by his biographer that he spent twenty days upon a single number, and that he wrote the 18th letter over as many as thirteen times. (*Mémoires sur la Vie de M. Pascal, prefixed to Les Pensées.*)

The first ten of these letters were directed, by a happy fiction, to a provincial of the order, and the person meant is said to have been M. Perrier, a resident of Clermont. The remainder of the work was drawn forth by the futile attempts of the Jesuits to prove, first, that their casuists had not maintained the opinions which were attacked by Pascal, and then, that these opinions had been long taught and received by the church. All Paris was now solicitous to discover this wonderful Montagne, confessedly the finest writer in France, and yet unknown before; familiar with all the doublings of the casuists, and yet firmly and piously attached to the church and to pure morals; while chagrin and consternation pervaded the ranks of the Jesuits. It was alarming to find that homicide was no longer forbidden; for, according to a passage of Hurtado de Mendoza,

"When a gentleman who is challenged to a duel is known to be not remarkably pious, but daily commits sins without the least scruple, plainly evincing that his refusal to accept the challenge does not proceed from the fear of God, but from timidity, he may be called a chicken, and not a man: *gallina et non vir*. He may, in order to preserve his honour, proceed to the appointed place, not indeed with the express intention of fighting, but only of defending himself, if his antagonist should unjustly attack him, and this action would be in itself altogether indifferent. For what harm would there be in going into a field and defending oneself against any attack?"—
P. 99.

Falsehood and perjury were authorized under various forms :

" Because (said the father) 'it is the *intention* which stamps the quality of the action : ' and the latter, (Filiutius), in page 328, furnishes another and surer method of avoiding lying. After saying in an audible voice, *I swear that I did not do this*, you may inwardly add *to-day* ; or after affirming aloud *I swear*, you may repeat in a whisper *I say* ; and then, resuming the former tone, *I did not do it*. Now this you must admit is telling the truth." " I own it is," said I, " but it is telling truth in a whisper, and a lie in an audible voice." —P. 135.

The crime of simony had been rendered easy to the most sensitive conscience ; for according to Sanchez, as quoted by Escobar, (tr. 6, ex. 2, no. 40) : " If temporal possessions be given for spiritual ones, not as the price, but as the motive to induce the patron to confer it," it is no longer simony ; and if we may believe another, " it is a probable opinion, and taught by the majority of catholic divines, that there is no simony and no sin in giving money or any other temporal consideration for a benefice." Let us hear Pascal upon this subject :

" Nothing more, surely, can be required : for, according to all these maxims, simony is so uncommon, that Simon Magus himself, who wished to purchase the Holy Ghost, could not be convicted of it, in which he is the very model of your simonists who buy it ; and Gehazi, who took money for a miracle, is the representative of your simonists who sell it. It is indisputable that when Simon, in the Acts, offered money to the apostles to confer this power, he did not use the words *buying*, *selling*, or *price*, he did nothing more than offer some money as a motive to induce the bestowment of that spiritual gift ; which, according to your writers, being no simony, he would have been perfectly fortified against the anathemas of St Peter, had he been lucky enough to have known your modern doctrines." " This ignorance was also very unfortunate for Gehazi, when he was smitten with the leprosy by the word of Elisha ; for only taking money of the prince who was miraculously cured, as an acknowledgment, and not as an equivalent for that divine virtue which had operated the miracle, he might have obliged Elisha to cure him again, under pain of a mortal sin. In such a case, he would only have acted in conformity to your grave doctors, who require all confessors to absolve their penitents in such circumstances, and to cleanse them from their spiritual leprosy, of which the corporeal is but a figure." —P. 185.

The celebrated Boileau, in a letter to M. Arnauld, says of

this work : "Without examining which of the two parties is right or wrong, I constantly make a boast of these letters to the Jesuits themselves, as the most perfect work in prose which has appeared in our language."—*Oeuvres de M. Boileau Despréaux, par M. l'Abbé Souhai.*

We forbear attempting to communicate any adequate idea of the excellencies of this work by further quotation of isolated passages ; to every reader it may be recommended as an able and unsparing exposure of the hypocrisy and corruption of an order which has again begun to threaten, not Europe only, but the whole of protestant christendom. To the Provincial Letters may be traced the first impulse towards the destruction of this iniquitous system. At the time of their being published, the order was "in the high and palmy state" of honour and power, an engine for counteracting all the labours of the reformers, a body possessed of immense wealth, numbering in its religious houses some of the nobility and a large share of the learning of the world, controlling the institutions of literature and even the councils of kingdoms, and, according to a proverbial saying, "a drawn sword whose hilt was at Rome." The wounds received in this controversy were never healed. The suspicions awakened towards the Jesuits extended throughout Europe ; and when, a century after this, the order was entirely suppressed by the bull of Pope Clement XIV, it was but the natural consequence of the investigations in which Pascal had led the way.

It is not, however, the fall, but the recent restoration, of this fearful institution, which leads us to regard the subject with a solicitous interest. We have it upon record that two hundred and fifty years ago Francis Borgia, general of the order, uttered a prediction in the following striking words : "Like lambs have we crept in ; like wolves we are ruling ; like dogs shall we be driven out ; but like eagles we shall renew our strength*." Heathen oracles have sometimes spoken truly ; and while it is our prayer that God may avert the evil, we are not without our fears as to the accomplishment of the augury.

It would not be easy to determine which is the more remarkable, the unexampled rise and rapid progress of this

* Conversations-Lexicon. Vol. 5, p. 732. Ed. 7th, Leipsick.

truly wonderful institution, or its restoration to something of its pristine honours within our own recollection. Although the enormity of its principles, and its extended power strike us with astonishment, yet the development of the mystery of iniquity was gradual; by gentle advances, and cautious innovations, it gained the disastrous ascendancy which first corrupted and then convulsed the nations of Europe. Its operations were not in the victorious march of open warfare, but those of the mine, dark, silent and subterraneous. But that an order signalized by a concert in iniquity, detected in the work of subverting morals, convicted of legalizing crime, exposed to the eyes of an indignant world as an instrument of treason, licentiousness and persecution; that so monstrous a combination of secret scepticism, dark intrigue, and successful malice, after being unmasked, condemned, and apparently extirpated, should now, in this nineteenth century, not merely show its unholy front; but court and receive the attention and patronage of the public, almost passes belief.

In the year 1801 the order was re-established in the western part of Russia and in Lithuania, by his holiness, Pius VII, and in 1804 in the island of Sicily. The policy of the measure was not to be mistaken; it is darkness which best befits the schemes of an institution which has scarcely ever accomplished a purpose except by stratagem. In 1806 the same pontiff proclaimed the canonization of a Jesuit; and his first important act after enlargement from prison was the restitution of the whole order, by a bull bearing date August 7, 1814. By Ferdinand VII. they have been restored to the enjoyment of all their former temporalities in Spain; and even in the Helvetic Canton of Freyburg they have opened their colleges anew. In Germany they are tolerated, and in France, although the question is undecided, they have a powerful party of adherents. In order to show what their standing is at Rome, we quote the following extracts from a letter written late in the last year, and published in a German magazine:

"On the 31st day of July 1828, the festival of St Ignatius (Loyola) was attended here by a concourse of all classes of society, greater, if possible, than in preceding years. The order of Jesuits, like the phoenix, is rising from its ashes, and exhibiting a life more active than before its suppression. I shall confine my remarks to what is taking place here. While the whole of the secular and

monastic clergy appear to have vowed eternal hatred towards the Jesuits, avoiding their fellowship with excessive caution, so that even in literary associations the members of other orders make it an explicit condition that no Jesuit shall be admitted; still, the laity and men of the world are all engaged in their support. A worthy citizen of Rome, in good circumstances, who had been improved by travelling abroad, but was still a good catholic, had afforded to his hopeful son a complete and, for Italy, a splendid education, and had destined him to the profession of the law. Scarcely sixteen years old, and hitherto an example of good conduct, diligence and obedience, the young man began suddenly to bewail the manifold cares of worldly business, and with a sort of enthusiasm to extol the solitary life of the monastic clergy. Within a short time he was absent from home, on a certain afternoon, to the great distress of his parents. In the evening a messenger appeared with a note from the son, declaring that he could no longer resist the impulse to devote his life to God and spiritual contemplation, and that he had entered the Capuchin convent, as a novice. The father, educated in the spirit of the Roman people, was soon consoled, and found but two causes of grief, one that he had thrown away so much money upon his son's education; and the other, that the latter had not attached himself to the Jesuits."

"About the commencement of the present year, two sons of two most distinguished families of the city, the second son of prince Altieri, senator of Rome, and the eldest son of prince Patrizi, made a profession among the Jesuits. Some months ago, prince Altieri celebrated his birth day, and sent a request to the general (of the order) that his son might have leave to dine with him upon this occasion. This was denied, but the young prince was suffered to come in during the time of the dessert, for a quarter of an hour, under the inspection of an elder Jesuit, with orders to abstain from eating or drinking. A few days after, the young prince said mass, and the parents, remaining after the service, had the honour of kissing their son's hand at the altar. The novitiate of the Jesuits is more severe than that of any other order, with the exception perhaps of the Trappists. Its length, however, is not defined. There are cases in which, for the purpose of scrutinizing profoundly the individual peculiarities of the subject, it has been protracted to ten years. During this period the novice is bound to endure the most severe labour, to go upon mendicant excursions by night, to work in the garden or the kitchen by day, to be ready to leave his bed at any moment, and sometimes to take his meals with the cats and dogs, and out of the same vessel. If the slightest token of disgust is manifested, the offender is often confined for weeks, upon bread and water. The same punishment is inflicted for any thoughtless expression contrary to the rules of the order; uttered, perhaps, in

supposed privacy, but caught up and duly reported by the spies. Were it not for these austerities, the half of Rome would go over to the Jesuits. I am myself acquainted with six young men who returned to their parents before the end of the first year, were married, and are now engaged in useful employments. This strictness, let it be observed, is relaxed by no favour to individuals. Every one is admitted who chooses to apply, and in process of time may be received by *profession*, after having passed through the novitiate. It is alleged that the order sends no one back; it is sufficient, however, that by intolerable austerities they so terrify the novice in whom they find no promise of usefulness, as to constrain him, of his own accord, to depart. The life even of the professed Jesuit is by no means so full of charms as the uninitiated are apt to imagine. It is true that the privations and torment of the novitiate are brought to an end; yet he has no control over a single moment of his life. The canonical hours must be observed with scrupulous exactness, even in their colleges. No one dares to go abroad, except in the company of an elder member; and then, only to take a walk, or to purchase a book, or to execute some spiritual commission for the order. It is forbidden to the professed Jesuit to visit any one in his house, and especially to take a meal there; nay, he dares not even to converse with an acquaintance. Hence it is that no Jesuit is ever seen to linger, or enter into conversation, in the streets, or in any dwelling; a freedom which even the Carthusians sometimes enjoy. Observe, likewise, that while the order is necessarily excluded from all secular honours, it seeks none which are ecclesiastical. No one of its members can receive an office in the hierarchy. The society numbers among its sons no pope, cardinal, or dignitary of the church. It is the lot of every individual to live in a state of constant subordination, without the freedom of a moment; to yield a blind obedience to the general, and at his pleasure to journey even a thousand miles from home. Remember that the Jesuit receives nothing in return for these privations, except the bare supports of life; and you will be ready to ask 'what is it then that these men seek?' 'A mere conceit,' is the reply; the conceit of *spiritual domination*. Let the order become rich beyond measure, and powerful, even above crowned heads; what is gained by the individual member? Nothing. At his death he cannot dispose of the paltry shoes which he has worn in his life time. Other ascetic orders who have renounced worldly honours, as, for example, the Carthusians, have at least some regard to the life beyond the grave. While they deny themselves earthly gratifications, they are sustained by the hope of endless happiness. Not so the Jesuit. He does all for this world, and yet can never enjoy even this world, with any degree of peace."—*Röhr's Prediger-Bibliothek*, Vol. IX. p. 1151.

Such is the success of the efforts for the *repristination*, as

it is denominated, of this dangerous society; and if, in a city where their doctrines have been condemned, their order suppressed, and their estates sequestrated; where, but a few years ago, a Jesuit would have been scarcely tolerated, they are now able thus to lord it over the consciences of men, what may they not accomplish in a country such as ours, where prejudice is unawakened, and where no barrier can be erected to prevent their inroads? To such suggestions it is usually replied, that the spirit of the age, the diffusion of knowledge, the freedom of our institutions, and the inquisitive temper of our people, afford a sufficient pledge that Popery, and above all Jesuitism, can never obtain any extensive prevalence; and that the temper and policy of the papacy have been greatly meliorated by the increase of light. But why are we so ready to be seduced into the belief that the church of Rome has undergone a change since the days of Loyola? Has the infallible Pontiff manifested any diminution of enmity towards the schismatics and heretics who defraud him of his vaunted honours? Has the unchanging creed of the self-styled Catholic church been improved since the council of Trent? or has it ceased to proscribe the Word of God? And is there any alteration which may not be very plainly traced to a subtle and temporary yielding to unconquerable opposition in public sentiment? Are not the Jesuits, as a body, strewing through our states the principles of Romanism, and *with the authority* of the Pope himself? Let the reader weigh such sentences as the following, from the Bull *Solicitude omnium*, Aug. 7th, 1814. "We declare besides, and *grant power*, that they may freely and lawfully apply to the education of youth *in the principles of the Catholic faith*, to form them to good morals, and to direct colleges and seminaries." "We take under our tutelage, under our immediate obedience, and that of the Holy See, all the colleges, houses, provinces, and members of the order, and all who shall join it." (p. 20.) The spirit which once fulminated bulls against reformers, can now do no more than condemn the distributors of the Bible; but the spirit is the same. The politic zeal which, in 1622, established the Congregation De propaganda fide, and in 1627 attached to it the college of the same name, and which ordered into Germany an army of anti-protestant missionaries, betrays itself in the appropriations made for the Valley of the Mississippi, the seminaries which are spring-

ing up in silence throughout our land, and the presses which send forth, in our enlightened times, the doctrines and legends of the middle ages. It is not for lack of malice that the vision of good John Bunyan is accomplished in this country. "Though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he now can do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them." (*Pilgrim's Progress, Part I.*)

It is by no means true, as we are sometimes disposed to flatter ourselves, that, as Americans, we are placed above the perils and disasters of other people. Great as are our national favours, human nature has not so changed under the genial skies of liberty, as to make that harmless to us, which has carried desolation into the fairest and the most enlightened regions of the other continent; nor is our population so mature in knowledge and piety, as to be shielded against the "cunning craftiness" of wily controvertists. On the contrary, we can hardly open our eyes upon the remote districts of this Union, without observing that the rankest growth of wild fanaticism and varied error is springing up, and that there is scarcely a heresy noted in the books of the polemic, which has not its lineal descendant in America. In the imposing ceremonial, the entertaining rites, the pomp of outward worship, the indulgences to transgress, the frequency of confession, and the easy absolutions of Romanism, there is every thing to attract the eye, seduce the heart, and subdue the conscience of the natural man. And the minister of the gospel who goes forth unprepared to cope with the insidious and polished Jesuit, and is called upon to attack this system of error, which has not sprung up in a moment, but attained the firm and symmetrical growth of centuries, may regret, when it is too late, that he has considered the elaborate volumes of his predecessors useless lumber upon his shelves, and instead of toilsome study of the controversy, has yielded to supineness, incredulity, and contempt of the danger.

REVIEW.

Elements of Mental and Moral Science : designed to exhibit the original susceptibilities of the mind, and the rule by which the rectitude of any of its states or feelings should be judged. By George Payne, A.M. J. Leavitt. New York. 1829. Pp. 451. 8vo.

We have ever entertained a high opinion of the importance of mental philosophy, and regard with pleasure the increasing attention which it is receiving. Notwithstanding the slow progress it has hitherto made, and the difficulties it has still to encounter, we believe that it will continue to advance, and at length attain a pre-eminent rank among the sciences. All efforts, therefore, to direct to it the public attention and to promote its advancement, are viewed by us with warm approbation. Hence we were highly pleased to meet with the work which stands at the head of this article, and which we propose to introduce to the notice of our readers. Its occasion and design are thus indicated by the author in his preface.

"The subsequent pages owe their origin to the professional engagements of the writer. Expected to impart instruction to the students committed to his care, in the philosophy of the human mind, as well as on subjects strictly theological, he devoted all the time he could command to the task of drawing up a course of lectures on the Elements of Mental and Moral Science, which should be made to combine, as far as he found it practicable, comprehension with brevity, and might be used as a text book in his future prelections.

"His object in the preparation of his lectures was not originality, but usefulness. His sole desire was to guide the minds of his pupils to what he regarded as the right decision upon the multifarious topics of inquiry which his plan embraced; and whether he attained that end by presenting to them the statements of others, or what might be more properly denominated his own, was to him a matter of no importance whatever.

"In the prosecution of this object, the quotations made from the works both of living and departed genius were of course numerous. In short, it appeared to him that to present to his young friends a statement of the sentiments of our most approved writers in relation to the important subjects to which he directed their attention,

combined with an effort to guide them to the truth amidst this conflict of opinions, would prove one of the best modes he could adopt for securing a competent acquaintance with those subjects; nor when he afterward proceeded to prepare his manuscript for the press, did he see reason to adopt a different course of proceeding.

"The preceding statement will account for the free use which he has made, in the following pages, of the writings of those illustrious men to whom the friends of mental science are under such deep obligations. He ventures to state, however, that the present work is not a mere compilation. He has endeavoured at least to think for himself; and though he has mainly adopted the views and the system of the late Dr T. Brown, the attentive reader will perceive that he differs from that writer on several important points—whether justly or not, must of course be left for the public to decide; the difference will at any rate show that he does not slavishly follow any leader, or consent to hold his mind in bondage to any man."

After reading the above remarks, the reader will not be disappointed to learn, that the volume consists of a perspicuous and condensed exposition of the philosophy of Brown, together with quotations from Locke, Reid, Stewart and others, illustrative of their views on the subjects discussed. Mr Payne has indeed differed from his master on several important points, which we shall notice in their proper places.

The object of mental science is very properly stated to be the mental phenomena, as both in matter and mind the qualities, not the essence, form the subject of inquiry. But though it is

"Unphilosophical to speculate concerning the *positive* essence of the mind, it is not unphilosophical to attempt to show that that essence is not *material*. The importance, not to say necessity, of doing this, is greater, we conceive, than Mr Stewart, or even Dr Brown, seems disposed to allow. The former indeed says, that 'the conclusions to which we are led, by a careful examination of the phenomena which mind exhibits, have no necessary connexion with our opinions concerning its nature.' This statement is surely not correct. Are we not in the constant habit of contending that the complexity, which we cannot but ascribe to the mental phenomena, cannot be similar to that which is produced by the union of two or more substances, so as to form one physical whole, *because* the mind is a simple indivisible essence? Do we not *assume* the indivisibility of the mind, in many of our speculations? And have we any right to do this, without previously proving the immateriality of mind, *i. e.* that its essence, though unknown, is different from that of matter?"

"Into an extended argument on this subject my limits will not permit me to go : it must be sufficient to glance at the proof which may be adduced. Two distinct classes of phenomena, viz. extension, divisibility, gravity, form, colour, attraction, repulsion, &c., and perception, memory, reasoning, joy, grief, &c., become known to us, in radically different ways ; the one, through the medium of the external senses—the other, by consciousness. Are these phenomena the qualities of the same substance ? Is it reasonable to suppose that properties so opposite to each other, the knowledge of which is obtained in so different a manner, inhere in the same permanent subject ? If the qualities are thus essentially different, must not the essence be essentially different ? The argument is, however, yet but partially developed. Some of these qualities are incompatible with each other, so that like length and shortness, when the comparison is with the same objects, they cannot possibly be the qualities of the same substance. Sensation and thought belong to one of the classes of properties which have been specified ; divisibility is included in the other. If sensation and thought were properties of matter, they must be divisible, because matter is divisible, every separate particle of the thinking and feeling whole, must possess a separate portion of sensation and thought ; as every separate particle possesses the power of attraction. But sensation and thought are not divisible, consciousness being judge ; the permanent subject, therefore, of these qualities, *whatever be its positive nature*, is certainly not material."

We think with Mr Payne, that a treatise of this nature should commence with a demonstration of the immateriality of the thinking principle ; a circumstance which both Stewart and Brown have omitted. No objection can be offered to the reasoning above employed, without denying to matter those qualities which the Newtonian philosophers deem essential. We know not why those who do this, may not as properly be termed immaterialists as materialists ; a remark which Dr Priestley, if we recollect aright, has made in reference to himself.

We have here to object to the phraseology used in reference to the phenomena or operations of the mind. It is as follows. "With reference to these phenomena, let it be observed, that they are not to be regarded as constituting something distinct from the mind, but as being the mind itself in different states." "Our notions, thoughts, and ideas, then, are nothing more than the mind itself in different states." "The same thing may be said of the varied affections of the mind ; they are the mind itself," &c. We suppose these phrases are intended to express what all late

philosophers have taught, that the mental phenomena are simply acts of the mind, not something distinct, like the *ideas* of Plato, or the species of the schoolmen ; for we are told that these successive "states" "do not constitute the mind," which would differ little from the doctrine of Hume, but that the mind is the "permanent exhibitor" of these phenomena. If we have stated above what was intended to be expressed, why this parade of new terms? If we have not, then the language is unintelligible.

From the frequency with which these terms are repeated, we have sometimes been inclined to think, that Dr Brown and his followers supposed they had made a nearer approach to the essence of mind, or rather that they had acquired more definite conceptions of the mode of its existence and operation than preceding philosophers. It was a fine remark of Locke, "I endeavour, as much as I can, to deliver myself from those fallacies which we are apt to put upon ourselves, by taking words for things."

The nature of the powers of the mind is next treated of, and here the language employed is equally exceptionable. The powers of mind we are told "are not to be considered as separate portions or members of the mind," which no one ever taught or believed, "but as capabilities imparted to it by its Creator, of existing in various states of thought and feeling which constitute the whole phenomena of the mind," they "denote the constitution it has received from its Creator by which it is capable of existing in all those states, which form the consciousness of life." The term faculty is entirely discarded by Dr Brown. Mr Payne has employed it in one or two instances. We can see no reason for rejecting a term sanctioned by usage, and in perfect accordance with our consciousness. We feel that the mind has the power of exerting itself in various ways, or in reference to various objects. For instance, we can perceive external objects, or we can pursue a process of reasoning. Where then is the impropriety in saying that the mind has the faculty of perception, &c.? Why resort to the circumlocutory mode of expression, that the mind is capable of existing in a state which constitutes perception or reasoning? Is this necessary to prevent the notion that the faculties are something distinct from the mind, as the members of the human frame are from the body? We are not aware that any other distinction between the mind and its

faculties has been held, than that which obtains between a substance and its powers.

Dr Brown was led to the adoption of this phraseology by his views on the subject of cause and effect, which lie at the foundation of his system. As this subject has been treated at large in a former number of our work, we shall not dwell on it now. On this point, Mr Payne differs from Dr Brown, though he has scarcely offered a reason for so doing. On a subject of such importance, he should have, at least, more definitely expressed his opinions. In reference to the succession of thought, he says, that mere invariableness of antecedence and consequence does not constitute the relation of cause and effect, but "there is an aptitude in certain feelings or states of the mind to precede and to follow one another." From this we should suppose that he adopts the common theory, but in another part of his work he speaks of "the prevailing misconception of the meaning of such terms as causation," &c.

And again "it is impossible for the old philosophy to explain how one affection of the mind produces another affection. But if we entertain those notions of causation, &c. which have been advocated in the preceding part of this work," &c. We should like to be informed what these "notions of causation" are, and wherein they differ from "the old philosophy." We only know that he rejects the theory of Brown. To be consistent, he should reject the phraseology occasioned by his peculiar views.

An assertion is made with regard to the operations of the mind, which we should not notice if it were not employed in subsequent reasonings. We are told, that the mind can exist but in one state at a time; that is, if the expression have any meaning, the mind can perform but one operation at a time. On such subjects our appeal must of course be to our consciousness. Can we not perceive external objects at the same time that we are listening to a strain of music, or engaged in a process of reasoning? If such is the fact, the above is a mere assumption.

"The manner in which our knowledge of the mental phenomena is obtained," or consciousness, is the subject of discussion next in order. All philosophers before the time of Brown have considered it a distinct power, having the operations of the mind for its object. Dr Reid says, "it is a power by which we have a knowledge of the operations of

our own minds." Stewart's view is the same. But is a distinct power necessary to make us acquainted with the existence of feelings whose very existence consists in being felt?

"Dr Brown maintains, that consciousness is not a distinct power of the mind—that the word consciousness is a general term expressive of the whole variety of our feelings; so that the phrase, the whole consciousness of life, denotes all the feelings we experience during life; he states that to be conscious of a sensation, and to have that sensation, is the same thing. Referring to Dr Reid's statements, he says, 'To me, I must confess that this attempt to double, as it were, our various feelings, by making them not to constitute our consciousness, but to be the objects of it, as of a distinct intellectual power, is not a faithful statement of the phenomena of the mind, but is founded partly on a confusion of thought, and still more on a confusion of language. Sensation is not the object of consciousness, different from itself, but a particular sensation is the consciousness of the moment; as a particular hope, or fear, or grief, or resentment, or simple remembrance, may be the actual consciousness of the next moment.' 'In the mind,' he tells us, 'that there is nothing but a certain series of feelings, or of transient successive states;—that the consciousness we have of them is nothing more than the thoughts and sensations themselves, which could not be thoughts and sensations if they were not felt;'—'that the evidence of consciousness is nothing more than the evidence implied in the mere existence of our sensations, thoughts, desires,—which it is utterly impossible for us to believe to be, and not to be; or, in other words, impossible for us to *feel*, and not to *feel*, at the same moment.' "

With these statements Mr Payne expresses his agreement. He thinks the doctrine of those who regard consciousness as a distinct power liable to two objections. The first is, that it supposes the mind to exist in two different states at the same time. But this objection is founded on the assumption we have noticed above.

"Secondly, Dr Reid's doctrine, that consciousness is a distinct power of the mind, by which we gain the knowledge of its present thoughts, sensations, &c. necessarily supposes that, without this faculty of consciousness, an impenetrable veil would hang over all the mental phenomena,—that we might, and indeed must, remain in a state of utter and hopeless ignorance of our infinitely diversified thoughts and feelings; in other words, that we should think without thinking, and feel without feeling; a statement which involves in it direct contradiction; for a sensation which is not felt, is not a sensation at all."

Another objection may be urged to this doctrine, which in our opinion fairly overthrows it. If the operations of our minds are made known to us by a distinct power, by an act of consciousness, something must make us acquainted with this act, or we have operations of which we are ignorant, feelings which are unfelt. Each act of consciousness, then, requires another to make it known to us, and so on *ad infinitum*, which is absurd.

The subject of identity is next discussed, and is disposed of in a few pages. Our author briefly states the opinions of Stewart and Brown, and his assent to those of the latter. Stewart thinks that we cannot properly be said to be conscious of our existence, but only of our present thoughts and feelings; that this notion arises by an original law of the mind, on the first exercise of sensation. Brown contends that it could not arise from one exercise of sensation, there must be a succession, and in the remembrance of these is involved the belief of our identity, which he considers to be the same notion, "expressed in different words," as the knowledge of our minds as a substance. Payne makes a distinction between the *notion* of *self* and of identity. "The former," says he, "would seem to me to be the conception of mind, as the permanent subject of our thoughts, feelings, &c.; the latter the conception of mind as unchanging." We confess that we cannot see the difference between the mind's being the "permanent subject" of our thoughts and feeling, and its being unchanging. The subject of personal identity has been encumbered with many difficulties, as is always the case when men attempt to reason concerning intuitive truths. The belief of our identity is intuitive, and to inquire on what it is founded is absurd. Hence the great labour which Brown bestows on this subject is worse than useless. There is an accumulation of words and a semblance of reasoning, that tend to darken, and to create difficulties where really there are none. He, indeed, finally refers our belief of it to intuition, but from his explanation of the circumstances in which he conceives it to arise, we should be led to suppose that he founded it on memory. He also uses the term mental, instead of personal identity, the propriety of which change we do not perceive.

The "analysis and arrangement of the mental phenomena" is the next subject of attention.

"To this difficult and important work we now proceed. I have avoided the common phraseology, viz. division of the powers of the mind, because though I admit there is an obvious distinction between the *susceptibilities and powers* of the mind, and the actual *phenomena* of the mind,—i. e. its varied states of thought and feeling,—it is not less manifest, as we have intimated, that the only method of classifying these powers, &c. is to classify the phenomena. The process to be instituted has a direct reference to the *actual states* of mind. These are to be analyzed, and arranged in classes, as referrible to different corresponding susceptibilities, or powers; so that, in fact, a classification of the mental phenomena, is a classification of the mental susceptibilities, &c."

We see no good reason why this "common phraseology" should have been avoided, since it is admitted, that "to classify the phenomena" is to classify or enumerate the powers by which they are exhibited or produced.

Before proceeding to give a view of the classification which he has adopted, our author examines the correctness of the division of Reid and Stewart into the intellectual and active powers. It certainly cannot obtain, when considered in reference solely to the operations of mind, for the mind is no less active in reasoning than in passion. In all its operations it is essentially active. But do not some more immediately lead to action than others? May not this division then with propriety be made when the operations are considered in reference to their effects? Dr Brown says not, and with great labour, and some unfairness, endeavours to prove his assertion. Mr Payne differs from him. "Is it not apparent," says he, "that what Dr Reid classes with our active powers—our appetites, passions, desires, &c. are the springs, so to speak, which keep the whole machinery of the mind in motion? There would be no intellectual activity were there no curiosity, no desire, no susceptibility of pleasure or of pain."

He still however objects to the division, that there are some operations or states of mind which must rank under the active powers which do not lead to action, and some which cannot properly be included in either. But he has not sufficiently developed these objections to give them force. He proceeds,

"It may, also, be further objected against any such division of the powers of the mind, that it is adapted to perpetuate those false views of the nature of those powers, to which such frequent reference has been made. 'No sooner,' says Dr Brown, 'were certain

affections of the mind classed together, as belonging to the will, and certain others as belonging to the understanding, than the understanding and the will ceased to be considered as the same individual substance, and became immediately, as it were, two opposite and contending powers in the empire of mind, as distinct as any two sovereigns with their separate nations under their control; and it became an object of as fierce contention to determine, whether certain affections of the mind belonged to the understanding or the will, as in the management of political affairs, to determine whether a disputed province belonged to one potentate or to another. Every new diversity of the faculties of the mind, indeed, converted each faculty into a little independent mind.' "

All terms are doubtless liable to misconstruction, but that the "common phraseology," which has long been used by the best philosophers, has produced or "perpetuated" "false views," or that it is more adapted to do so than the nomenclature Dr Brown has used, we have yet to learn. Let us see how Addison understood these terms; whether they led him to entertain "false views." "The soul consists of many faculties, as the understanding and will, &c. or to speak more philosophically, the soul can exert herself in many different ways of actions." Again, "notwithstanding we divide the soul into several powers and faculties, there is no such division in the soul itself, since it is the whole soul that remembers, understands, wills or imagines." *Spect. No. 600.* Again, let us hear the language of the late professor Scott of Aberdeen, whose "Elements of Intellectual Philosophy" consist chiefly in a clear exposition of the doctrines of Reid. "The terms *faculty, operation, or power of the mind* have long been employed to denote the various phenomena of human thought. It ought, however, carefully to be remembered, that by the various faculties of the human mind, we do not mean any independent and separate energies, which may be supposed to unite in forming the mind itself, but merely different modes of action of the same thinking principle." Dr Brown, we think, could not object to the above view of the nature of the mental powers. It may be thought that we lay too great stress on *words*, but it should be remembered that by the variation and want of precision in the use of these, the science of mind has been greatly retarded, and hence we desire that no further changes should be made except such as are necessary; unless some man should arise who should be able to accomplish what seems almost hopeless, the invention and general adoption of a new philosophi-

cal language. The following is the classification of Brown, copied from his *Physiology*, a work published just before his death:

“Of these states or affections of mind, when we consider them in all their variety, there is one physical distinction that cannot fail to strike us. Some of them arise in consequence of the operation of external things—the others in consequence of mere previous feelings of the mind itself. In this difference, then, of their antecedents (*i. e.* as being external or internal,) we have a ground of primary division. The phenomena may be arranged as of two classes,—**THE EXTERNAL AFFECTIONS OF THE MIND; THE INTERNAL AFFECTIONS OF THE MIND.**

“The *former* of these classes admits of very easy subdivision, according to the bodily organs affected.

“The *latter* may be divided into two orders; Intellectual states of mind, and Emotions. These orders, which are sufficiently distinct of themselves, exhaust, as it appears to me, the whole phenomena of the class.”

This classification our author considers “original, simple, distinct and complete,” and in its “leading divisions so much in accordance with nature” that he “cannot anticipate the time when another shall be suggested so worthy of adoption.” It is “in accordance with” Dr Brown’s new theory of cause and effect, or rather flows from it. Having denied the existence of power, and regarding the phenomena of matter as a succession of changes, in no way related but by antecedence and consequence, he must apply the same doctrine to mind, taking from it its powers, and regarding its phenomena as a mere succession of changes, or *states*. We object then to this classification, that it is founded on the supposition that the mind is a mere passive recipient of changes which follow the presence of external objects, or of preceding states. We hold this to be contradicted by our consciousness.

We have other objections to this classification, which will appear as we examine its parts in order. To this we proceed.

The external affections, those states of mind which follow the presence of external objects, are divided into the less, and more definite affections. Dr Brown calls them all sensations, but Mr Payne contends that the term should be confined to those “states of mind originated by impressions upon the organs of sense.” Under the latter division are included our sensations, properly so called; under the former,

our appetites, and the pains and pleasures arising from the state of our muscular system. According to this system, our appetites are not to be ranked among the principles of our constitution, because, when analyzed, they are found to be composed of an uneasy sensation and a desire.

"There is nothing peculiar in the pain which constitutes one element of our appetites; there is nothing peculiar in the desire which constitutes the other. Why then, should the pain and desire co-existing, be thought to require a particular designation, and to constitute what is called a power of mind in this case, and not in others? A man falls into a pit; his situation is painful; it originates the desire of relief. Why should we not say he has the *appetite* of ascending, as well as that we have the *appetite* of hunger? It will be replied, perhaps, that the complex feeling, denominated hunger, recurs at regular intervals, and that, on this account, it ought to be regarded as being specifically distinct from any accidental case, in which there is a union of pain and desire. But what is the reason of this regular recurrence of the appetite? Is it not that God has so formed the body, that it is, at these intervals, in that state which is necessary to the existence of the elementary uneasiness involved in appetite? This we suppose will be admitted. And should it be so, how can it be thought that that circumstance can impress a peculiar character upon the mental feeling itself? Suppose the individual, referred to a short time ago, should fall into the pit at regular intervals; that the result should invariably be bodily pain, and desire of relief; would the circumstance of the accident happening habitually, and regularly, convert this complex mental feeling into an appetite? This will not be pretended. And yet the reply of our opponents ought to be in the affirmative."

But after this parade of analysis, we are told, "it is not wished to discontinue the use of the word appetite," but that "we must guard against supposing, that the term denotes an original power of the mind." The term power of mind is not used in reference to our active principles; but that our appetites of hunger, thirst and sex, are original principles of our constitution, cannot be doubted.

Previously to an examination of the sensation peculiar to their respective organs, some judicious remarks are made on sensation in general, the connexion between matter and mind, the different theories of perception, &c. Sensation and perception are not considered as distinct powers. Sensation is a feeling which follows the impression on an organ of sense: "perception is the reference we make of our sensations to something external as the cause of them."

With the general doctrine we agree; on some of the re-

marks in illustration we might make some strictures, if we thought the errors of moment.

The sensations belonging to each organ are next examined, with a view to determine the sensations which each originally afforded. These, it is said, are mere feelings of the mind, and cannot give us the knowledge of the existence of any thing but themselves; our reference of them to external causes being the result of experience. Whence then is acquired the knowledge on which this experience is founded? Dr Reid believed that the sense of touch gave us the notions of hardness and extension, and hence arise our conception and belief of external objects. But Dr Brown contends, that the sense of touch gives us originally no more information than that of smelling. To account for the origin of our notion of matter, he calls to his aid a sixth sense, "our muscular sensations," and makes the first idea of resistance and extension, to which he reduces the qualities of matter, arise from impeded muscular effort. Let us examine the process as he describes it. Suppose a series of muscular efforts, such as the opening and closing of the infant's fingers, this occasions a series of feelings; a body is interposed, which prevents this contraction, and hence interrupts the series of feelings, and here the notion of resistance from something without arises. Here Dr Brown thinks he has acquired the idea of resistance, one of the elements of matter and of *outness*. Passing by the absurdity of the infant's remaining in ignorance of the existence of its body, till it has acquired the knowledge of matter in the manner above described; that it can be fondled, and take its nourishment in the same ignorance, unless indeed it defer the last till it has performed the acute reasoning Dr Brown ascribes to it; let us see whether these notions of extension and *outness* could arise even on the author's own principles.

The opening and contraction of the fingers produce a series of feelings; the presence of a body interrupts the contraction, and hence produces a new feeling, which gives us the notion of something external and resisting. But how can the notion of resistance arise, when the existence of the muscles which are resisted is, according to hypothesis, unknown? A new feeling is indeed occasioned, but it is a mere sensation. It will not be said that it resembles resistance or *outness*, or the body that resists. Why then should this sensation give us these notions, sooner than the pre-

ceding ones? The light entering the eye of the infant occasions a certain feeling; the interposition of an opaque body between the luminous one and the eye would occasion a new feeling. Why would not the notions of outness arise in this case as well as in the former?

But let us see whether the notion of extension, the elements of which are length and breadth, could be acquired in this manner. "The series of muscular feelings," says Dr. Brown, "of which the infant is conscious, in incessantly closing and opening his little hand, must, on these principles, be accompanied with the notion, not indeed of the existence of his hand, or of any thing external, but of a certain length of succession; and each stage of the contraction, by frequent renewal, gradually becomes significant of a particular length, corresponding with the portion of the series. When any hard body, therefore, is placed in the infant's hand, though he cannot indeed have any knowledge of the object, or of the hand, he yet feels that he can no longer perform the accustomed contraction, or to speak more accurately, since he is unacquainted with any parts that are contracted, he feels that he can no longer produce his accustomed series of feelings; and he knows the quantity of contraction which remained to be performed, or rather the length of the series which remained to be felt." *Vol. I, page 360.* These portions of the series becoming significant of particular lengths, when a body is interposed it not only gives the idea of *outness* and resistance, but that its length is equal to that quantity of contraction which the infant "knows is yet to be performed." This is the manner, according to Dr. Brown, in which the notion of length is acquired. Were but half the contraction allowed to be performed, the infant would know that the resisting body was *half as long as its feelings*, a notion of length, when applied to matter, which we leave to the advocate of this view to explain.

But supposing that the notion of length should arise in the manner above described, how do we arrive at the other constituent of extension, viz. breadth? According to Dr. Brown, it is as follows: When a body, for example a ball, is placed in the hand, it interrupts the contraction unequally, and thus we acquire the notion of a number of co-existent lengths, which is "our very notion of breadth." Here, even granting the premises, the conclusion does not follow; for such

of the co-existent lengths must be without breadth, or the thing sought for is assumed. Now, how can a number of co-existent lengths, each without breadth, constitute breadth?

Such is Dr Brown's account of the origin of our knowledge of external things. It does not rest, he thinks, as some philosophers contend, on any peculiar intuition, but is to be traced "to that more general one by which we consider a new consequent in any series of accustomed events as a new antecedent."

The opinion of Mr Payne is different, though he adopts the distinction between the muscular and *tactual* feelings.

"On this most difficult subject, I am rather disposed to agree with those who ascribe our belief in the existence of an external world to a peculiar intuition. A body comes in contact with the palm of the hand—the fingers close upon it—they instinctively press it—the feeling of resistance is experienced; and that feeling, by a law of the mind, instantly suggests the notion of something external, and antecedently to all experience, is referred to it as its cause. There is nothing in the mere *tactual* feeling, as we have seen, which appears adapted to originate the idea of any thing external. Nor does the muscular feeling seem to me more likely to awaken it. It is a mere sensation, which will indeed lead to the conception of a *cause*, but which no more involves the notion of an *external* cause, than the fragrance of the violet or the rose."

For ourselves we have never experienced any great difficulties on this subject. We have always thought that we acquire our knowledge of external objects by perception. To make known to us the existence of matter and its qualities is precisely what our senses were given us for, not to lie dormant till our muscles have given them objects to act on. What were our first feelings and notions we can never know, as memory does not inform us. All that we can affirm from experience is, that from our earliest recollection, our senses have contributed to increase the extent and accuracy of our knowledge of matter.

In treating of vision it is asserted that our perception of distance of objects is wholly the result of experience. We are not disposed to admit this. It is founded on the so often quoted case of Cheselden, which, if correctly reported, is but a single case. We recollect to have seen an account of two similar operations, in which the results were entirely different. Animals, as soon as born, perceive distance, and why should not children? Though experience adds to the accuracy of our knowledge of distances, yet we do not

believe that all objects appear equally near to the eye fill otherwise informed by experience.

We now proceed to notice the second general class of the mental phenomena, viz: the internal affections, states "which do not directly at least depend on the body; which have for their immediate antecedents, not impressions made upon the organs of sense, or the brain, but previous feelings or states of the mind itself." The class is divided into, 1. Intellectual states, and 2. Emotion. The former is subdivided into simple and relative suggestion. Mr Payne does

"Not altogether approve of the terms by which Dr Brown designates these two classes of our intellectual states, especially of the latter. To the word Suggestion, an unusual latitude of signification is attached. When the sight of a painting is followed by the conception of the painter, it is in perfect harmony with the ordinary use of the term, to say it suggests the latter idea; but the perception of a horse, and a sheep, can scarcely be said to suggest the points in which they agree. Dr Brown, however, uses the term Suggest in this connexion, merely to intimate that one state of mind immediately follows another state. Relative Suggestions are feelings which arise by a law of the mind, from co-existing perception, or conception, or two or more objects. Bearing these remarks in mind, we need not hesitate to adopt Dr Brown's phraseology; and, for reasons formerly stated, it is deemed better not to depart from it."

Perhaps it would not have been amiss to have "stated" some "reasons" for its adoption.

By simple suggestion is meant association of ideas. The reasons adduced by Brown for discarding the latter appear to us to be without weight. It is a term which is sanctioned by long usage, is woven into our most common language, and conveys no erroneous impression. Why then should it be dropped, and a term having already another signification attached to it substituted? Dr Brown thought that all the laws of suggestion might be reduced to contiguity in time or place. He however enumerates three general laws, by which the succession of thought is regulated; viz. resemblance, contrast, and contiguity. This arrangement is adopted by Mr Payne. The illustrations of this subject are highly valuable, on account of their connexion with the principles of philosophical criticism. These are in a few instances deduced and applied. We regret that Mr Payne has copied from Brown a *hyper-criticism* on one of the most beautiful stanzas in Gray's Elegy.

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Nine secondary laws are enumerated, all of which no doubt influence the train of thought, as also do many other circumstances not noticed: "for there is no possible relation among the objects of our knowledge which may not serve to connect them together in the mind; and, therefore, though one enumeration may be more comprehensive than another, a perfectly complete enumeration is scarcely to be expected." We concur with the remark of Stewart; "a perfectly complete enumeration" would require an enumeration of all the relations which exist among the objects of our knowledge, which is of course impossible.

To this "faculty of suggestion" (Mr Payne uses this form of expression, though Brown does not) attention, conception, memory, imagination and habit, are reduced. Attention is thus explained. Emotion may co-exist with thought, forming a complex state of mind. It is a law of mind that emotions communicate peculiar vividness to the thoughts with which they co-exist, and cause others that may be on the mind to fade so as scarcely to be perceptible.

An object of perception is presented to the mind, a desire, which, according to this system, is an emotion, of knowing it more perfectly arises, co-exists with the perception, and gives it peculiar vividness. Attention then is perception combined with desire.

Though we do not consider attention a distinct faculty, yet we cannot adopt the above explanation. It is liable to the objection we have already made to the system in general, viz. that it represents the mind as the passive recipient of changes; having no control over its operations. This we say is not in accordance with our experience, particularly in an act of attention. Attention, in regard to external objects of perception, seems to be, as our author remarks in a note, "an effort to preserve the muscles in that state of contraction which is most favourable for gaining the information desired." But what is the mental act in this process? Is it not an *act of will* to which the muscles are obedient? And is it any thing other in regard to the *internal affections*? When we endeavour to fix our attention on the operations of our minds, are we conscious of any thing but the exercise of *will*? It is the continued exercise of will directing the thoughts to a particular object, and confining them often to some one point. It will be perceived then that we, coa-

withdrawing attention as an act of will, of course do not refer, it to suggestion.

But it is here proper that we should state our views of suggestion or association, as a prominent objection to the classification under consideration will be thereby developed. We will endeavour to express ourselves with clearness, and at each step our appeal must be to the consciousness of our readers for the truth of our assertions.

The term *faculty*, as we have before observed, expresses an action of the thinking principle in a particular manner, or in reference to particular objects. Every class of those mental operations, then, which are sufficiently distinct from others, is to be referred to a distinct faculty. Thus the mental operations in the perception of external objects are distinct from others, and are referred to the faculty of perception. Again, the mind has the power of treasuring up knowledge or recalling past thoughts and feelings, &c. Now is not this class of operations sufficiently distinct from perception, from reasoning, from emotion, from all the mental phenomena, to require a distinctive name?—to be referred to a separate faculty? This is commonly termed *memory*. We have the authority of Locke for using as a general term *the retentive faculty*. Of this, memory, recollection and conception express different modes. But of this hereafter. Again, the mind has the power of forming combinations from remembered scenes, and of *originating* new ones, or *ideal creations*. This surely is a sufficiently distinct mode of mental exercise to require a distinct faculty. This is usually called imagination, but we should prefer a more general term, of which imagination and fancy express different degrees or modes. We would propose the *creative faculty*. The term has not, we believe, been used by any philosopher; we frequently, however, meet with the expression, *creative imagination*, *creative genius*, among the best writers.

The operations of mind in the process of reasoning, we think it will be admitted, are sufficiently distinct, to be referred to the *reasoning faculty*—a phrase which has already the sanction of usage. It must not be supposed that we are attempting to give a complete enumeration of our faculties. The above partial one is made that we may explain our views on association. To this we proceed.

Let us attend to the process of the mind in the exercise of its various faculties. For example, what is the mode of

operation is remembering? Do we not recall past thoughts by their relations, such as resemblance, contrast, antiquity, and a thousand other relations, though more usually by the first mentioned.

In forming ideal creations, do not our thoughts succeed each other according to the same relations? Also in reasoning? But this succession of thought, according to certain relations, is association of ideas, or suggestion. What then is association but the order of the mind's action by its various faculties? It is a general term, expressive of the mode of action of the mind in all its operations; expressive of our thoughts as successive and related. If this view is correct, then the classification of the system under examination is radically wrong. It reduces all the mental faculties to that which is not a faculty.

Conception, as we have already hinted, is not a faculty distinct from memory. It is commonly defined to be the power that gives us copies of former objects of perception. What is a conception then but a remembrance? It may be an imperfect act, the idea of time may not arise, or may not be attended to; but if it be the prerogative of memory to recall the past, why is another power thought necessary?

We next proceed to a consideration of those mental operations which are termed by Dr Brown Relative Suggestions. "We cannot long observe two or more objects together, without becoming sensible of certain relations which they mutually sustain: the states of mind which constitute the notion, or conception, of these relations, are what Dr Brown calls Relative Suggestions;—the power, by which we are rendered capable of experiencing them, is Relative Suggestion. 'I perceive, for example, a horse and a sheep at the same moment. The perception of the *two* is followed by that different state of mind, which constitutes the feeling of their *agreement* in certain respects, or of their *disagreement* in certain other respects.'"

These relations are divided into those of position, resemblance, proportion, degree and comprehension. Those of resemblance and comprehension only are illustrated by our author. The former is the foundation of generalization, the latter of reasoning. The following is an account of the process of generalization, or of the origin of general terms.

"On perceiving various objects simultaneously, the power of relative suggestion enables us to recognise the various points in which they resemble each other; and hence to classify them, or arrange them in different divisions;—for classification is grounded on resem-

blance, those objects being placed in the same division, which bear this relation to one another. Were we possessed of the power of perception merely, the resemblances, of which we speak, would no more strike us than the brutes around us. Endowed, however, as we are, with the faculty of recognising relations, we become immediately aware that some agree, in contradistinction from others, in possessing a principle of vitality. Of these, some have reason, others not. Of the irrational tribes, some are covered with hair, others with scales, others again with feathers; many have four legs, several only two. And thus what would otherwise have been an indiscriminate mass of beings, separates, in our mental vision, into distinct classes; while, to give utterance to those notions of resemblance which arose in our minds on the perception of these objects, and which were the spring and the guide of this mental classification, or rather perhaps which constitute it, we invent general terms, *which are words designed to express the common resemblance recognised by us in objects which we thus class together.* 'That in looking at a horse, an ox, or a sheep, we should be struck with a feeling of their resemblance, in certain respects,—that to those respects in which they are felt to resemble each other, we should give a name, as we give a name to each of them individually, comprehending under the general name such objects only as excite, when compared together with others, the feeling of this particular relation; all this has surely nothing very mysterious about it. It would, indeed, be more mysterious, if, perceiving the resemblances of objects that are constantly around us, we did not avail ourselves of language, as a mode of communicating to others our feelings of the resemblance, as we avail ourselves of it in the particular denomination of the individual, to inform others of that particular object, of which we speak; and to express the common resemblance which we feel by any word, is to have invented already a general term significant of the felt relation.'

"No process could be more simple and beautiful, than the one which is thus described by Dr Brown. That great Being who formed the mind, has imparted to it, not merely the power of perceiving the individual objects by which we are surrounded, but also of recognising the resemblances which exist among them. This notion of their resemblance, constitutes what we call a general idea—which idea, or notion, is embodied in a general term, as a particular notion, or our notion of an individual, is expressed by a particular term or a proper name. 'In the first place,' says Dr Brown, 'there is the perception of two or more objects; in the second place, the feeling or notion of their resemblance, immediately subsequent to the perception; and, lastly, the expression of this common relative feeling by a name, which is used afterward as a general denomination, for all those objects, the perception of which is

followed by the same common feeling' (or notion) 'of resemblance.'"

The above is simple, clear, and convincing, and will, we trust, set at rest the question concerning nominalism and realism. The praise of strict originality, however, is not due to it, as nearly the same doctrine is taught by Locke, though he seems to have been understood by but few of his followers. It is surprising that Stewart should have adhered to the absurdities of nominalism, especially as a number of passages occur in his works which express nearly the view given by Dr Brown. He speaks of "the common properties" of a class—the circumstances in which the subject of our reasoning resembles all the individuals of the same genus—"the particular quality or qualities in which the individuals resemble other individuals of the same class; in consequence of which a generic name is applied to it." This language, as Mr Payne remarks, seems to imply all for which this system contends.

We proceed to give a view which this system affords of the process of reasoning. In this instance we take our quotations from the Lectures of Brown. "The brief expression, or result of the feelings of resemblance, is a general term—but when all which we feel, in our relative suggestions of resemblance, or in any other of our relative suggestions, is enunciated in language, it is termed a *proposition*, which, notwithstanding the air of mystery that invests it in our books of logic, is the expression of this common feeling of relation, and nothing more. The word *animal*, for example, is a general term, expressive of the particular relation of resemblance that is felt by us. . . *A horse is an animal*, is a *proposition*, which is merely a brief expression of this felt resemblance of a horse to various other creatures, included by us in the general term. It is the same in all the other species of relations which we are capable of feeling." *Vol. II. p. 221.*

"In every proposition that which is affirmed is a part of that of which it is affirmed, and the proposition, however technical in language, expresses only the singular feeling of this relation. When I say snow is white, I state one of the many feelings which constitute my complex notion of snow. When I say man is fallible, I state one of the many imperfections which, as conceived by me, together with many better qualities, constitute my complex notion of *man*. These statements of one particular relation are simple propositions,

in each of which a certain analysis is involved. But, when I reason, or add proposition to proposition in a certain series, I merely prosecute my analysis, and prosecute it more or less minutely, according to the length of the ratiocination. When I say man is fallible, I state a quality involved in the nature of man, as any other part of an aggregate is involved in any other comprehending whole. When I add, he may therefore err, even when he thinks himself least exposed to error, I state what is involved in the notion of his *fallibility*. When I say, he must not expect that all men will think as he does, even on points which appear to him to have no obscurity, I state that which is involved in the possibility of his and their erring even on such points. When I say, that he therefore should not dare to punish those who merely differ from him, and who may be right even in differing from him, I state what is involved in the absurdity of the expectation, that all men should think as he does. And, when I say, that any particular legislative act of intolerance is as unjust as it is absurd, I state only what is involved in the impropriety of attempting to punish those who have no other guilt than that of differing in opinion from others, who are confessedly of a nature as *fallible* as their own."

"In all this reasoning, though composed of many propositions, there is obviously only a *progressive analysis*, with a feeling, at each step, of the relations of parts to the whole, the predicate of each proposition being the subject of a new analysis in the propositions which follows it. Man is fallible. He who is fallible may err, even when he thinks himself least exposed to error. He who may be in error, even when he thinks himself safest from it, ought not to be astonished that others should think differently from him, even on points which may seem to him perfectly clear; and thus, successively, through the whole ratiocination, the predicate becomes in its turn a subject of new analysis, till we arrive at the last proposition, which is immediately extended backwards to the primary subject of analysis, *man*—as involved in that which is itself involved in that primary complex conception, or aggregate of many qualities. There are, perhaps, minds which merely by considering *man*, and *opinion*, and *punishment*, would discover, without an intervening proposition, that fallible man ought not to set himself up in judgment as a punisher of the speculative errors of fallible man; there are others, perhaps, who might not perceive the con-

clusion, without the whole series of propositions enumerated, though the conclusion is involved, as an element, in the first proposition—*man* is fallible; and according as the particular intellect is more or less acute, more or fewer of the intervening propositions will be necessary.”

“In every such case of continued intellectual analysis, it is impossible for us not to feel, when we have arrived at the conclusion, that the *last* proposition is as truly contained in the first, as any of the intervening propositions, though it is not seen by us, till exhibited, as it were, in its elementary state, by the repetition of analysis after analysis.” *Vol. II. p. 224, 225.*

The foregoing account of the origin of general terms, and of the process of reasoning, form, perhaps, the most valuable contributions of Dr Brown to mental science. They are indeed worthy of all praise. Thus far the views exhibited are so simple and so accordant with our consciousness, that they need but to be presented to the mind to receive its assent. But in further treating of the process of reasoning, some assertions are made which we deem erroneous. That a series of consecutive judgments or perceptions of relation may constitute reasoning, we have seen that “it is essential that the predicate of each of the propositions constitute the subject of the proposition which immediately follows it,” and so on in a connected chain. But how do these perceptions of relation arise in this order? Not by volition, for to will a particular feeling, is to have it already. We are told that they arise by the laws of suggestion, and that the variety in the trains of thought, or the operation of different laws of suggestion, oblige mankind to differ in their opinions. Now, as we cannot control these laws, it follows, that if a man disbelieves the existence of Deity, he cannot be accountable; this opinion was owing to the operation of peculiar laws of suggestion. He may be considered unfortunate, but cannot be accounted guilty.

This inference, so absurd, and so opposite to our moral feelings, is sufficient to prove the incorrectness of the doctrine which is the result of the view of association on which this system is founded. Hence, we are confirmed in the opinion that the view we have taken of the subject is the true one.

In the exercise of the reasoning faculty our thoughts indeed succeed each other according to certain relations; but

this is but the mode of its exercise. The power of reasoning was bestowed for the discovery of truth, and truth is not variable. We cannot indeed *will* the perception of an unknown truth, neither that of a landscape which is hid from our view by an intervening wall. But we know that in circumstances in which light from the landscape can reach the eye, the perception will follow: so in reasoning, when the object is clearly before the mind, the perception of relations will arise. All truth is intuitively perceived, the object of reasoning is to bring it before the mind; to do this is in our power: hence if from neglect of the proper means we fall into error, the fault is our own. The difference in opinion that exists, can be accounted for from the influence of prejudice, passion, &c. without resorting to necessity.

Reason, judgment and abstraction, which by some have been considered as distinct faculties, are by Brown reduced to relative suggestion; or to use intelligible language, to the reasoning faculty. Mr Payne agrees with him that judgment is but a single act of reason, or the perception of a single relation, while in regard to abstraction he differs from him. He thinks it is merely intense attention to a single object, and his opinion appears to be correct.

Abstraction has generally been considered a faculty by which we generalize, but this process has been explained without its aid. Stewart defines it to be

“That power by which certain qualities are considered apart from the rest.” ‘Attention,’ he defines, ‘as an effort of mind to detain the perception of an object, (or a quality,) and to contemplate it exclusively of every thing else.’ Unless, then, Mr S. makes some nice distinction between an *effort* to contemplate qualities apart from the rest, and the actual *contemplation* of them, Abstraction and Attention are, on his system, identical. If this distinction is made by him, it follows that the actual consideration of a particular quality is abstraction; and that the mental effort thus to consider it, is attention; a statement which is, to my mind, almost equivalent with the declaration, that attention is an effort to be attentive!

“And if the consideration of certain *qualities* apart from the rest, be regarded as an exercise of the faculty of Abstraction, why should not the notice which is given to thousands of individual *objects*, every day of our lives, be considered a manifestation of the same faculty? The sound of thunder is heard, we listen to nothing else. A meteor darts across the sky, we see nothing else. An officer pursues a suspected thief through the intricacies of a

crowded city, he observes nothing else. Is the separate consideration which is thus given to these things, an effort of abstraction?"

On Stewart's own principles, then, abstraction does not differ from attention.

On the second order of our internal affections, viz. our emotions, we shall detain our readers with but few remarks. Under the term emotion, are included our passions, affections, desires, &c.; in short, all the active principles of our nature, except the appetites. The words emotion, affection, and passion, in this system, express different degrees of intensity in the same feeling. This we are not disposed to admit. There is a distinction between emotion and affection, which appears to be this. The former is unattended with desire, and is transient; the latter has desire for a constituent element, and hence becomes permanent. Thus we speak of the emotion of beauty, and the affection of love. The term passion is applied to certain of our emotions and affections when they exist in greater strength.

In treating of our emotions, Mr Payne adopts the arrangement of Brown, which considers them as *immediate*, retrospective and prospective. To this we have to object, first, that it is productive of no utility, which we can see; and secondly, it arranges, in different classes, feelings which belong to one principle.

Thus, moral approbation and disapprobation are in the first class, remorse and self-approbation in the second; these are but different operations of the moral faculty. We think that in treating of our active principles, we should follow the order of their development. A treatise of this kind, truly describing their operation, their influence on the intellectual phenomena, and the cultivation each should receive, would be invaluable. Such a work could be written only by one who had long studied the workings of these principles in himself, and those around him, and also in the pages of Homer, Shakspeare, Burns, and other masters of human passion.

As yet we have scarcely any thing on this subject which is worthy to be termed philosophy. Hence, we shall notice but a few points in this part of the system under review.

Respecting the emotions of beauty and sublimity, our author differs from Dr Brown. The latter believed that some objects have an original adaptation to awaken these emotions, though their power may become greatly modified and

changed by the influence of association. Mr Payne adopts the opinions of Messrs Allison and Jeffrey, who think, that the power of objects to excite these emotions, is derived wholly from association. Philosophers have contrived to render this subject, simple as it is in itself, extremely perplexed and difficult, by their mode of treating it. But if we follow the common principles of induction, we shall have no difficulty in determining, whether there is any thing in objects themselves, that is adapted to produce the emotions of sublimity and beauty. Universal consent of mankind proves the truth of a proposition relating to man's nature. Now, can there a class of men be found who do not consider the "spangled heavens," the rainbow or the landscape, as beautiful, and the cataract or thunder-storm as sublime? If not, how can this uniformity be accounted for but on the principle of original adaptation? Were there none in these objects, we should be as likely to find men regarding them with disgust as with pleasure, which surely will never be asserted. Again, these emotions could never have arisen in the first place, had there been no adaptation in objects to awaken them: so that the very theory of association is founded on the principles it attempts to overthrow. There is perhaps scarcely a subject in philosophy on which more words have been employed to no profit, than on this. Dr Brown considered the emotions of beauty and sublimity, as the same, differing only in degree. Mr Payne contends that they are distinct emotions, and his reasonings in support of his opinion, appear satisfactory.

In treating of our moral emotions, some excellent remarks are made by our author. Dr Brown asserts that our emotions of approbation or disapprobation are not preceded by moral judgments. Mr Payne contends, in opposition to this,

"That a perception or conception of an action as right or wrong, invariably precedes an emotion of approbation or disapprobation. That we have moral judgments—*notions* of actions as virtuous, or the contrary—will scarcely be denied; and that such judgments are presupposed, in our moral emotions, is manifest from the circumstance, that the latter are uniformly governed, and may be reversed, by the former. Let an action be ever so praise-worthy, it excites no feeling of approbation, if we do not *regard* it as a *right* action. And, on the contrary, let it be ever so flagitious, it awakens no feeling of condemnation, if it be not *considered* an *improper* action. Persecution, on the ground of religious opinion, will be allowed to

be censurable and criminal ; yet the mind of the persecutor Saul did not disapprove either of his own conduct, or of that of his companions in iniquity, because he verily thought *that he ought* to do many things contrary to the name of Christ. Did not judgment precede and govern feeling in this instance ? How can it be doubted, especially as we find, that at a future period, when his moral judgment was reversed, his feelings also underwent a change ; and that he then so strongly condemned the conduct he had once approved, as to include it in the catalogue of his greatest sins, that he had persecuted the church of God.

“ And how are we to account for the different state of feeling with which the same action is contemplated, unless we ascribe it to the different views which are taken of its moral character ? To say nothing of parricide, infanticide, the offering up of human sacrifices—practices abhorred by us, but approved, at least not disapproved, by multitudes—how is it to be explained that one half of the inhabitants of this country practise habitually, without any self-reproach, certain modes of conduct, which the other half cannot witness without powerful feelings of disapprobation ? Is it not the case that their moral judgments differ, and that, from this difference there results a corresponding difference of moral feeling ? And the only way to produce harmony of feeling, is to produce harmony of judgment. Let us only succeed in lodging a conviction, in the judgments of those whose conduct we condemn, that it is morally wrong ; and, however fatally the heart may be entangled, the feeling of moral disapprobation will infallibly arise.

“ We do not then merely form notions of actions as right or wrong, but we approve of the one, and disapprove of the other. The mind has an original susceptibility of moral emotion ; but this emotion does not arise on the mere contemplation of an action ; it follows and is governed by the moral judgment which the mind forms of it. Even Dr Brown himself, in attempting to account for that diversity, and even contrariety of moral emotion, to which I have alluded, is obliged to ascribe it to the different view which is formed of the result of the action. There is, on his scheme, an exercise of the intellect—a decision of the judgment ; but that decision is, not that the action is right or wrong, but that it is beneficial, or the contrary. Those actions which are conceived, by the individuals who contemplate them, to issue in good, excite necessarily, without any notion of their rectitude, the emotion of approbation ; and those whose tendency is to evil, awaken the feeling of disapprobation. The notion of rectitude, is, he thinks, subsequent to the emotion, and built upon it. I apprehend this statement is at variance with consciousness. We do not first *feel* an action, if I may so speak, to be wrong, and then *judge* it to be wrong. That would be a backward motion of the mechanism of the mind, if I may em-

ploy such a figure. Nor do we, I conceive, in point of fact, judge an action to be beneficial or injurious: but we judge it to be right or wrong; and the judgment is instantly succeeded by a corresponding emotion of approbation, or disapprobation."

If the above remarks be admitted, and we do not see that they can be denied, there can be no dispute as to the existence of a moral faculty. The diversities of moral feelings among men, which are often urged as an objection, flow from the diversities of moral judgments, and these from diversities of cultivation. To the moral, as well as to the reasoning faculty, culture is necessary; nor is there a greater difference among men in the operations of the former, than in those of the latter. In both, it is the result of different degrees of cultivation.

On the subject of volition we differ from this system. It maintains, that there "is no radical distinction between desire and will." "A volition is a desire springing up in peculiar circumstances, and so appropriating to itself a particular name." Desire receives the name of *will* when it is followed by muscular action. Whether this is the only distinction between desire and will, our experience must decide. Are we not conscious of an operation of mind when we *will* to move our hand, different and distinct from the mere desire of moving it, which may exist when we have not the power to effect the movement? Have we not, when our limbs have been under a momentary paralysis, been conscious of performing the same act of mind which in other circumstances is followed by motion? If so, the desire and volition are distinct.

The last sixty pages of the work before us are devoted to ethics. This subject has not received that full consideration, either from Brown or Payne, which its importance demands; and as ground is given for the expectation that Mr Payne will hereafter resume the subject, and present to the public a more detailed and thoroughly digested system of morals than is contained in the volume under review, we choose to defer our remarks on this part of the work to some future occasion.

From the strictures we have made on this system, it must not be inferred that we do not highly estimate the labours of Mr Payne. On the contrary, we think he has the merit of furnishing the best text book on mental science that has yet appeared, which is certainly no small praise. He is evi-

dently possessed of a strong, clear, discriminating mind, appears sincere in the pursuit of truth, and evinces an extensive acquaintance with writers of mental philosophy. We most cheerfully recommend his work to the attention of the public.

THE AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

*The Annual Reports of the American Sunday School Union,
from 1825 to 1829 inclusive.*

In perusing the history of mankind, from their origin down through the successive ages to the present, we find scarcely any fact so much calculated to arrest our attention as the occurrence of discoveries and inventions whose effects upon society have far exceeded the expectations, and even conceptions, of those by whom they were made. To prove this assertion, we might refer to a hundred instances, in which results have flowed from the inventions which science, or experiment, first indicated, which never had a place even in the excited imaginations of their sanguine authors. Little did Schwartz, or Guthenberg, or Galileo, or Copernicus, or Jenner, or Harvey, or Newton, or Franklin, or Arkwright, or Watt*, or Lancaster, conceive of the stupendous consequences which have resulted from their wonderful inventions and discoveries.

Even the *moral* and *political*, not less than what may be denominated the *physical*, history of man, strikingly illustrates the truth of the remark which is contained in our first sentence. How often has the adoption of principles in morals and religion, which seemed in themselves to be purely speculative, and comparatively unimportant, produced, by the doctrines inferred from them, the most astonishing

* The inventor of steam engines constructed upon the principle now universally adopted.

effects upon the opinions and conduct of men! And have not the assumption of certain abstract political principles or axioms, and the inferences which have been deduced from them, broken up long established orders of things, and overturned, and are destined still to overturn, the thrones of kings, and even to obliterate the very names of regal authority?

And even those remarkable events which characterize the more recent history of our race, and which, one would suppose, were likely, from their nature, to excite the highest anticipations of those who were actors in them, might be adduced to show how far the results have transcended the thoughts and expectations of those by whom they were brought about. Ardent as was the mind of Columbus, little did he dream of the amazing consequences which have resulted to mankind, and will yet result to the latest period of time, from the discovery of the continent which we inhabit. Little did the pilgrim fathers of our country foresee of the grand, and truly astonishing, effects which their faith, and zeal, and love of liberty of conscience, were destined to accomplish upon the history of mankind. Strong as was their faith, and large as were their hopes of great and good results to the church of Christ and to posterity, which they believed would flow from their self-denial, and patience, and zeal for God and his religion; could they have foreseen what has since been evolved in the dispensations of the Highest in regard to his church and the world, as the rewards of their labours and sufferings;—the re-establishment of freedom upon the earth, and the revival and wide diffusion of the religion of the gospel, which have followed their settlement in this western world;—they would have breasted the difficulties which they had to encounter, with redoubled (if possible) alacrity and perseverance. Little did that band of devoted Christians, which met in London in 1804 to provide means to supply the poor in Wales with Bibles, expect that their deliberations would issue in the formation of a Bible Society to supply the whole world with the sacred scriptures; and that before a quarter of a century should elapse, nearly ten millions of copies of the sacred oracles should be distributed among the nations, by the influence of that society, and that they should hear of whole states, and even an *entire nation of twelve millions of inhabitants, resolving to supply every destitute family within their boundaries, with the holy Chart of life!* And little did the origi-

nator of Sabbath schools know what an instrument he had found for the moral renovation of the world, when he first resolved to carry into operation the idea which a benignant providence suggested to his mind !

Having made these remarks, which we deem not inappropriate as preliminary to the consideration of the interesting subject which we are about to discuss, we proceed to take an extended view of Sabbath schools, and particularly of the noble Institution named at the head of this article, and whose annual reports we have recently re-perused with great delight. And that our remarks may be somewhat methodically arranged, we shall consider this subject under a variety of aspects.

I. *We shall give, in the first place, a cursory view of the origin and progress of Sabbath schools.*

With regard to the inquiry, "who was the founder of Sabbath schools," we have some hesitation in saying that this high honour must be accorded to him whose claims to it seem to be almost universally admitted to be valid. We mean the late Robert Raikes, Esq. of the city of Gloucester in England. For Sabbath schools were unquestionably established throughout the diocese of Milan, a most beautiful and fertile region included between the Alps and the Apennines, by Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of that diocese, in the sixteenth century. But these schools were designed mainly, as far as we can learn, to instruct youth in the rudiments of the Christian religion, and, particularly, in the peculiar tenets of the Roman Catholic faith. They were therefore chiefly catechetical; and although reading and writing were taught in them, yet instruction in the Catholic catechism appears to have been the primary object. The following extract of a letter written in the year 1823, during a tour in Italy, by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, the excellent author of the "Evidences of Christianity," a brief notice of which is contained in our last number, gives us some interesting intelligence respecting these schools.

"After our English service, we went to see the catechizing. This was founded by Borromeo in the sixteenth century, and is peculiar to Milan. The children met in classes of ten or twenty, drawn up between the pillars of the vast cathedral, and separated from each other by curtains, the boys on one side and the girls on the other. In all the churches in the city there are classes also. Many grown people are mingled with the children. A priest sat in the midst of

each class, and seemed to be familiarly explaining the Christian religion. The sight was quite interesting. Tables for learning to write were placed in different recesses. The children were exceedingly attentive. At the door of each school the words Pax Vobis, "Peace be unto you," were inscribed on boards; each scholar had a small pulpit with a green cloth in front, bearing the Borromean motto, *Humilitas*. Now, what can, in itself, be more excellent than all this? But mark the corruption of popery; these poor children are all made members of a fraternity, and purchase indulgences for their sins by coming to school! A brief of the Pope, dated 1609, affords a perpetual indulgence to the children, in a sort of running lease of six thousand years, eight thousand years, &c. and these indulgences are applicable to the recovering of souls out of purgatory; then the prayers before school are full of error and idolatry. All this I saw with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears, for I was curious to understand the bearing of these celebrated schools. Thus is the infant mind fettered and chained. Still I do not doubt that much good may be done on the whole; the Catholic catechisms contain admirable instruction, and evangelical matter, though mixed up with folly and superstition."

It appears also, from a discourse delivered at Edinburgh, before the Sabbath School Union for Scotland, by the Rev. Dr John Brown, "that the honour of establishing the first Sabbath Schools in Protestant countries, for the purpose *solely of religious instruction*, is due to Scotland."

But although it seems quite certain that Mr Raikes was not the founder of the *first* Sabbath school, yet there can be no doubt that his exertions in this noble cause led, through the Divine blessing, to the glorious result, which the world now witnesses, of nearly, if not quite, *one million seven hundred thousand youth* receiving instruction in Sabbath Schools! And as there is no reason whatever, as far as we can learn, to suppose that he knew of any similar efforts being made elsewhere, and the schools which we have mentioned, conducted as they were, were not likely to be rapidly multiplied, let the meed of praise, which is due, not be denied to Mr Raikes, certainly one of the greatest benefactors of the human race.

The incident which led Mr Raikes to engage in this work is thus related by himself. "One day in the year 1782, I went into the suburbs of my native city to hire a gardener. The man was from home; and while I waited his return, I was much disturbed by a group of noisy boys, who infested the street. I asked the gardener's wife the cause of these

children being so neglected and depraved. "Oh sir," said she, "*if you were here on a Sunday, you would pity them indeed; we cannot read our Bibles in peace for them.*" Can nothing, I asked, be done for these poor children? Is there any body near that will take them to school on Sundays? I was informed that there was a person in the neighbourhood who would probably do it. I accordingly hired a woman to teach these poor children on Sundays, and thus commenced the first Sunday school." Three other schools were shortly afterwards established in Gloucester by Mr Raikes, to which he and the Rev. Mr Stock gave much of their personal attendance every Sabbath, and superintended the instruction given, which was chiefly confined to reading, and committing to memory the Church Catechism.

Mr Raikes used to relate this anecdote, that when he was revolving in his mind the practicability of establishing a school on Sunday, the word "TRY" was so powerfully impressed on his mind as to decide him at once for action. And he remarked to a friend, "*I can never pass by the spot where the word TRY came so powerfully into my mind, without lifting up my hands and heart to Heaven, in gratitude to God for having put such a thought into my heart.*"

In the year 1785, three years after he had established these schools, Mr Raikes was induced, by seeing their happy influence upon the morals of the children and their parents, to publish in the Gloucester Journal, which he edited, some account of their success, and shortly afterwards gave a more extended account of the mode of conducting them, in a letter to Col. Townley. This letter being published in the Gentleman's Magazine and other journals throughout the kingdom, brought this novel plan and its success into universal notice, so that schools were established in all parts of England in a few years. In the same year (1785) "the Society for the establishment and support of Sunday schools throughout Great Britain," was formed; and in the succeeding year the Dean of Lincoln, and the Bishops of Salisbury and Landaff, openly espoused the cause of Sunday schools. And so did Bishop Porteus, then Bishop of Chester, and the Rev. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism; the latter of whom, then in the 84th year of his age, in a letter to the Rev. Mr Rodda, says, "I am glad you have taken in hand that blessed work of setting up Sunday schools in Chester. It seems these will be one great means of reviving religion

throughout the nation. I wonder Satan has not yet sent out some able champion against them."

Successful efforts were made in the year 1789 to introduce Sabbath schools into Wales. Through the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr Charles, many schools, both for children and adults, were established. Perhaps in no other part of the world has this institution flourished as much as in that Principality. One consequence of its introduction into that part of the kingdom was a greatly increased demand for the word of God, which led ultimately to the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the year 1804, one year after the formation of the London S. S. Union, which was the first Society in Great Britain which assembled under its banner Christians of all denominations, and thus, in some degree, lowered the walls of prejudice and mutual alienation, which had too long and too widely separated the "Lord's redeemed." Subsequently to this event Sunday School Unions for Scotland and Ireland were formed; and so great was the progress of this blessed institution that, in the year 1811, when Mr Raikes ended his benevolent course on earth, there were more than 300,000 youth under its salutary influence. And it has continued to make progress ever since, and has spread over various parts of the world, so that now the number of youth in Sabbath schools in Great Britain, Ireland, and other foreign lands, is probably not less than 1,200,000.

In the year 1791 the first Sabbath school instituted in our country, as far as we can learn, was established in the city of Philadelphia. A meeting composed of "the Right Rev. William White, D.D., Dr Benjamin Rush, Dr Williams Currie, Mr Thomas Mendenhall, Mr Thomas P. Cope, Capt. Nath. Falconer, Mr Sharpless, and others, was held on the 19th of December 1790, for the purpose of taking into consideration the establishment of Sunday schools in the city." The measures adopted at that meeting led to the formation of the "First Day, or Sunday School Society," on the 11th of January 1791. This Society supported three schools for many years, and employed teachers whose salaries were paid from its funds, which were raised from the voluntary contributions of its managers and friends. From 1791 to 1800 more than 2,000 pupils were admitted into these schools, and during the nineteen years' existence of the Institution before 1810, \$7,689. 68 were received into its treasury, and almost

wholly expended in paying teachers' wages. The Society we believe continued to employ hired teachers until 1815, when, as far as we know, this practice entirely ceased in this country.

In the mean time, Sabbath schools were slowly introduced into various other places. In New York they were commenced by the late excellent Mrs Isabella Graham and Mr Bethune, in the year 1803; and about the same time in New Brunswick, N. J. and in other towns and cities. About the year 1816, the Institution began to be more generally known and introduced, by means of the intelligence which was diffused through the medium of religious newspapers, which were commenced about that period. In the year 1817, "The Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union" was formed. This Society commenced with about 5,000 scholars, and at the expiration of seven years had nearly 50,000 children in its connexion. One of the principal objects of this Union was to supply the neighbouring schools with the requisite books and apparatus, of the best kind, and at the least expense; and the advantages of such an establishment were so obvious, that in a few years auxiliaries to this Society, of every sect, were found scattered through seventeen states, and its publications, during the last year of its existence, exceeded 210,000, consisting of reward books, tracts, spelling books, &c. &c. for the use of schools. Having thus become national in character, not by any wise scheme of man, but imperceptibly and unexpectedly—a fact which itself proves the necessity of such an Institution—the Society assumed a general name, in conformity with the wishes, and at the suggestion indeed, of several large Unions, in different parts of the country, which proposed to co-operate with it.

Accordingly, on the 25th of May 1824, the American Sunday School Union was formed in the city of Philadelphia. The capital and schools of the Philadelphia Sunday and Adult School Union were transferred to the National Society. The schools generally throughout the country soon attached themselves to it, and enrolled themselves under a common standard. This Society, like its predecessors, is composed of different religious denominations, and is under the direction of a Board of 36 Managers, of whom 24 reside in Philadelphia and its vicinity. These gentlemen are all laymen, and among the most distinguished and efficient mem-

bers of the different denominations of Christians in our land. And in the organization both of its Board and its Committee of Publications, there is every security that there need to be, that no undue influence will be attained by any one denomination represented in the Society. The Union commenced in 1824 with 723 schools, 7,300 teachers, and nearly 50,000 scholars, and the good hand of the Lord being upon it during an existence of *five* years, there were reported to be in its connexion in May last (1829) 5,901 schools, 52,663 teachers, and 349,202 scholars! At present the number of schools is probably above 6,000, teachers 60,000, and scholars at least 400,000, and its auxiliaries are to be found in all parts of the country. We ought to add, that in the Society's publications every thing like *sectarianism* is studiously and conscientiously excluded. And with the *peculiar* doctrines taught in the schools connected with the American Sunday School Union, there is not the slightest interference,—these being left, where we think they should be, to the regulation of the different churches to which the schools are attached; so that there is no sacrifice of principle, or compromise of duty, in the union of the friends of Sabbath schools.

During the period which we have just passed over, an "Episcopal Sunday School Union" was formed, embracing that portion of the denomination which is called High church. This union contained at its last anniversary about 18,000 scholars. And within two years a "Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union" has been established, embracing the largest portion of that church. This Society has about 130,000 scholars. The peculiar organization of the Methodist church, and especially the circumstance of their having a large book and printing establishment, belonging to the General Conference, were the causes which led to the formation of a Union of their own. The Lord has blessed, and we hope and pray that he will continue to bless, both these Societies, which are engaged in the same good work with the General Union. May this emulation be a holy emulation. May the sweet bond of Christian love and harmony never be severed. And let not the spirit which dictated "we forbade him, because he followeth not with us," ever influence those who are engaged in the same good work. There is enough for all to do, and let all be saluted with a cordial "God speed you."

II. Having glanced at the *origin and rapid increase* of Sabbath schools, we shall notice some of the *improvements* which have been successively made in the course of instruction pursued in them.

1. At first, Sabbath schools were confined to the instruction of the children of the *poorer classes*; but now they embrace the children of the *rich* as well as of the *poor*. And even the children of those who bestow most care upon the religious instruction of their offspring, are now to be found richly participating in the spiritual blessings which are constantly descending upon the Sabbath school.

2. At first, and for a long time, they were taught by *hired* teachers; and in England these teachers generally received at the rate of about thirty-three cents per Sabbath—that is, about \$17 16 per annum. But now, with the exception of some schools belonging to the established church in England, and some in places where voluntary teachers cannot be procured, they are taught by those who give their services *gratuitously*, and who desire no other reward than what they have in their own bosoms, and in seeing the improvement of their pupils. Sabbath schools are now so arranged into classes that much more attention is bestowed by several teachers, than can possibly be given by one. We may add that if the teachers belonging to the American S. S. Union were to be compensated for their labours at the rate above mentioned—although it is so low that few teachers would teach through the week at the same rate, amounting to but \$102 96 per annum—it would require an amount, annually, exceeding \$1,000,000. And this sum ought to be considered as really given by the teachers towards the instruction of the rising generation.

3. Sabbath schools at first were chiefly *secular* in their character, and differed but little from common schools. Writing and arithmetic were taught in most schools. *Now*, more attention is bestowed upon the religious instruction of the scholars. It is true that the art of reading is taught in almost every school; but it is subsidiary to the moral cultivation which is now esteemed of paramount importance. And the fact that thousands and tens of thousands have become pious in these seminaries, attests the great importance of cultivating the *heart*, by rendering the mind acquainted with the pure word of God.

4. The fourth improvement consists in the formation of

Sunday schools for *adults*. This was first attempted, with great success, in Wales, by the Rev. Mr Charles, in the year 1811. And in the year 1814, he wrote as follows to Dr Pole, "In one county, after a public address had been delivered to them on that subject, the adult poor, even the aged, flocked to the Sunday schools in crowds; and the shopkeepers could not immediately supply them with an adequate number of spectacles." In this country adult schools are confined to the coloured population, thousands of whom are learning to read. And indeed Sunday schools may be said to hold out to this unfortunate portion of the community the only hope that it may not for ever be said of them

"But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll."

5. The introduction of *libraries* indicated the commencement of a new era in the institution of Sabbath schools. These libraries consist of books of various sizes, and on various subjects, and adapted to various ages—from the very small book suited to the capacities of a child of six years old, to the larger volumes, intended for youth of fifteen or twenty years of age. The American S. S. Union has published more than two hundred different kinds of such books, and is making great exertions not only to bring forth new ones, but improve what it has published. Of the importance of this improvement no adequate idea can be formed. A better device, it seems to us, could hardly be thought of, to make the whole population a reading one.

6. The next improvement consists in the introduction of the plan of learning definite portions of scripture, with books of questions relative to these lessons. The Society has published two volumes of such questions. No doubt, improvement will be made upon this course. It may be found best to study the scriptures in a manner less broken and interrupted; or upon the plan exhibited in the *Help to the Gospels*. Improvements will doubtless be made in the questions which have been published. But we are sure that the present system is preferable to the old one—at least whilst teachers are, as they generally are, very inadequately prepared for their work,—which allowed the scholars to commit as many verses as they could or pleased, whether they understood what they repeated or not. Where the new

system is adopted every Sunday school is an interesting assemblage of Bible classes, as far as it regards those that can read.

7. Another improvement consists in the introduction of higher Bible classes, for those who have passed through the age which is ordinarily spent in the Sabbath school. In these classes they pursue the study of many things highly interesting and profitable, such as Sacred Geography, Jewish Antiquities, Evidences of Christianity, &c. &c., and are thus prepared to become teachers themselves. And it is found that many who would otherwise leave the school with unrenewed hearts, are here brought into a state of cordial reconciliation with God, and obedience to his gospel. This improvement is recent, but it has been introduced into a few schools with great advantage.

8. The last improvement which we shall notice consists in an extension of the Bible class system above described, so as to include the whole congregation in the Sabbath school. In some of the congregations where this system has been adopted, the course pursued is the following. The interval between the forenoon and afternoon services, varying from one to two hours, is devoted to the Sabbath school. The children are formed into classes, and instructed by their teachers in one part of the church; whilst that portion of the congregation which is adult is formed into larger Bible classes, under the instruction of the officers of the church, and other competent persons; or into one class, and taught by the Pastor, who has a general supervision of the whole. This may be appropriately called a congregational Sunday school, and where circumstances require it, might be held in the afternoon, or during an hour before the regular services of the sanctuary commence. In some of the schools of this description which we have heard of, are to be found men of the greatest respectability,—the young man in the vigour of life, and the old man whose head is white with the blossoms of age. We are happy to learn that the plan exhibited in Dr Alexander's "Suggestions," has been carried into operation in a church in a neighbouring city, under prosperous omens. Now what can be more desirable than to see a whole congregation engaged every week, not simply in the *reading*, but in the *study* also, of God's Holy Word, the most wonderful Volume in the world?

We have specified some of the improvements which *have*

been made. But as the system is yet in its infancy, many more improvements will doubtless be introduced into it; and as this is one of the principal objects of the American S. S. Union, let us not cease to beseech the God of grace to impart to the Board of Managers richly of that wisdom that cometh only from above.

We shall now turn our attention to another topic, which we intend to consider somewhat more fully:—

III. *The plans and operations of the American Sunday School Union.*

The objects of the American S. S. Union are two: 1. *To improve the character of Sunday schools which are already established.* 2. *To promote their establishment wherever they are needed.* We shall briefly consider these two departments of the Society's labours in the order in which they are named.

1. *The improvement of Sabbath schools.* For the purpose of accomplishing this, the Society, in addition to what is done by its agents and missionaries, and which we shall hereafter notice, has devoted much of its attention to its publications. It publishes a most valuable Monthly Magazine for Teachers, designed not only to convey much information to them relative to the best modes of giving instruction, the best helps for qualifying themselves for their important work, and of the books which are published for the use of children, but also to advance the interests of education generally. We cordially and earnestly recommend this valuable miscellany not only to Sabbath school teachers, every one of whom ought to read it, but also to *parents* and the friends of education. Two other small publications are issued monthly for the benefit of scholars. Besides these, the Society has published large quantities of New Testaments*, Sunday School Spelling-books, Hymn-books, Catechisms of different Churches, Union Questions, Manuals for Teachers, &c. &c.

But in addition to all these, the Society has published more than 200 different kinds of books for rewards and for libraries. The first ~~six~~ series of these books, embracing those that are quite small, containing from 8 up to 54

* The Society has wisely, we think, relinquished to Bible Societies the publishing of the Bible.

pages, 32mo. each, and costing from 60 cents to \$6 25 per hundred copies, include more than 100 different kinds, and are designed for rewards, although they may be profitably used in beginning a library. Those above the 6th series, and containing from 72 pages to 250 and more, and costing, when bound, 18 cents and upwards, per copy, amount now to more than 100 different kinds.

The object of the Society in publishing these books, is to supply the youth of our country with interesting and profitable reading—a most important object certainly. Every one who remembers what was the character of the books read by youth 15 or 20 years ago, will at once say that more silly, useless, and pernicious books could hardly be written. With the exception of a very few, we had none that were fit to be put into the hands of children of 10 or 12 years. And as it regards those of 5 or 6 years, we had absolutely nothing which they could comprehend. We believe that one great reason why so few men comparatively are fond of reading, is to be attributed to the fact, that after having spent months in the drudgery of learning to spell, without acquiring a single new idea, they were then made to read what they could not understand. The consequence is, that although a child may learn to read at 5 or 6 years of age, yet, because it finds nothing which it can read understandingly and with pleasure, it soon dislikes the sight of a book; and years roll away before knowledge can be acquired by reading, and by that time the mind has contracted a disgust for the practice, or has become absorbed by other objects of pursuit. Now to prepare books for little minds is a far more difficult task than many suppose. It is not simply necessary to write a *little* book; but the author must, as it were, again “think as a child and speak as a child.” We do not indeed think that all the small books which the Society has published have attained this perfection. Some of them are certainly deficient in simplicity. Shorter sentences, smaller words, a more childlike (if we may use such a word to denote a character of style) form of expression, without any thing low however, would render many of them more intelligible to very young minds. Perhaps there are none of them that are not susceptible of improvement; and we have no doubt they will be improved in subsequent editions. But notwithstanding this partial defect, we believe that much has been done towards supplying the rising gene-

ration with a most valuable set of volumes: such as have not been possessed by the youth of any other country or age. A large portion of these books is biographical, and highly interesting and useful. A number of those which are less substantial in their character may be dispensed with, especially as more valuable ones can now be substituted for them. On this point we know that our views fully accord with those of the Committee of Publications. We are happy also to be able to say that great efforts are making to increase the number of valuable books, especially such as are intended to aid Sunday school teachers, and parents who desire to render themselves better acquainted with the sacred Scriptures. Works on the Evidences of Christianity, Biblical Antiquities, Biblical History, Sacred Geography, Canonical Authority of the Scriptures, &c. have either been recently printed or will be soon. A most valuable Dictionary of the Bible has just been published, and there is a prospect that a commentary for teachers will ere long be prepared. Some of the ablest pens in the country are now enlisted in writing books for the Society. And if the Christian public do not withhold the means, there will be hereafter no want of suitable publications for Sunday schools. We would however most respectfully suggest to the Committee of Publications the importance of making every effort to improve what they have published, to discontinue such as are least valuable; and if they publish but *ten* works in a year, and let it cost what it may to get them, to see to it that they be such as possess great excellence. We are not indeed of the number of those who think that books for a Sunday school library should be ponderous with solid theology. They should however be not only *interesting*, but also instructive, and always calculated to make good moral impressions, and lead the youthful mind to a clear knowledge of duty and eternal life.

We would add that all the books which are published by the Society, must be approved by the publishing committee, which is composed of an equal number of persons belonging to the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal churches. That this committee hold a most important post, and need to be sustained by the prayers of the friends of Sunday schools, is most obvious. That they should never commit a mistake as to the character of a book, seeing they read such a vast number, not one in five of which probably

is approved by them, is what ought to be expected of no men living. Few we believe *know* the immense labours of this committee, which, it should be stated, are wholly *gratuitous*. It is no trifling affair to read a large number of volumes, many of them in manuscript, and often far from being very legible.

To those who are disposed to find fault with the publications of the Society, we have only two things to say. 1. The Society has aimed at doing the best it could in the circumstances in which it has been placed. It cannot *create* by a volition just such books as it wants. It has had to take the best it could obtain. Most of those published in England do not suit us, and many of them are very useless. And it is but very recently that men of talents in this country began to think of the importance of writing books for children. 2. Let them prepare better ones, and we undertake to assure them that the Society will most readily publish them.

2. The second branch of the Society's operations relates to the *establishment of Sabbath schools wherever they are needed*.

The importance of this department of their labours is unquestionable. For Sabbath schools must be increased *six-fold* before they are established wherever they are needed. Only a beginning has been made. We remarked in another place that at the last anniversary of the American S. S. Union there were about 350,000 scholars in the Sunday schools in its connexion. If we suppose the number now to be 400,000, and estimate the youth belonging to other Unions at 150,000, we have 550,000 as the total number of Sabbath scholars in the United States. But the number of children and youth who ought to be in such institutions is not far from 3,000,000; if we may judge from the census of New York taken last year. From this we see that not *one-fifth* of the youth are yet gathered into these nurseries of piety and knowledge. And when we consider the mournful fact that the majority of them receive little or no religious instruction from any other quarter, our tenderest sympathies must be awakened. Not one parent out of five in our country makes a profession of religion! When we cast our eyes over the *fifteen* states which lie east of the great Alleghany mountains, containing a population of eight millions, we cannot select *one*, where one-fourth of the children are in Sabbath schools! And when we look beyond, to the great valley of the Mis-

Mississippi—a region of immense extent—embracing nine states, parts of two others, two large territories, and a vast extent beyond not yet reduced to organized territories,—already containing a population of 4,000,000, and destined to be the abode of a population equal, at least, to that of Europe,—we find that out of at least 800,000 children, who ought to be in Sunday schools, there are not more, in all probability, than 75,000! Indeed there are not quite 42,000 belonging to the American S. S. Union! And excepting the state of Ohio, no legislative provision has yet been made in behalf of common schools! And even in that state the effort is only inchoate. Now, what is to be done? Is it not certain that the population of that vast country will in 20 years exceed that of the other parts of our country? And is not the tide of infidelity and Romanism setting strongly into that great valley? Is it not known that missionary societies are forming in Austria and other Catholic countries in Europe, to send forth missionaries into that region? And is it not well known that a large number of Catholic missionaries have already commenced their labours, and that these labours are directed mainly to the establishment of *free schools, and female seminaries*? All this is doing by those whom we believe to teach the most ruinous doctrines; and yet the Protestant community is doing little or nothing to promote Sabbath schools in that important part of our country!

We have given this survey, to show how much remains to be done. Appalling as the picture is, we feel encouraged, by the success which has attended the feeble efforts which have been made, to hope for great results when the friends of this cause awake fully to a sense of its great importance, and put forth their energy to promote it. Now it has been found by experience that the most effectual way, both of establishing schools where they are needed, and improving those which already exist, is to employ suitable men, who shall inform themselves well on the whole subject of Sabbath schools, and the best modes of conducting them, and who shall devote themselves entirely to this business. And such a Sunday school missionary or agent will not only establish Sunday schools himself, but also interest others, who, in their respective spheres, will do much to establish and sustain these institutions. There are thousands of neighbourhoods in our country where there are no ministers of the gospel, or missionaries to promote Sunday schools. And

where there are ministers, it is a lamentable fact, that many do very little, and some nothing, to establish Sunday schools, or sustain them when established! This often arises from an unwillingness to undertake any new labour. But if it can be demonstrated that Sunday schools afford great facilities for the discharge of ministerial labour among the young, and are really a labour saving machine to the pastor who employs it aright, no faithful minister, who cares for the salvation of his flock, will refuse to promote them with all his might. It is often the case that ministers are unacquainted with the best modes of conducting Sabbath schools, and also of the benefits to be derived from them. To such a minister, a good Sunday school missionary may be of great service. We are well acquainted with a congregation in the country, covering an extent of about 10 or 12 miles in diameter, and under the pastoral charge of an active, eloquent, and excellent young man, who had taken but little interest in Sunday schools, until he was visited by a Sunday school missionary from the American S. S. Union, about three years since. The missionary addressed the congregation, for a few minutes, after the sermon of the pastor, exhibited the advantages, and explained the new system, of Sabbath schools. The people and the pastor were deeply interested. And the next Sabbath a school was commenced, which soon had a library which cost from 10 to 15 dollars,—embraced more than 100 scholars, and was taught by about 20 teachers. Now mark the results which have taken place in that congregation from one or two visits of a Sunday school missionary.

1. The pastor has become devoted to the cause; before, he thought little about this interesting institution.
2. The number of the schools increased the first summer to *five*; the second summer to *ten*, and the last to *fourteen*, taught by more than 100 teachers, and embracing nearly a thousand youth, and coloured adults.
3. All the elders in that church are superintendents of schools, and the most intelligent people, old and young, are teachers.
4. Every school has a library; which has created a great thirst after knowledge among parents as well as children. The books are read with great avidity.
5. Many more religious papers and magazines are now read by that congregation, than formerly, and the general intelligence of the people is rapidly improving. Private libraries are consequently increasing.
6. So great is the interest which is felt in the Sunday school

cause that several new houses for their accommodation have been erected. 7. The schools are all held on the afternoon of the Sabbath, so that the pastor preaches only in the morning and at night, and spends the afternoons in visiting the schools in succession; where he examines the scholars on the Bible lessons, addresses the children, teachers, and parents, who attend often in crowds to hear him. 8. The teachers of each school spend an evening together, every week, in going over the Bible lessons for the Sabbath, and thus preparing themselves for their several tasks. 9. A far deeper interest in the grand benevolent operations and movements of the day is felt, and five times as much money is contributed to promote them, as was given before. And lastly, *nearly 200 persons have become hopefully pious*, the majority of whom received their serious impressions from instruction received in the Sabbath school, from the private exhortation of the teacher, the perusal of the books, or, as in most cases, from the addresses of the pastor! We may add that the gospel has gained access to many parents through their children, and has led the careless to frequent the house of God! See here the good resulting from the labour of a Sunday school missionary in a congregation which has a pastor. And similar results have often occurred.

But it is with painful emotions that we have to state that the Society has not been able to support any thing like the number of missionaries which the wants of the country require. At least two or three devoted labourers of this sort should be employed in every state. Instead of this, the Society had only fourteen last year, and most of them only for two months. And during the present year it has but sixteen missionaries and agents, and it is doubtful whether it will be able to increase that number. Now we ask again, what is to be done? Will not the churches awake to the consideration of this subject? Will they not sustain this Society, and give it the means of planting, with the co-operation of sister unions, a Sabbath school wherever there is a sufficient population? Will they not give the Society the resources requisite to support the Sunday School missionaries, whom it ought to employ? Why should not an association be formed in every church, to contribute annually to this object, as is done with reference to our Missionary, Bible, Tract and Education Societies? Is this institution less important, or doing less for the salvation of our coun-

try? And yet the whole amount which it received last year in the shape of donations, was less than a fourth part of what was contributed to the American Home Missiionary Society, the smallest of our national Institutions. We do not wish other institutions to be diminished, but *this* to be supported in a manner corresponding with its vast importance. Sunday School missionaries, we repeat it, must be employed, and at least, to the extent mentioned above, if the blessings of this institution are to be extended to every neighbourhood in our country. And we put it to *patriots*, to real *statesmen*, as well as to the *Christian*, to say in what other way as much can be done, and in as good a manner, to preserve our admirable civil institutions? Let a Sunday school with its library be established in every neighbourhood, and it will do more to purify the morals of the community than any other means whatever, save the faithful proclamation of the gospel. Shall the Society then have the means of establishing this noble institution, so simple, and yet efficient, in its machinery—this cheap defence of the nation—in every neighbourhood throughout our country? Shall it possess these means *soon*? Or must it wait until the combined, systematic, and powerful, foreign efforts* to propagate error and superstition throughout our land, shall be brought to bear upon us with all their influence? Shall not contributions be made in all our congregations, and that speedily, to enable the Society to go forward immediately? The answer to this interrogation belongs to others. Let them consider it.

We will farther add, that the necessity for employing Sunday School missionaries is not superseded, as some may suppose, by the missionaries sent forth to destitute places, by other societies. It is indeed true, that this cause is greatly promoted by the labourers employed by the Home Missionary Society, and the Board of Missions of the General Assembly. But these men confine their labours to but small spheres comparatively, and their devotedness to another object will not allow them to do much beyond the circles of

* It is, we believe, admitted by Roman Catholics themselves, that twenty-seven missionaries were sent to this country from Europe last year, and one hundred thousand dollars expended in propagating their doctrines by tracts, books, and schools.

their ministerial labours. And we may also say, that the ministerial labours of Sunday School missionaries, who are ministers of the gospel, are worthy of the compensation which they receive ; and the labours of those who are not ministers do much incidental good, in promoting often a greater attention to the subject of education, and other important religious concerns.

We wish, in passing, to say a word or two on the pecuniary condition of the American Sunday School Union, to counteract an erroneous opinion which is entertained by some, that the Institution has become *rich*. This is far from being the case. It commenced with but a small amount of capital, and our readers can judge of the probability that it could accumulate wealth. Its sources of income can only be *two*;—*donations*, and *profits on the sales of its publications**. With regard to the first, they have not amounted in any one year, to six thousand dollars, and have not averaged \$4000 annually. With regard to the second, the prices of the Society's books are so low, for the accommodation of the schools, and with a view to render them every possible advantage, and in many cases so long a credit is required, that the profits are much smaller than is commonly supposed. On the other hand, the expenditures which must be defrayed from these sources of income are great ;—in the necessary expenses incident to carrying on so large a system of operations—the employment of clerks and other hands—the expenses connected with the branch depositories, although as small as possible, are yet considerable,—the employment of a corresponding Secretary and an editor of the Magazine, who is also the superintendent of the publications generally, a work requiring the most indefatigable industry, and exceedingly arduous,—the support of the Sunday School missionaries and agents employed, men who have as hard labour to perform as can be undertaken,—and lastly, the interest upon a large amount of borrowed money used as a capital ; for the society has had to depend

* It is hardly necessary to say, that when we speak of " profits on sales of books" in this article, we do not use the expression in its strict commercial acceptance. We use it to denote the excess of the price of the books, over the cost of manufacturing them. The prices at which they are sold, are fixed at an advance upon the cost, sufficient to pay the incidental expenses of the business.

mainly on such a capital. From this statement it is apparent that the Society cannot be *rich*. It is struggling along, and endeavouring to accomplish as much good as possible. It has not invested a dollar in permanent funds, unless any one chooses to call their buildings such, which were purchased, and have been partly paid for, by the extraordinary efforts of a number of the friends of the cause in the city of Philadelphia, without touching a dollar of the ordinary resources of the society.

Although the society has encountered, and is still encountering many embarrassments from want of that support which it needs and merits, we would not convey the idea that it is *insolvent*. Its excellent Board of managers, in which are some of the most distinguished merchants in our country, have conducted its affairs with great care and prudence. And although they will probably not deem it judicious to go much further in borrowing money, or depending upon borrowed capital, they have not proceeded in a reckless manner. No institution maintains a better credit. Its stock of books, stereotype plates, and debts due from auxiliaries, will always be sufficient to counterbalance what it owes. So that it is safe, unless some very calamitous event should occur. Let therefore the Christian public grant it the means of establishing schools wherever they are wanted, and this glorious cause will, with the blessing of God, continue to prosper.

We have sometimes heard this question propounded,—“Wherein consist the advantages of a union of all denominations of Christians in this work?” We answer, that by this means greater resources are obtained and concentrated. The principle of Christian union is itself good, sustaining and encouraging, where nothing essential is compromised. But especially this is gained, that schools may be established in many places, by a society of a catholic nature, where they could not be, by a denominational, or as it would be considered, *sectarian* Institution. The agent of a Society, constituted upon the former plan, can easily repel objections arising from a suspicion that sectarian influence is at the bottom, and enlist in the school the feelings of all. But the representative of a sectarian society could do nothing, except where there are enough of his own denomination to form a school; which is not the case in some thousands of neighbourhoods in our country. And if every denomination

had its own society, and depositories, not only would great additional expense be incurred, but a vast population in our land, belonging to no denomination, and having strong prejudices, would exclude themselves from the benefits of Sunday schools; for none are more afraid of *sectarianism* than those that have no religion at all. And further, should those who manage any school desire to have other books besides those published by the Union, and any that may contain such peculiar views or doctrines as are held in their neighbourhoods, they need have no difficulty in obtaining them; for the Union, although it does not publish such books, is always disposed, we believe, to procure them from the booksellers, and furnish them, on as reasonable terms as they can, to any school that may order them.

We entirely approve of the course which the Society pursues with regard to *catechisms*. It publishes, and has constantly on hand for sale, the catechisms of all the denominations belonging to the Union, and leaves it to the proper authorities of every congregation to decide what catechism, if any, it is expedient, in their circumstances, to use in their schools. With regard to their use, we believe that the propriety of it will depend greatly upon circumstances. If the school is composed of children belonging to *one* denomination, there can be no difficulty in their use. But where the scholars belong to several denominations, or many of them to none at all, and especially where but one school can be sustained, as is the case in the country generally, it would be great folly to force the study of the catechism upon the school at the hazard of destroying it. We, as Presbyterians, do *ex animo* approve our catechisms, and wish to see our youth well indoctrinated in them; but we entertain no fears that Calvinism and Presbyterianism will perish from the church, unless the Westminster or the Heidelberg catechisms are used to sustain them. We have no fears from the simple study of the plain Bible. And we further believe that it is the duty of every *pastor* himself carefully to instruct the youth of his charge in the doctrinal catechisms of his church. This need not interfere with the Sabbath schools. It is the appropriate work of the pastor. And that minister of the Gospel who neglects it, or attempts to crowd it into the Sabbath school, in order to deliver himself from the labour, neglects, in our opinion, a most important duty.

We shall notice a few objections which have been made

to the Society, and then take leave of this part of our subject.

The enemies of this Institution say that "it is a great money making concern, designed to enrich its managers." With regard to the first part of this charge, we have already said enough to convince any candid man that it is untrue; and as to the *second*, we only name it, to have the opportunity of saying that there are few men in the world that would render the same amount of service for the public good *wholly gratuitously*, or incur pecuniary responsibilities as great as those of the Board of Managers of the American Sunday School Union.

It is brought as a charge against this society that it aims at the "Union of Church and State." Verily this is a charge, one would suppose, too silly for even the credulous opposers of all that is good, to believe. If to teach children to read, and then to instruct them in the duties which the *Bible* inculcates, is going to unite church and state, they must have a singular affinity for each other! The American Sunday School Union has nothing to do with politics. Its only aim is to promote knowledge and piety. Not a word about political measures is ever heard in Sunday schools.

The Society is charged with monopolizing the printing of books, and ruining both printers and booksellers. But the most intelligent booksellers in Philadelphia have publicly stated that the American Sunday School Union is doing more for them than any other Institution in the country, as it is raising up an immense reading population; which indeed is already manifest in the great demand for books for youth. It is believed that quite as many books of this kind have been published by the booksellers in our principal cities, within five years, as have been published by the Society. What has created this demand for such books, but Sunday schools? And who has been benefited by it, but the booksellers and printers? The society owns no printing presses, but pays for the printing which is done for it, just as fairly as any bookseller does. Would the most of the books, which the Society has published, have been published at all, if the Society did not exist? Besides, a whole set of the Society's publications would not make ten octavo volumes of 400 pages each!

Another charge has been brought against the Society, that its committee of publications has taken unwarrantable lib-

erty in modifying the books which they have republished. On this point we have to say, that we presume all will allow that there is no impropriety in abridging a book which is not a copy-right book and which is of course *public property*. This liberty has been often taken, and is not denied by any one. Again, we suppose that modifications may be made in such books as are public property, so as to leave out passages which it may not be advisable, for some cause, to retain, *provided that it is explicitly stated that such modifications have been made*, so that those who prefer the original work may not be deceived. Perhaps the Society has not given such explicit and full statements, as ought to be given, of the modifications which they have made in the books which they have republished. But the best remedy for difficulty on this point, is that the society should direct its attention mainly to the publication of original works, prepared for its use. There is sufficient native talent in our country to furnish all the books needed by the Institution, and all that is wanted now is proper encouragement to elicit it.

Again; the Society has been charged with extravagance in purchasing buildings, &c. We said enough, in reply to this, when we said that they were purchased by the extraordinary efforts of its friends, without touching a dollar of the money not contributed for this specific object. It was real economy to procure such buildings, which can always be sold for what they cost, because of the increasing value of the property in that part of the city.

And lastly, the Society is said to be a sectarian Institution. But that this cannot possibly be the case, we have already shown. The society has not done a single act which could support such a charge. And surely the gentlemen composing the Board, and belonging to various denominations, have quite as good opportunities as its enemies to know whether the Institution is sectarian. Or can any one believe that they would all combine to render it such? He that can believe this, has strong *credulity*. We proceed now to another topic.

IV. We shall briefly consider *some of the influences of Sabbath schools.*

1. *Their literary influence.*—They are promoting literature, inasmuch as they are affording opportunities of learning to read to thousands, who, if it were not for Sabbath schools, would live and die with minds unilluminated by the

pages of written instruction. This fact ought of itself to render the *true patriot*, the *real statesman*, as well as the *devoted Christian*, their decided friend, and unfailing supporter. They are cultivating the minds of our youth by directing their energies to the study of the most wonderful volume in the world. And whether we consider the amazing truths and doctrines which this volume contains, or their affecting relation to *us*, we shall be convinced, that the *Bible* is the best book in the world to arouse, invigorate, and discipline the mental powers. They are promoting literature by raising up a vast reading population by means of the libraries attached to them. Already has their influence in this respect become immense. Valuable neighbourhood and congregational libraries are arising out of Sunday school libraries. Nor is their influence on the parents and other members of the families less remarkable than upon the children. The books written for youth are just such as are calculated to interest the great mass of the people, whose education and reading have been very limited. Many will read a little book because it is a *little* one. Nothing is more common now, where the Sabbath school library system prevails, than to see whole families spending their evenings in reading the books obtained from this source. Now let this system become *universal*, and what a delightful spectacle will our country afford! Many men of fine talents, and who are now rising to important stations in our country, received their first desires after knowledge in the Sunday school. In many places Sunday schools have improved the character of common schools; and a manifest difference is perceptible in the common school, between those who attend the Sunday school and those who do not. We venture to assert that if the friends of this institution do what they ought to extend its influence to every neighbourhood, within *twenty-five years* there will be an amount of reading and general intelligence among all classes of people, and an increase of valuable private libraries, and a circulation of newspapers and other periodicals, such as the world has never witnessed, nor the most sanguine amongst us have ventured to hope for.

2. *The moral influence of Sabbath schools.* The moral influence of Sabbath schools has been perceptible in every neighbourhood, village, town and city where they have been for any considerable length of time established. They fur-

nish indeed what has long been a *desideratum* in the business of education. The secret of their success lies in the circumstance of their supplying a remedy for a most ruinous defect in the ordinary systems of education, which aim almost exclusively at the cultivation of the *intellectual* powers of the mind. Now the excellence of Sunday schools is that they aim at the cultivation of the *moral* nature of man. And this they accomplish by bringing the influence of *moral truth* (with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit) to bear upon the *heart*; and this too at the proper period of life, the season of childhood and youth, and under the most favourable circumstances; for their instructions are kindly and gratuitously bestowed upon those who voluntarily receive them, and no coercion is used, save the irresistible force of kindness and love. "The Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul."

Our limits will not allow us to refer to many facts to confirm these remarks. We will however present a few, out of thousands.

"It was stated before a Committee of the House of Commons in England, by persons who had been extensively engaged in Sunday schools, that *they had never known one of their pupils become a common beggar.*"

"At Botany Bay, the grand receptacle of the most abandoned and profligate of the English nation, General M'Quaine, the Governor, declares *that in consequence of the establishment of Sunday schools, only one of the children of the convicts, during the whole of his administration, had been convicted of a single offence.*"

And the effect is the same in this country. In a letter addressed to the editors of the New York Observer, the chaplain of the State Prison at Sing-Sing, writes as follows: "I have lately made pretty thorough inquiry among the convicts here, for the purpose of learning who, and how many, have ever enjoyed the advantages of a Sabbath school. The result is, *that out of more than five hundred convicts, not one has been found who has ever been for any considerable time a regular member of a Sabbath school; and not more than two or three who have ever attended such a school at all.*" The testimony of the Rev. Mr Dwight, who is the secretary and agent of the Prison Discipline Society, and who has explored many of the prisons in our country, is *that he has seldom found a Sunday scholar in a prison.* And

let it be remembered that a large portion of our convicts are under twenty-five years of age, and nearly *half of the whole* under thirty!

These facts in regard to the moral influence of Sabbath schools need no comment. They speak for themselves, and ought to secure the cordial friendship and support of every patriot as well as of every Christian.

The great moral influence of this institution was early foreseen by Dr Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the "*Wealth of Nations*," who says, respecting them, "No plan has promised to effect a change of manners with equal ease and simplicity, since the days of the Apostles." To this striking testimony,—the more remarkable coming as it does from an infidel,—let us add that of our own distinguished Chief Justice Marshall. In a letter to the Board of Managers of the American Sunday School Union, he uses the following language: "I can not be more perfectly convinced than I am, that virtue and intelligence are the basis of our independence, and the conservative principles of national and individual happiness; nor can any person believe more firmly, that Sunday School Institutions are devoted to the protection of both."

To this decided and illustrious testimony in behalf of Sabbath schools, we will add that of the beloved and venerated Washington to the importance of such institutions as promote religion and knowledge. It forms a striking contrast to the sentiments of another distinguished man who has followed him to a Bar where every decision knows no error or partiality. And this testimony is the more needful now when irreligion is rushing in like a torrent through the flood-gates which infidelity is opening:

"Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo."

When the Father of his country was about to retire from the toils of office to the shades of domestic life, in the last legacy, which he bequeathed to a grateful people, he thus expresses his views on this subject: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness,—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and

cherish them. Promote then, as an object of *primary* importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, *it* (public opinion) *should be enlightened.*" Such sentiments need not our commendation.

3. *The religious influence of Sabbath schools.* Scarcely a week passes without bringing to our ears tidings of joy, respecting the hopeful conversion of children and teachers in Sunday schools. We seldom see an account of a revival of religion in which the Sabbath school, if there is one within the sphere of the Spirit's powerful influence, is not mentioned as having shared largely in the heavenly blessing. This, however, is no more than what we might reasonably expect. And not unfrequently do we hear of the conversion of parents, through the influence of the truth carried home to them from the Sunday schools by their children. Blessed be God for the establishment of Sabbath schools in our land! "No one," remarks one of the ablest civilians in our country, "can form an idea of the spreading influence of infidelity, who does not mingle much with the world. I see much of it in the courts. And there is this remarkable difference between the progress of infidelity thirty years ago, and at the present; *then*, it was confined to the educated, and to the higher ranks of life; *now*, it abounds among the lower classes. *And there is, in my opinion, no remedy but in Sunday schools.*" Who does not say, let them be established every where? And who can read facts like the following, and not lift up his heart in prayer for, and put forth his hand to help, an institution which has accomplished so much spiritual good?

"From the Reports of the American Sunday School Union we learn that *nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight* teachers and scholars are reported as having professed religion during their connexion with the Sunday schools belonging to that society; and this is supposed by the Managers not to be one half of the whole number who have been taught by the Holy Spirit, and have publicly professed their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, since their connexion with this institution.

"In the Report of the New York Sunday School Union, auxiliary to the American Sunday School Union, for the year 1828, it is stated that *eighty-six* of those who were once connected with the schools belonging to that Union *are now either in the ministry, or preparing to enter it.*

"It is stated that a large part of the devoted ministers of the Gos-

pel and friends of religion in England, under forty years of age, and nineteen twentieths of the missionaries who have gone from that country to the heathen, are the fruits of Sunday Schools. Morrison and Paterson and Henderson became pious at Sunday schools."

At the last anniversary of the London Sunday School Union, held on the 12th of May, the following striking testimonies were borne to the influence of Sunday schools upon missions. The Rev. Dr Philip, a distinguished missionary in South Africa, said in his speech, that "he commenced his labours in the cause of Christ as a Sunday school teacher. The first prayer that he offered up in the presence of others was in a Sunday school. The first attempt he ever made to speak from the Holy Scriptures was in a Sunday school. And he was fully persuaded that had it not been for his humble exercises in the capacity of a Sunday school teacher, and the advantages which he there acquired, he should never have had the confidence to become a minister of the gospel, or a missionary of Jesus Christ." He was a teacher in the Sunday-school in Dundee. "During the period that he laboured there, twelve or fourteen young men went out into the field of ministerial labour, many of whom became missionaries. One of them was the lamented Dr Milne; another was the amiable Keith."

The Rev. Mr Hands, late missionary in India, said that "like the Rev. gentleman who had already addressed them, *he* might say that he owed every thing to the Sunday schools; for it was there that the heavenly spark had first caught his soul. It was there that he had first lifted up his voice for the purpose of imparting Christian instruction to others. If it had not been for that opportunity he should probably never have offered himself to the Missionary Society. Therefore he had every reason to bless God that he had begun by being a Sunday school teacher."

The Rev. Mr Mundy, also a late missionary in India, said, "he had been for some years a labourer in India, and he might safely say that if he had never been a Sunday school teacher he should never have been a missionary."

And what must be the influence, on the minds of our youth, of the examples of such men as Schwartz and Buchanan and Martyn and Brainerd and Obookiah and Mills and Parsons and Fisk and Pearce exhibited in the books contained in the Sunday school libraries? Will they not elevate, among the rising generation, the standard of piety, benevo-

lence, and Christian enterprise, and enlist deep sympathy in behalf of "men benighted?" We can add nothing on the necessity of Sunday schools to prepare multitudes to read the tracts and Bibles which are now distributing, and even to hear the preaching of the gospel in a profitable manner, as our limits forbid it.

V. The respective duties of those who are concerned in Sabbath schools.

1. *Duties of teachers.* To them is committed a most responsible work. The great object which their office contemplates is the formation of the characters of the children for "eternal life." And since they undertake to teach God's Word, what labour should they bestow upon their preparation for the serious task! Every help should be diligently employed, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit earnestly invoked. What exemplary conduct should be exhibited! What pains taken to give the children clear and definite ideas of what they learn! What ingenuity ought to be exercised in the choice of suitable and familiar illustrations, and simple modes of enforcing truth! It is a great thing to be a good Sunday school teacher. And the teacher that would win the hearts of his pupils to Christ should have strong *longings of soul* for their conversion, which will lead to much wrestling in prayer, and to faithful instruction. But we can do no more than glance at this important topic.

2. *Duties of Parents.* Dr Chalmers has rightly remarked in his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," that "family religion is not superseded by these schools so as to make Christianity less the topic of mutual exercise and conversation between parents and children, than before the period of their institution." If any father supposes that because his children go to the Sunday school he is relieved in any measure from the duty of instructing them himself, he has greatly and grievously erred in his notions of his duty as a father. Not only should parents co-operate with the school, so far as to send their children constantly, but they are bound to follow up the instruction there given, by their own faithful inculcation and holy example at home.

Nor should parents ever be absent from the monthly concert for Sabbath schools. This we regret to know is very greatly the case. Whom should we expect to be at such a meeting to pray for the conversion of children, if not their parents? Do parents mean to consign not only the *instruc-*

tion of their children to others, and these generally young persons, but also the solemn work of *praying* for them? That parents who can afford to do it should contribute most liberally to support Sunday schools, the rich benefits of which their children are constantly receiving, is a most manifest duty. But surely there is a great deficiency here, or else this valuable institution would be a hundred fold more amply supported. And we are decidedly of the opinion that every parent who has health, and is not prevented by domestic duties, should enter the Sunday school as a *teacher*, if he is at all capable. And if he is not capable, he ought to go to work to render himself capable as speedily as possible; for he is certainly not capable of performing the duties of a parent, if he is incapable of teaching a class in a Sabbath school. Parents ought to make the very best teachers, inasmuch as they have had opportunities of acquiring much experience. It was long ago thought that "days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom." We rejoice indeed that a change is taking place in this respect, and that some parents of great respectability and affluence in our cities, and even judges and legislators are now to be found as teachers and superintendents in Sabbath schools. May this noble example be universally imitated!

3. *The duties of ministers of the Gospel.* We believe it to be the duty of every pastor to become the patron and general superintendent of the Sunday schools in his congregation; to visit them in succession; to spend much of his time in this work; to take measures to have a Sunday school established wherever there is none, if it be at all practicable to accomplish it; to induce suitable persons to become teachers, and to instruct and prepare them for their work; to examine frequently all the scholars assembled in the church, and thus display to parents the progress of the children and the importance of the institution; to see that suitable books are selected for the libraries; to attend the monthly concert for Sunday schools, and enjoin it upon parents as well as teachers to be there; to *study* the utmost simplicity in his manner of exhibiting the truth to juvenile minds;—a point in which ministers greatly fail, and sinfully so, because it is a defect which every one can overcome, if he is determined to do it. In a word, we could hardly express our views better than by holding up the example of

faithful ministerial labour in Sunday schools which we presented in another part of this article. We cannot conceive how a minister, who does not preach in more than one place on a Sabbath, could do more for the cause of Christ, than by spending the afternoon of the Sabbath in promoting Sunday schools throughout his parish, and even beyond it, if it interfere with no other labourer in the vineyard. To be training up several hundred youth in the knowledge of the Scriptures is a great work. Ministers have devoted an undue proportion of their labour to those that are grown up; whilst the young, by far the most hopeful part of their congregations, have been almost wholly neglected. It has been justly said, that there is reason to believe that the amazing want of success in the use of the divinely appointed means of saving men, has been owing in part to the fact, that we commence our efforts to lead mankind into the paths of holiness at a period of life too late by ten or fifteen years. There has been, and still is, too little instruction of the youth.

And is it not the appropriate work of ministers to promote Sunday schools? Do not all expect it of them? Does it not coincide exactly with their occupation and business? And would it not often open a way for them into the houses and affections of those (for there are such within the bounds of every congregation) who seldom attend the preaching of the Gospel? What would be the effect of a minister's spending much of his time in his Sunday schools, talking kindly and faithfully to his dear children, encouraging the timid, leading the inquiring to Jesus? Would it not be of the most desirable kind? A Sunday scholar becomes sick; the pastor hears of it, and kindly visits the little sufferer, talks to him of the love of Jesus, exhorts him to put his trust in Him, prays with him and his afflicted parents, soothes his fears, assists him in preparing to die, sustains his feeble head in the last agonies of failing nature, and closes his fixed, and now sightless, eyes. Oh! will not such kindness open the heart, however long and fast it may have been closed by prejudice, and furnish the opportunity, long desired by the faithful minister, of doing good to the souls of a whole family which had hitherto been without the pale of his influence?

God commands his pastors to care for the lambs of his flock. Our blessed Lord whilst upon the earth did neither despise nor forget them. He tenderly took them into his arms and blessed them. It had been predicted of him, that "He would carry the lambs in his bosom." And it was one

of his last commands, addressed to one of the most distinguished of his apostles, "Feed my lambs." Oh! how blessed will be the lot of that faithful Shepherd who has been the means of saving many of the precious lambs of his flock! Who will be able to say, at the coming of the Great Shepherd, "Behold I, and the children which God hath given me!" But how awful will be the condemnation of that unfaithful pastor who now permits the lambs to wander from the fold, on the dark mountains of sin, to become a prey to ravenous wolves ever ready to devour!

This cursory view of the history of Sabbath schools, their importance, and the operations of the American S. S. Union, we design as an introduction to our future labours in this department. Our readers may expect often to find in the succeeding numbers of the Repertory brief reviews of books prepared for the instruction of our youth, and especially such as are written for Sabbath schools.

REMARKS ON A CERTAIN EXTREME IN PURSU- ING THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE.

MESSRS EDITORS.

Every friend of religion, of good morals, and of human happiness must, undoubtedly, have rejoiced to witness the recent triumphs of the Temperance cause. The formation of Temperance Societies in every part of our country, and the zeal manifested by many of these associations in enlightening the public mind, in overcoming prejudices, and in rescuing to all appearance multitudes of the young and the old from the jaws of that monster which is daily swallowing up thousands;—cannot be contemplated by any benevolent man without heartfelt pleasure; without cordial thankfulness to that God who has put it into the heart of his people to take these measures, and who has been pleased thus far to crown them with an abundant blessing.

It is also the firm opinion of the writer of this article, that

the plan upon which all Temperance Societies ought to be formed—the *only* wise and efficient plan, is that of *total abstinence* from ardent spirits, unless when prescribed by a physician as a medicine; and a physician, too, who is not himself a tippler. The idea of parleying or treating with such an insidious enemy is as hopeless as it is criminal. He keeps no faith with his votaries. There is every reason to adopt with decision the opinion of the venerable and eloquent *Dr Dwight*, that he who *habitually* drinks *any portion* of ardent spirits, *however small*, ought to deem himself, and to be regarded by others, as in the high road to intemperance, and as in real danger of coming to that deplorable result. Indeed it is delightful to perceive that the public mind is more and more approximating to the conclusion—undoubtedly the correct conclusion—that for persons *in health, of all ages*—WATER is the only proper drink: the most healthful, the most strengthening, and in every respect the most salutary drink. Our *children* ought to be trained up in this habit, both by example and precept; and no one who wishes to live out all his days, and to make the most both of his mind and body, ought ever to allow himself in any other habit. There can be no mistake about this matter. That *all* stimulants, in proportion to their concentrated power, consume the vital principle, and thus undermine the physical strength, is just as demonstrable as any proposition in mathematics. The only wonder is, that enlightened and thinking people should have been so extremely slow in coming to a conclusion which ought, centuries ago, to have been universally admitted and acted on. And here, Messrs Editors, I cannot help expressing my gratitude to the “American Temperance Society,” for taking the lead in this business, and for a large amount of benefit which that Institution and its numerous auxiliaries have been the means of conferring on our nation and the world. When I reflect on what has been done, in the course of two or three years, to inform and influence the minds of the American population on this subject, I am filled with wonder, and am constrained to exclaim, ‘What hath God wrought!’

That there is a special call for these voluntary efforts in our own country, seems to be generally granted. If we were inhabitants of *France*, of *Spain*, or of some other countries, where, however enormously prevalent other forms of

vice may be, intemperate drinking is comparatively rare ; I should not feel that we were called upon to make any such special efforts. But *here* the appalling predominance of the evil certainly demands a peculiar system of measures. But it is of the utmost importance that our course of proceeding be cautiously devised, and such as, in all its stages, will command the approbation of our wisest and best citizens. The intemperate and infidel part of the community will rejoice to see us doing any thing calculated to produce distraction and division among ourselves.

Now nothing appears to me more fitted to retard the progress, and to discredit the character of this great cause, than adopting, with the honest design of promoting it, such rash and extreme measures as cannot fail to shake the confidence of many in our general system ; totally to alienate others ; and, in the end, to produce a serious counteraction, which may prove deeply injurious, if not finally destructive, to the great plans which we are pursuing. It is by no means a new thing under the sun, that indiscreet, rash, and extravagant friends should do more to injure the cause which they advocate, than the most determined open enemies.

These remarks have been prompted by the intelligence, received through various channels of religious information, that a number of churches in New England and some within the bounds of the Presbyterian church, have adopted the pledge of total abstinence from ardent spirits, unless when prescribed as a medicine, by a physician, as a term of christian communion. So that, from this time, no one shall be admitted to membership in their respective churches, unless he will give this pledge. I observe, also, a notice in the public prints, that a benevolent individual has offered a premium of \$250, for the best *Tract*, to be devoted no doubt to the support of the same system of measures. I must say, that I have read these statements with deep regret, and with no little apprehension that, if they be correct—of which I fear there can be no question—the consequences can scarcely fail to be unhappy.

I am altogether at a loss to know on what authority it is, that the pledge in question can be required as a term of christian communion. We are accustomed to believe and say, that as the church is Christ's property, and governed by Christ's laws, it is not consistent with our allegiance to him, to "teach for doctrines the commandments of men," or to

erect standards of faith or practice which he never sanctioned. Now, though intemperance is undoubtedly forbidden in scripture, and is, therefore, a proper ground of exclusion from the privileges of the church; yet I have never seen in the Bible a law which forbids the use of ardent spirits, or any other kind of stimulating drink, in all degrees, and in all cases whatsoever. Of consequence, if a person be in the habit of drinking a small portion of this kind of strong drink every day, under the sincere impression that it does him good, and I have known many such people, however much it may be to be regretted, and however entire our conviction may be that such an individual is labouring under an entire mistake; still if he manifest no intemperance; if none of the visible effects of the intemperate use of strong drink are discernible in his case; by what law of Christ is he to be excluded from the church? Does the great Head of the church require, in his word, such a pledge as that which is now in question? It may be confidently affirmed that he does not. From what source, then, is it derived? Who gave man authority to demand it? And who, of course, gave authority, if it be refused, to make it the ground of exclusion from the sacred family?

It cannot be doubted that there are thousands ready to concur in the "total abstinence" system, and ready to give a personal voluntary pledge to that amount, who would steadfastly resist every attempt to make that pledge a term of communion. Thus, by the adoption of such a measure, churches would inevitably be distracted and divided, and the cordial friends of the temperance cause arrayed against each other.

Will it be said that the principle on which the demand of such a pledge is maintained, is that on which Paul acted when he said, "For meat commendeth us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the better; neither if we eat not, are we the worse. But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling block to those who are weak. For if any man see thee, which hast knowledge, sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols, and through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ died? But when ye sin against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ. Wherefore, if meat make my brother to

offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend." I say, is this the alleged warrant for making the pledge in question a term of communion? If it be, I am persuaded it will by no means sustain the weight which is attempted to be laid upon it.

The apostle is here making an appeal to christian principle and feeling in behalf of tender consciences. And after deciding that there is no sin in eating meat; nay, that, in itself considered, there is no sin in eating even the meat which has been exposed for sale in an idol's temple; yet he thinks and pronounces that it is very improper to run the risk of giving any offence by doing that, which though not in itself unlawful, will be very likely to be misconstrued, and to put a stumbling block in a brother's way. He, therefore, with that magnanimous and disinterested spirit for which he was remarkable, resolves, that, if eating meat should make his brother to offend, he would eat none as long as he lived, lest he should make his brother to offend. But does the apostle direct that giving a similar pledge on the part of every candidate for church membership at Corinth, shall be a term of admission? Nothing like it. The truth is, there are *many* christian duties, plain, undoubted and important, which, yet, can never be enforced as terms of communion. It is manifestly the duty of every one to contribute to the relief of the poor, and to the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world; and to do it "according to his ability," and "as God hath prospered him." But does one professing christian in a thousand really do this, in the spirit, and to the extent of the command? Probably not even this proportion. But does any reasonable man dream of making a rigid, or even a tolerably decent compliance with this law, a term of christian communion? No, the very suggestion would be considered as an extravagance to be at once rejected. In fact, such a law could not be enforced. Every such thing must necessarily be left to the conscience, and to the voluntary decision of each individual. And if a church member, or a candidate for membership, possess thousands, or even millions of silver and gold, and cannot be prevailed upon, at the same time, to give more than a trifling pittance to benevolent and religious objects; still, it is presumed, no one would think of excluding him from the church on this account alone. His friends may lament the fact, may mourn over it, and consider it as deserving of severe censure; yet the idea

of making it the ground of rejection or excommunication from the privileges of the church, probably never occurred to the mind of any reasonable man, as either practicable or safe; and he who should attempt the execution of such a plan, would be very soon taught, by the mischievous operation of his scheme, and by the frowns of all prudent men, that he had not been guided by that wisdom which is from above. The same principle may be applied to a thousand other things. The spirit, nay the express law, of our holy religion, requires all christians to be kind and tender hearted, forgiving and amiable in all their social and domestic relations. But it is only the grosser and more palpable violations of this law, that can possibly be made the subject of church discipline. If a man be guilty of lying, slander, fraud, or gross cruelty, in his social or domestic intercourse, he will not be received into any church that is pure and faithful; or if already in it, he will be immediately cast out. But is there not an undefinable range of churlishness, harshness, perverseness, and the total absence of every thing like a spirit of accommodation and benevolence, which though criminal in the sight of God, and hateful in the sight of all good men, can never be made the ground of formal rejection from the fellowship of Christ's family? In short, would not the visible church be involved in perpetual and destructive conflicts, if many things, which, though duties, and very important duties, were not left to the consciences and volitions of each individual, but were attempted to be enforced by ecclesiastical sanctions?

Another illustration of the great principle for which I contend, may be given. The use of tobacco, as a habit, is, as I believe, next to that of ardent spirits, one of the most pernicious of those that now curse society. It is pronounced by wise physicians, to be highly injurious to the nervous system and stomach in multitudes of melancholy cases; to be the means of gradually undermining the health, and ultimately destroying the lives of thousands. It is doubtless a powerful, and often fatal provocative to intemperate drinking; and is the parent of countless mischiefs in society. But what then? Besides exerting every fair and moral influence, by the circulation of suitable tracts, and by every method of private address, for the purpose of producing voluntary abstinence from this noxious weed; suppose, for a moment, that the use of tobacco, in any way, were made

the ground of church censure, and the total abandonment of it, in every form, were proposed as an absolute term of christian communion? Would any prudent ecclesiastical body be willing to demand the pledge? Yet why might it not be demanded, upon the same principle with that which is urged in the case before us? The truth is, when we once enter such a province as this, and undertake to form and enforce laws which Christ never made, we open a door to a thousand caprices of popular delusion, and cannot foretel where the mischief will end.

Perhaps it will be said that the pledge in question is not designed to be a term of communion in any cases excepting those of new churches about to be formed, and of new members, hereafter to be admitted into churches already organized. Now, in such cases, it is thought by some, that a voluntary agreement between the church session and those who may hereafter come in, may form a lawful compact; and that where it is acceded to, no injury is done. But is it doing no injury to an individual, who resides within the bounds of a particular church, loves it, and is earnestly desirous of being received into its bosom—to reject him on grounds which the Bible knows nothing of? Surely for so serious a decision we ought to be able to show a “thus saith the Lord.” But besides this: who authorized us to institute one rule for those who are already, and have long been members of the church, and another for those who are to be newly introduced? It seems, in this case, that if the old members are detected in using ardent spirits, provided they be guilty of no intemperance, they will incur no censure. But if the new ones do the very same thing, they must be excommunicated. Why spare the former? I suppose it will be answered, because they violate no acknowledged law of Christ. The latter, then, are to be cast out of Christ’s visible family, not for breaking any of his known laws; but for violating a voluntary pledge, or compact! Now who does not see that if voluntary compact may thus come in, and make a term of communion of whatever it pleases, total abstinence from tea and coffee, as enervating injurious liquors, or total abstinence from the use of imported sugar, or broad-cloths, as hurtful to some of the important interests of the country—may be agreed upon as a term of ecclesiastical communion, and the most guarded use of them made the ground of solemn excommunication!

The superstitious Romanists, we know, adopted in old

times from the Pagans, the plan of a double code of laws; one for perfect christians, and another for the imperfect. It is hardly necessary to say, that the operation of this plan made strange work, and led to many corruptions. Should we not be in danger of introducing a state of things somewhat similar, if the scheme against which I am contending were generally adopted? One thing is certain, that until the old members should all "die off," we should have two different rules in operation for the older and the younger ranks of professors.

It were well if such of the advocates of this proscribing system as belong to the presbyterian church, would calculate the consequences of the adoption of that system. Church members who are visited with censure under it, will have a right to appeal to their respective Presbyteries, and, ultimately, if they should see cause, to the general assembly. But is there the smallest probability that our higher judicatories would or could confirm such an unscriptural sentence? And if not, will not the pronouncing such sentences, in the first instance, have a tendency to discredit and weaken the cause of scriptural discipline? It is believed that, in at least one instance, a sentence of this kind has been already reversed by a higher judicatory. And this must ever be the case, especially in the last resort. A presbytery may perhaps be found, here and there, which, from local excitement, may fall in with such a scheme of discipline. But the time is, probably, far distant when a synod, or a general assembly will be disposed to take the same course.

If it be asked, what course professing christians, as such, shall take as far as possible to banish this destroyer from our land—I reply,

1. Let them go on with untiring and growing zeal to do what they have so laudably and efficiently begun to do. Let them fill every town, village, congregation, college, academy and private school in the United States with voluntary temperance societies, formed upon the total abstinence plan. Let these societies circulate, as numerous and widely as possible, well written, popular tracts, adapted to enlighten and impress the minds of all classes of people on this subject. Let ministers, elders and private christians co-operate with zeal in forming such societies, in circulating such publications, and in expressing suitable sentiments on the sub-

ject, on every proper occasion, in public and private. In short, let them endeavour to enlist the whole population of the land in voluntary associations, and in voluntary efforts, of all wise and lawful kinds, to put down so enormous an evil. But let them all be *voluntary*, entirely *voluntary*; and they will all be, unless I utterly mistake the character of the human mind, on that very account, the more acceptable and the more effectual.

2. Let all our churches be more careful than they have ever yet been to exercise vigilant and faithful discipline when any of their members subject themselves, in the least pal-pable degree, to the charge of intemperance. There have been by far too much indulgence and laxity on this subject in most of our churches. Aberrations of this kind have, in many cases, passed unnoticed, until they became habitual and gross. This ought no longer to be the case. Let the rulers of our churches be as watchful and decisive in calling to an account and censuring those who are visibly intemperate, as they usually are with respect to some other sins, not more destructive either to personal character, or to social order, than this, and the consequences will, undoubtedly, be happy.

A Friend to Temperance Societies.

REVIEW.

Regeneration, and the Manner of its Occurrence. A Sermon from John v. 24. Preached at the Opening of the Synod of New York, in the Rutgers street Church, on Tuesday Evening, Oct. 20, 1829. By Samuel H. Cox, D.D. Pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church. New York. 1829. Pp. 42.

Voltaire, in one of his historical works, sneeringly inquires, "how were the priests employed while the Saracens were desolating the fairest portion of their church?" "Disputing," he answers, "whether Christ has one will or two!" It will be well, if the theologians of the nineteenth century do not furnish occasion to some future infidel historian for

a similar taunting remark. There is scarcely any subject in the history of the church which is more humiliating than that of theological discussions of this nature. The evil appears to have arisen early, for Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy, repeatedly and earnestly exhorts him, "not to strive about words to no profit," but to avoid "foolish questions, which gender strifes." Yet not a century has passed from that day to this, which has not been disturbed and disgraced by disputes fairly within the apostle's description. That there are serious evils attending controversies of this character, no one will deny. They bring discredit on religion; they alienate brethren who should live together in love; they call off the attention from the practical duties of benevolence and piety; and they are from their nature destructive of the spirit of true religion. These disputes, in nine cases out of ten, turn, not on the correct exposition of the Bible, but on the decision of some point in mental or moral science. Philosophy, instead of being the handmaid of religion, has become the mistress of theology. This is a fact deeply to be lamented. The subjects, we admit, are so nearly allied that they cannot be kept entirely distinct; still theology might have, and ought to have, much less of a philosophical, and more of an exegetical character than it has commonly assumed. The predominance of the former over the latter element in theology, has been unquestionably one of the most prolific sources of evil to the church. What is Pelagianism, Arminianism, or almost any other *ism* but a particular system of religious philosophy? And what are the questions which now alienate and divide christians in this country, but questions in mental or moral science? If a man tells you his theory of virtue, you need ask no questions about his theology. Hence it is that these diversities of opinion are in a great measure confined to professed theologians; clergymen or laymen. The views which ordinary christians, under the guidance of *common sense* and sanctified feeling, take of divine truth, are in all ages and countries very nearly the same. Nor does it seem to us correct to say, that common sense is nothing more than the popularized results of philosophical speculations, because we find it the same in countries where entirely different systems of philosophy have for ages prevailed. Look at Germany and England for an illustration. The philosophical theologians of these countries differ *toto cælo* in their views. They

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have hardly a single principle in common. But how is it with common christians? They are as much united in opinion as they are in feeling. And why? Because their opinions are formed from the Bible, under the guidance of the Spirit, and the influence of those essential and consequently universal principles of our nature, which it has been the grand result of philosophy to sophisticate and pervert. Is all philosophy then to be proscribed? By no means. The very statements we have made demonstrate its importance. If a man's speculative opinions do thus influence his views of religious truth and duty, it is a matter of unspeakable moment that these opinions should be correct. And in a multitude of cases, the only means of preventing the evils which flow from erroneous principles, is to show the fallacy of the principles themselves. Besides, all truth is harmonious, whether taught in the word of God or learned from the constitution of our own nature: and in itself there can be no subject more worthy of accurate knowledge, than that mysterious and immortal principle, which was created in the image of God. All this we cheerfully admit. At the same time the undeniable fact, that systems of philosophy have been as changeable as the wind; that each in its turn has been presented, urged and adopted with the utmost confidence; and each in its measure perverted the simple truths of the Bible, should teach us to be modest: it should teach us to separate the human from the divine element in our theology, and to be careful not to clothe the figments of our own minds with the awful authority of God, and denounce our brethren for not believing him when they do not agree with us. It should teach us too, not to ascribe to men opinions, which according to our notions may be inferred from the principles which they avow. This is an impropriety of very frequent occurrence, and of which we think we have great reason to complain in the sermon before us. To state what appear to us to be fair deductions from principles assumed, as arguments against them, is one thing; but to charge those who hold these principles with holding our deductions, is a very different affair.

With regard to the author of this sermon, we can truly say, that we entertain for him the highest respect. We love his honesty. We admire the frankness and decision with which he always avows his opinions. We rejoice to see that there is little of that evil spirit in the discourse which

so often converts investigations of truth into angry disputations. But while we give Dr Cox full credit for sincerity, and acquit him of entertaining any bad feelings towards his brethren, we still think that he is chargeable with grossly misrepresenting their opinions, and holding them up to a contempt and reprobation, due only to his acknowledged caricature. We refer specially to page 6, of the Introduction, where after stating that there are certain dogmas, "some of them not proved; or even suspected by those who employ them," which have a tendency "to solace the sinner in his distance from Christ," and "excuse his disobedience to the Gospel, and which ought to be rejected, as false and ruinous," he gives the following specifications :

"A man has no ability to do his duty.

"Where the means of grace are purely and abundantly vouchsafed, by the sovereign goodness of Providence, a man can do nothing for, but can only counteract, his own salvation ; having no ability, even if he had the inclination, to believe the Gospel and be saved.

"The wickedness of men consists in physical defect or disorganization of the faculties of the soul, so that total depravity and physical depravity are nearly synonymous, and both equally true.

"Regeneration is the implantation of *a certain kind of* "principle of holiness," which is incapable of definition, or demonstration, and has no connexion with human consciousness ; which precedes all active mental holiness, and is antecedent also to all "the fruit of the Spirit," as specified in the New Testament ; in the susception and sustentation of which, the Creator is sole as well as sovereign agent ; man no agent at all, but only a passive receiver, an unconscious subject, of the mysterious gratuity ; and which is the happy contrary of a *principle of sin*, which is concreated with us, and is the permanent fund of all our depravity, in which also we are passive—though quite active in exercising all the wickedness which flows (full copiously) from such an inserted fountain, and which has its residence and location somewhere in the texture of the soul, which is itself a very wicked thing somehow physiologically, in the very nature of it, antecedent to any agency at all of ours.

"Regeneration consists in some secret physical motion on the soul, which restores its dislocated powers, and cures the connatural diseases of its texture ; since the work of the Creator, as such, is not "good," but lays the foundation, in the very entity of the soul, for all its overt wickedness, and for the necessity of regeneration.

"The soul is passive, entirely passive, and God the sole agent, in regeneration.

"The means of grace, and the Gospel itself, are in no sense

moral causes of regeneration ; since their important use is merely to illustrate the strength of an invincible depravity, to make the sinner worse and worse, till he is physically regenerated, and then to signalize the prodigious efforts and labours of Omnipotence, in this department of constant miracle-working :—as if there were no considerable difference between dividing the Red Sea symbolically by the rod of Moses, and conciliating the human mind by the revealed glories of the *everlasting* Gospel !

“ It is wrong to require a sinner in the name of God to repent immediately, and believe the Gospel, and to urge him to this as the only way of salvation.

“ The offer of salvation is not made to every hearer ; or, if it be, to accept it is impracticable, and to require this of the sinner, wanton and absurd.

“ If there is a universal offer in the Gospel, it is founded—not on the atonement of Jesus Christ at all, but only on the ministerial commission ; or on human ignorance of who the elect are ; or it has no moral foundation ; or it is only man’s offer, and not God’s ; or it is a matter of mere sovereignty, and so insoluble ; or it is an offer in form, and in fact no offer or overture at all : and this, although there is no salvation known to the Gospel but that of our Lord Jesus Christ as an *atoning* Saviour. Prov. i. 20—33. Luke, xiv. 24. Acts, iv. 12 ; xiii. 26. 46.”

The Doctor then says, “ if I have caricatured these dogmas, I have done so intentionally : but only by representing them as they are, and making the reality govern the appearance.” It is not probable that Dr Cox, in writing these paragraphs, had any one class of theologians exclusively in his eye ; because some of “ these dogmas ” are inconsistent with each other. We have no doubt however that most of what is here stated, was intended as an exhibition of the doctrines of the old Calvinists (*sit venia verbo*). Our reason for thinking so is, that we are accustomed to see such, and even still more gross misrepresentations of these doctrines, though we acknowledge not often, from such men as Dr Cox. It is however notorious that this class of theologians are constantly represented as maintaining that “ man has no ability, even if he had the inclination, to believe the Gospel and be saved,”—that man’s depravity “ is a physical defect ”—that regeneration is “ a physical change,” &c. Representations have been made of these doctrines which we had supposed no man, who felt the obligation “ of interpreting language in conformity with the known and declared nature of the thing described,” could ever allow himself to make. Belonging as we do to the class, which for the sake of convenience and

distinction, we have called old Calvinists, we feel ourselves aggrieved by such representations, and called upon to show that no such doctrines can be fairly imputed to the elder Calvinists. It will not be expected that in a single article we should go over the formidable list presented by Dr Cox. We shall, for the present at least, confine ourselves to the doctrine of this sermon, and show that the old standard Calvinistic authors expressly disclaim the opinions here imputed to them, and that they are not fairly deducible from any of the principles which they avow. Should we entirely fail as to the second point, it would still be very unjust to charge men with holding doctrines, which they constantly disclaim, because we consider them as flowing from their principles.

The two main points of Dr Cox's sermon are, first, that regeneration is a moral, in distinction from a physical change; and secondly, that it occurs in a manner perfectly accordant with the active powers of the soul. We use the word physical, not as synonymous with natural, but in the sense in which it is used in this sermon, implying something referring to the substance or essence. By physical regeneration in this sense, is intended a change in the essence or essential properties of the soul, or, in the language of Dr Cox, an influence by which "the connatural diseases in the texture of the soul are healed." Our object is to show that Dr Cox has misrepresented the views of his brethren on this subject; that they hold to no change in the substance of the soul nor in any of its essential properties, but uniformly teach that the change is a moral one, and takes place in a manner perfectly congruous to the nature of a rational and active being. We appeal to the language and doctrines of all the old Calvinistic divines, in support of this assertion.

Charnock, in his discourse on regeneration, contained in Vol. II. of the folio edition of his works, proposes in the first place to state in reference to the nature of this change, what it is not. On page 72, he says, "It is not a removal or taking away of the old substance or faculties of the soul. Some thought that the substance of Adam's soul was corrupted when he sinned, therefore suppose the substance of his soul to be altered when he is renewed. Sin took not away the essence but the rectitude; the new creation therefore gives not a new faculty but a new quality." Who the "some" were, to whom Charnock refers, as holding that the substance of Adam's soul was corrupted by the fall, we know

not ; all we know is that such is not the doctrine of any respectable body of Calvinists, nor of any standard writer on the subject. The only man of whom we have heard, who taught this doctrine, was Flaccius Illyricus, Professor at Jena, and a pupil of Luther ; but we know too, that his opinions on this subject were condemned, almost without a dissenting voice, by the reformed theologians of Germany and England.

On the 73d page, Charnock says expressly, " the essence and faculties remain the same." " The passions and affections are the same as to the substance and nature of the acts ; but the difference lies in the objects." " When a man loves God, or fears God, or loves man, or fears man, it is the same act of love and the same act of fear ; there are the same motions of the soul, the same substantial acts simply considered," &c. " This new creation is not a destruction of the substance of the soul, but there is the same physical being, and the same faculties in all, and nothing is changed in its substance as it respects the nature of man." P. 85. We have here a most explicit disavowal of the doctrine of physical regeneration in the sense in which Dr Cox represents the old Calvinists as holding it.

As to the manner in which this work is effected, he remarks, in the first place, that " it is a secret work, and therefore difficult to explain." " Yet, secondly, this is evident, that it is rational, that is, congruous to the essential nature of man. God does not deal with us as beasts, or as creatures destitute of sense, but as creatures of an intelligent order. Who is there that believes in Christ, as heavy things fall to the earth, or as beasts run at the beck of their sensual appetites without rule or reason?" P. 217. " God that requires of us a reasonable service, would work upon us by a reasonable operation. God therefore works by the way of a spiritual illumination of the understanding, in propounding the creature's happiness by arguments and reasons ; and in the way of a spiritual impression on the will, moving it sweetly to embrace that happiness, and the means to it which he doth propose ; and indeed without this work preceding, the motion of the will could never be regular." P. 218.

In speaking more particularly of the direct operation of the Holy Spirit on the will, his first proposition is, that there is such an influence ; second, that " this work, though immediate, is not compulsive. It is a contradiction for the will to be moved unwillingly : any force upon it destroys its nature.

It is not forced because it is according to reason, and the natural motion of the creature; the understanding proposing and the will embracing; the understanding going before with light, the will following after with love." "The will being a rational faculty cannot be wrought upon but rationally." P. 221.

The instrumentality of the truth in regeneration is strongly asserted by all old Calvinists. Charnock says, "that to make an alteration in us according to our nature of understanding, will and affections, it is necessary there should be some declaration of things under those considerations of true, good and delightful, in the highest manner, to make a choice change in every faculty of the soul; and without this a man cannot be changed as a rational creature," &c. P. 233. "The word operates, first, objectively, as it is a declaration of the will of God, and presenting the objects of all holy acts; and secondly, it has an active force. It is operative in the hand of God for sanctification." "The spirit doth so edge the word that it cuts to the quick, discerns the very thoughts, insinuates into the depths of the heart," &c. P. 235. "To conclude, the promise in the word breeds principles in the heart suitable to itself; it shows God a father and raises up principles of love and reverence; it shows Christ a Mediator, and raises up faith and desire. Christ in the word conceives Christ in the heart, Christ in the word the beginning of grace conceives Christ in the heart the hope of glory." P. 236. The use of the word in regeneration is surely according to this view something more than "the rod of Moses stretched out over the Red Sea." We presume, however, that the paragraph in which Dr Cox denounces the opinion that the means of grace have no tendency to produce holiness, was designed for a different quarter. Old Calvinists have generally been charged with laying too much stress on the use of means.

Charnock was by no means singular in the views here expressed. Living as he did in the days of the Puritan ascendancy in England, the companion of Owen, Goodwin, Burgess, Bates, and many others of the same class, he was united with them in opinion as well as in labours.

Owen, in his work on the Spirit, when speaking of regeneration, lays down the following proposition, (p. 270 of the folio edition). "In whom or towards whomsoever the Holy Spirit puts forth his power, or the acts of his grace for their

regeneration, it removes all obstacles, overcomes all opposition, and infallibly produces the effect intended." But how is this done? Is it by changing the substance of the soul or violating any of the laws of its being? The words which immediately follow, and which are intended to explain this general proposition contain the answer. "The power which the Holy Spirit puts forth in our regeneration, is such in its actings or exercise, as our minds, wills and affections are suited to be wrought upon, and to be affected by, according to their natures and natural operations. He doth neither act in them any otherwise than they themselves are meet to be moved and to move, to be acted and to act, according to their own nature, power and ability. He draws us with the cords of a man, and the work itself is expressed by a persuading; 'God persuade Japhet; I will allure her into the wilderness and speak comfortably:' for, as it is certainly effectual, so it carries no more repugnancy to our faculties than a prevalent persuasion doth." One can hardly imagine how men who use such language can be charged with holding a "physical regeneration," by which, "the connatural diseases of the texture of soul" are cured. Owen proceeds to say, secondly, that the Holy Spirit "doth not in our regeneration possess the mind with any enthusiastical impressions; but he works on the minds of men in and by their own natural actings, through an immediate influence and impression of his power. 'Create in me a clean heart, O God.' He worketh to will and to do. Thirdly, he therefore offers no violence or compulsion to the will. This that faculty is not naturally capable to give admission unto. If it be compelled it is destroyed." And again on the next page, "the Holy Spirit who in his power and operation is more intimate, as it were, unto the principles of our souls than they are to themselves, doth, with the preservation and in the exercise of the liberty of our wills, effectually work our regeneration and conversion unto God. This is the substance of what we have to plead for in this cause, and which declares the nature of this work of regeneration, as it is an inward spiritual work."

Bates's view of the manner in which this change is effected, is the same with that of Owen. In the fourth volume of his works (octavo edition) page 140, he says, "the effectual operation of grace does not violate the native freedom of the will, but is congruous to it. God's drawing is by teach-

ing: 'every one who hath heard and learned of the father cometh unto me.' When the author of the Gospel is a teacher of it, the most stupid and obstinate sinners shall be convinced and obedient." Again, "God draws sinners to himself 'with the cords of a man,' in a rational way without violence to their faculties, and fastens them by the bonds of love." In another place, Vol. II. p. 298, he says, "the Holy Spirit does not work grace in us, as the sun forms gold in the earth, without any sense in ourselves of his operations: but we feel them in all our faculties congruously to their nature, enlightening the mind, exciting the conscience, turning the will, and purifying the affections."

The opinions of the reformed, or Calvinistic divines of Germany and Holland were the same on these points, as those of the Calvinists of England. Turretin, *Theol. Elenct.* loc. 15, quæst. 4, § 15, says, "*Gratiæ efficacis motio non est simpliciter physica, quia agitur de facultate morali, quæ congruenter naturæ suæ moveri debet; nec simpliciter ethica, quasi Deus objective solum ageret et leni suasionem uteretur, quod pertendebant Pelagiani: sed supernaturalis est et divina, quæ transcendit omnia hæc genera.*" "Potens est, ne sit frustranea; suavis est, ne sit coacta. Vis est summa et inexpugnabilis ut vincatur naturæ corruptio et summa bene agendi impotentia ac male agendi necessitas: sed amica tamen et grata, qualis naturam intelligentem et rationalem decet."

The Synod of Dort, in order to prevent any misapprehension of their views of efficacious grace, as though it were inconsistent in its operation with the rational and moral powers of our nature, say in reference to the fourth article in dispute between them and the Remonstrants, "*Sicuti vero per lapsum homo non desiit esse homo, intellectu et voluntate præditus, nec peccatum, quod universum genus humanum pervasit, naturam generis humani sustulit, sed depravavit et spiritualiter occidit: ita etiam hæc divina regenerationis gratia, non agit in hominibus tanquam truncis et stipitibus, nec voluntatem ejusque proprietates tollit, aut invitam violenter cogit, sed spiritualiter, sanat, corrigit, suaviter simul et potenter flectit: ut ubi antea plene dominabatur carnis rebellio et resistentia nunc regnare incipiat prompta ac sincera spiritus obedientia; in quo vera et spiritualis nostræ voluntatis libertas consistit.*"

Spanheim, in his *Elench. Controv. cum August. Confess.*

Theol. Oper. tom. iii. col. 909, after stating how nearly the views of the Lutheran divines coincided with those of Calvinists on this subject, says that the difference which did exist seemed to result from a misapprehension of the calvinistic doctrine. Supponunt precario, he says, 1. "Nos velle per gratiam insuperabilem, motionem coactam, violentam, qualis trunci, lapidis, &c. 2. Negare nos resistibilitatem gratiæ respectu naturæ corruptæ, et carnis Deo inimicæ, quæ sanè quantum in se est nimis resistit."

Stapfer, in his Institut. Theol. Polem. Cap. III. § 136, maintains in unison with the common mode of speaking among Calvinists of his day, that there was in regeneration a divine illumination of the understanding, and a divine influence on the will. What he intended by these expressions he carefully explains. "Per illuminationem autem intelligimus convictionem supernaturalem veritatum revelatarum, et nexus illarum distinctam repræsentationem." And this, he says, though certainly producing conviction, offers no more violence to the mind than the demonstration of a proposition in geometry. "Neque magis, (are his words) hominis libertati obesse potest, ac illi aliquid derogatur, si sole post tenebras redeunte objecta circumjacentia ipsi clare repræsentantur, aut si de veritate geometrica per illius demonstrationem convincitur." With regard to the influence which operates on the will, he says, "Pono ita agit, ut homo in determinatione sua liber maneat, neque obtorto quasi collo et invitus trahitur; facit ut homo volens agat. Veritatem tam clare mentibus ingerit, ut non possint non assentiri, et tanta motiva voluntati suggerit, ut non possit nolle, sed featur: Pellexisti me Jehova, et pellectus sum, fortior fuisti me, et prævaluisti. Jer. xx. 7."

This he asserts over and over, is the true calvinistic doctrine. This he does, not only in his chapters on Pelagianism and Arminianism, where he is answering precisely the same objection, which (and it is one of the wonders of the age) Calvinists are now urging against Calvinism, viz. that efficacious grace, as explained by them, is inconsistent with the nature of man as a rational and responsible creature; but also in his chapter De Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium, and in his preliminary statement of the general truths of theology.

We fear that we have already exhausted the patience of our readers, in proving a point concerning which every one

acquainted with Calvinistic writers must have been satisfied before we began. We hope however that our labour will not be regarded as altogether unnecessary; because when an imputation comes from a source in every way so respectable, and in fact so highly respected, the inference will be, that in sober truth old Calvinists do hold, that the texture of the soul is diseased; that its substance is changed in regeneration; that some unknown violence to its faculties is suffered under the Spirit's influence. It is proper, therefore, that it should be shown, that the direct reverse of all this is distinctly declared by them to be their opinion; that they profess to believe regeneration to be a moral and not a physical change; and that it takes place without any violence being done to the soul or any of its laws. Our readers too will be led, we trust, to think with us, that there should be something more than mere inferential reasoning, to justify ascribing to men a set of opinions which they constantly and earnestly disclaim.

We are perfectly willing to admit, that old Calvinists, when treating on the subject of regeneration, often speak of a direct and physical influence of the Spirit on the soul. But in what sense? In the sense in which Dr Cox represents them as holding physical regeneration? Far from it. He says that physical regeneration and physical depravity stand together. He thus uses the word as qualifying the effect produced. They use it to qualify the influence exerted in producing the effect. But what do they mean when they speak of a physical influence being exerted on the soul in regeneration? They mean precisely what we suppose Dr Cox means, when he speaks of "the agency of the Spirit, apart from the power of the truth, which is his instrument." P. 27. They mean to assert that regeneration is not effected by mere moral suasion; that there is something more than the simple presentation of truth and urging of motives. The idea of Calvinists uniformly was, that the truth, however clearly presented or forcibly urged, would never produce its full effect without a special influence of the Holy Spirit. This influence they maintained was supernatural, that is, above the mere moral power of the truth, and such as infallibly to secure the result, and yet, to use their own illustration, did the soul no more violence than demonstration does the intellect, or persuasion the heart. This opinion is not confined to any one class of Calvinists:

as far as we know it is common to them all. We understand Dr Cox as teaching the same doctrine. In fact we know no Calvinist who denies it. The author of the review, in the last number of the *Christian Spectator*, of the strictures of Dr Tyler on some previous articles in that work, says, "We have never called in question the doctrine of an immediate or direct agency of the Spirit, on the soul, in regeneration." This is all the old Calvinists intended by physical influence. That this assertion is correct is evident from the fact that they taught, as we have seen above, that this influence is perfectly "congruous" to the nature of the soul, doing it no more violence than, in the language of Owen, "an effectual persuasion doth;" and that it produces no physical change in the substance of the soul or any of its faculties. Unless therefore we mean to interpret their language, not according to their clear and often repeated statements of their meaning, but according to the sense which a particular expression has attained among ourselves, we must admit that no part of the proof of the charge which we are considering can be made to rest on the occurrence of the phrase "physical influence," in their writings. But there is still further evidence that our assertion on this subject is correct, which is derived from the fact, that it is in controversy with those who taught that there was no influence beyond "moral suasion" and "common grace" exerted in regeneration, that the older writers maintained what they sometimes called a physical influence of the Spirit*.

Turretin, in the passage quoted above, describing the nature of the influence exerted in regeneration, says, that it is not merely a moral influence, such as the Pelagians contend for, but supernatural and divine; and immediately adds, "*aliquid de ethico et physico participat*," where it is plain that it is in opposition to the Pelagian doctrine that he uses this expression; precisely as Dr Cox would do the words, direct and immediate. When the Remonstrants arose, they objected strongly to the modes of expressions which had become common among the Reformed theologians on the subject of efficacious grace. This led to a more precise state-

* This expression however is by no means so common as that of "direct and immediate influence," and is so carefully guarded as to prevent any justifiable mistake as to its meaning.

ment of what their real doctrines were on this subject, and they uniformly repelled the imputations of their opponents that they taught that this influence was inconsistent with the rational nature of the soul. They very unwillingly used even the word irresistible, which they said was no word of their selection, but was put upon them by the Jesuits and Remonstrants. It afterwards indeed became very common; but they tell us they intended by it, nothing more than, certainly efficacious. Stapfer, cap. 17, p. 540, says, in answer to such objections, that when the Reformed speak of irresistible grace, "*hoc volunt, ita efficaciter divinam gratiam operari, ut hominis resistentiam infallibiliter superet, ut sausio ipsius tantæ sit efficacæ ut homo non possit non velle summaque spontaneitate sequi.*" The necessity or certainty as to the result for which they contended, was none other than that for which president Edwards and all other Calvinists contend, and which is inconsistent with no other theory of liberty than that of indifference. If any man would candidly compare one passage with another in the writings of old Calvinists, and interpret their language agreeably to the fair rules of construction, there could be no doubt as to their meaning, by physical influence, what Dr Cox, we presume, means by "an influence apart from the truth." Charnock, in speaking on this subject, says, in the general, that the work is secret, yet "congruous to the essential nature of the soul." He then states more particularly, first, that there is "an immediate and supernatural work on the will:" as synonymous with this expression he on the next page uses the words "physical operation." His second proposition is, that "this work, though immediate, is not compulsive and by force." "The will being a rational faculty cannot be wrought upon but rationally," is one of his assertions, in explanation of his idea of this immediate influence. "God, who knows how to make a will with a principle of freedom, knows how to work upon the will, without trenching upon or altering the essential privilege he bestowed upon it," is another. His third position is, that this immediate work, "is free and gentle." "A constraint not by force, *but love.*" "It is sweet and alluring: the Spirit of grace is called *the oil of gladness*; it is a ready and delightful motion which it causes in the will; it is a sweet efficacy, and an efficacious sweetness." Is this "to paralyze the soul, or to strike it through with a moral panic?"

Surely Dr Cox will regret having made such a representation of the views of men whose opinions as to *the nature* of divine influence do not differ one tittle from his own. "At what time," Charnock goes on to say, "God doth savingly work upon the will, to draw the soul from sin and the world to himself, it doth with the greatest willingness, freedom and delight, follow after God, turn to him, close with him, and cleave to him, with all the heart, and with purpose never to depart from him. Cant. i. 4. *Draw me, and we will run after thee*: drawing signifies the efficacious power of grace; running signifies the delightful motion of grace: the will is drawn, as if it would not come; it comes, as if it were not drawn. His grace is so sweet and so strong, that he neither wrongs the liberty of his creature, nor doth prejudice his absolute power. As God moves necessary causes, necessarily; contingent causes, contingently; so he moves free agents freely, without offering violence to their natures. The Spirit glides into the heart by sweet illapses of grace, and victoriously allures the soul. Hos. ii. 14. *I will allure her, and speak to her heart*; not by crossing, but changing the inclination, by the all conquering and alluring charms of love," &c. 222. The fourth proposition is, that this influence is "insuperably victorious," or, in other words, irresistible. In what sense is it irresistible? Let the following explanation from Charnock in this immediate connexion answer, and prevent those brethren reproaching us for a word, who agree with us as to the thing intended. "As the demonstration of the Spirit is clear and undeniable, so the power of the Spirit is sweet and irresistible; both are joined, 1 Cor. ii. 4. An inexpressible sweetness allures the soul, and an unconquerable power draws the soul; there are clear demonstrations, charming persuasions, and invincible efficacy combined in the work. He leaves not the will in indifference. (This is what they were arguing against.) If God were the author of faith only by putting the will into indifference, though it be determined by its own proper liberty, why may not he also be said to be the author of unbelief, if by the same liberty of indifference it be determined to reject the Gospel?" "*This irresistibleness takes not away the liberty of the will*. Our Saviour's obedience was free and voluntary, yet necessary and irresistible." "Is God not freely and voluntarily good, yet necessarily so? He cannot be otherwise than good; he will not be otherwise than good. So the will

is irresistibly drawn, and yet doth freely come to its own happiness." It is perfectly evident therefore that nothing more was intended by this expression than what president Edwards and all other Calvinists contend for, viz. moral or philosophical necessity. Now when it is remembered that all the expressions which we have quoted, and much more of the same import, are used in explanation of the nature of that divine influence by which regeneration is effected, we think that our readers will feel, that the strongest possible evidence should be required, to sustain the charge against those who use them, of holding doctrines utterly inconsistent with their most clearly expressed opinions. We think that any candid man will acknowledge, who should take the trouble to read the writings of the older Calvinists, that they held no other doctrines on the subject of divine influence than such as are common among all classes of opposers of Arminianism. Their "supernatural" or "physical" influence meant nothing more than what is now intended by "a direct and immediate influence." Owen, whose language on this subject is as strong as that of any writer with whom we are acquainted, states clearly, as we have already seen, his belief that the influence for which he contended, is perfectly "congruous" to the nature of the soul. He tells us also, page 257, that it is against the Pelagian theory that he is arguing when he maintains that moral suasion alone does not effect our regeneration, but that there is a direct agency of the Spirit in the work, which is such "as our minds, wills and affections are suited to be wrought upon and affected by, according to their natures and natural operations."

But if old Calvinists held such opinions, (and they hold them still,) on "the nature of regeneration and the mode of its occurrence," where is the difference between them and Dr Cox? None in the world, as far as these general statements go. His general propositions, that regeneration is a moral, and not a physical change, and that it takes place in a manner accordant to the nature of the soul, are as orthodox as Owen or Charnock could wish them. We take it for granted, however, that Dr Cox would think we had treated him rather unhandsomely thus to convict him of *old* orthodoxy. We proceed therefore to state where the difference really lies. It is simply this. All the old Calvinists, and the great majority, we hope and believe, of the new school also, hold

that the *result* of the Holy Spirit's operation on the soul, is a holy principle or disposition; Dr Cox says, if we understand him, that the result is a holy act. This is the whole ground of debate, and to lookers on it may appear rather too narrow to be worth disputing about. Dr Cox however seems to think that this is a subject of vital importance, affecting deeply our views of the whole system of divine truth, and our manner of preaching; involving the high questions of the grounds of man's accountability, the nature of sin and holiness, and of human liberty. And here we are sorry to say we agree with him. We are afraid that this is a turning point. We do not see how it is possible to hold together the tattered shreds of Calvinism, if this ground be assumed. Is Calvinism then a mere metaphysical system? We think not. But there are some metaphysical opinions utterly inconsistent with it; that indifference is necessary to the freedom of the will is one, and that morality consists in acts only, we fear is another.

All the ground that we have for supposing that Dr Cox holds this latter opinion, is found in the pamphlet under review. And even here it is not distinctly asserted; but it seems to be constantly implied, and to be the foundation of all that is peculiar in the sermon or introduction. The principle assumed is, that there is nothing in the soul but its substance with its essential attributes, and its acts. Therefore, if regeneration be not a change in its acts, it must be a change in the substance. If sin be not an act, then it is substance, "an entity," "a disease of the texture of the soul." This, we take it, is the ground of the imputation, that Calvinists believe in physical depravity and physical regeneration; for if this principle be not assumed, there is not even the slender and insufficient ground of these doctrines being deducible, in the author's opinion, from Calvinistic principles, to justify the charge. Besides, every one knows that this is the ground on which this charge has been made before, in a manner far more offensive and unfair than Dr Cox is capable of making it. It is on this ground, also, we presume that Dr Cox maintains that the soul is as active in regeneration, as in repentance or the exercise of faith. And it is on this ground, we suppose, that he ridicules the idea of regeneration being the production of a holy principle in the soul, "the happy contrary," as he calls it, "of a principle of sin, which is concreated with us." This view of the doctrine

of regeneration, (that it is the production of a holy principle,) he says, can "command the confidence of no well disciplined mind," (rather a bold assertion by the way,) and then adds, "By holy principle *I* mean love to God, and not any thing antecedent to it; and by love to God, *I* mean loving him; and in that the subject is active."

Dr Cox, we believe, pins his faith to no man's sleeve, and is the follower of no party. His opinions are his own; but what they are we pretend not to know, further than they are developed in this discourse. He has here brought forward the charge against many of his brethren, whom he loves, and who love him, of believing in physical depravity and physical regeneration. On what grounds he rests the charge we have no means of ascertaining, but from the opinions advanced in this discourse. We are anxious to show, that, as far as old Calvinists are concerned, the imputation is unfounded. And we think that we have shown, to the satisfaction of every candid reader, that these doctrines are constantly and explicitly disclaimed by this class of theologians. When it is asserted, therefore, in the face of such positive declarations to the contrary, that they do entertain these opinions, it can only be on the ground that they are fair inferences from the principles which they avow. This, though a very improper ground for a direct imputation, is all, we are persuaded, that can exist. How Dr Cox would endeavour to make it appear that these are fair inferences, we do not know, and therefore do not wish to be considered, in our further remarks on this subject, as having reference to Dr Cox's theological opinions any further than they are distinctly avowed in this sermon. Our object is simply this; to endeavour to show that the Calvinistic doctrine, that regeneration consists in the production of a holy habit or principle in the soul, fitting and disposing it to holy acts, is not liable to the charge here advanced.

It will not be necessary to take up much time or space in proving that the doctrine of regeneration, as just stated, is that which is held by old Calvinists. Charnock, p. 85, Vol. II, says, "This new creation consists in gracious qualities and habits, which beautify and dispose the soul to act righteously and holily." Owen says the new creation is "an habitual holy principle wrought in us by God, and bearing his image," or, as in the next sentence, "a divine supernatural principle, of spiritual actions and operations."

We prefer however referring to the statements of a few of the theologians of our own country, some of whom do not belong to the class which, for the sake of convenience, we have called old Calvinists. *President Edwards* not only admits that moral principles or habits may and must exist in the soul prior (in the order of nature) to moral action, but his whole system of practical theology, as it seems to us, rests on this foundation. The great fundamental principle of his work on the Affections is this:—All gracious or spiritual affections presuppose and arise from spiritual views of divine truth. These views the natural man neither has, nor can have, while he remains such. Hence arises the necessity of such a change being wrought in the state of the soul, that it can perceive the real beauty and excellence of divine things. This change consists in imparting to the soul what he calls “a new sense,” or a new taste, or relish, or principle, adapted to the perception and love of spiritual excellence. Were we to attempt to exhibit all the evidence which might be adduced, in proof of the fact that his views were such as we have represented, we should be obliged to quote a great part of the work just mentioned. We refer the reader especially to what he says on the first and fourth signs of gracious affections. With regard to the nature of regeneration, we quote only a single passage. After having stated that the exercises of the true Christian are specifically different from those of unsanctified men, he infers that if the exercises are different, the principle whence they proceed must be different, or there must be, “as it were, a new spiritual sense, or a principle of new kind of perception or spiritual sensation.” And he hence explains why it is that “the work of the Spirit of God in regeneration is often, in Scripture, compared to giving a new sense, giving eyes to see, and ears to hear, unstopping the ears of the deaf, and opening the eyes of them that were born blind, and turning them from darkness unto light.” The nature of this “new sense” he thus explains.

“This new sense, and the new dispositions that attend it, are no new *faculties*, but are new *principles* of nature. I use the word *principles*, for want of a word of a more determinate signification. By a *principle of nature*, in this place, I mean that foundation which is laid in nature, either old or new, for any particular kind or manner of exercise of the faculties of the soul; or a natural habit, or foundation for

action, giving a person ability and disposition to exert the faculties in exercises of such a certain kind; so that to exert the faculties in that kind of exercises, may be said to be his nature. So this new spiritual sense is not a new faculty of understanding, but it is a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises of the same faculty of understanding. So that new holy disposition of heart that attends this new sense, is not a new faculty of will, but a foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercises of the same faculty of will. The Spirit of God, in all his operations on the minds of natural men, only moves, impresses, assists, improves, or some way acts upon natural principles; but gives no new spiritual principles.”*

We have never met with a stronger, or more formal statement of the doctrine which we are endeavouring to support, than is found in this passage. And it should be considered that this is not a passing remark on the part of president Edwards, or the statement of an isolated opinion, but it is a fundamental principle of his whole theology, as we understand it. Take this away, and his whole theory of original righteousness, original sin, of the nature of holiness, and the nature of sin, and of the liberty of the will, go with it. Whether his views on these subjects are correct, although the main question, is one thing, but that he really entertained the opinion here so clearly expressed, we wonder that any man should ever have doubted. We trust that respect for the memory of president Edwards, and the obligation “to interpret language according to the known and declared nature of the thing described,” will prevent any one saying, that he believed that “this new sense” is an entity, or “this foundation” for moral exercises is “something inserted in the soul,” “an agent within an agent,” &c. &c.

Dr Bellamy seems to teach the same doctrines as president Edwards with regard to spiritual blindness, the necessity of divine illumination prior to the exercise of any holy affections, and the nature of regeneration. In the second volume of his works, page 502, he says, “In regeneration, there is a new, divine, and holy taste begotten in the heart, by the immediate influences of the Holy Spirit.” And on the opposite page, “The idea of a natural beauty supposes an internal

* *Treatise concerning Religious Affections*, p. 231, 232. Elizabethtown edition, 1787.

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sense, implanted by our Creator, by which the mind is capacitated to discern such kind of beauty." "And that the idea of spiritual beauty supposes an internal spiritual sense, communicated to the soul by the Spirit of God, in the work of the new creation, is clearly illustrated and proved by a late divine, whose praise is in all the churches." He here refers his readers to Edwards on Religious Affections.

Dr Dwight taught the same doctrine, and that clearly and definitely. In his discourse on the nature of regeneration,* he says, "This change of heart consists in a relish for spiritual objects, communicated to it by the power of the Holy Ghost." That "this relish" was antecedent, according to his view, to all holy acts, there can be no doubt. Because he expressly asserts it, and because his arguments go to prove it. What he calls "a relish for spiritual objects" he elsewhere calls a holy disposition, and refers to the case of Adam for an illustration of its nature. "When God created Adam," he remarks, "there was a period of his existence after he began to be, antecedent to that in which he exercised the first volition. Every man who believes the mind to be something besides ideas and exercises, and does not admit the doctrine of casualty, will acknowledge, that in this period the mind of Adam was in such a state, that he was propense to the exercise of virtuous volitions rather than of sinful ones. This state of mind has been commonly styled disposition, temper, inclination, heart, &c. In the Scriptures it usually bears the last of these names. I shall take the liberty to call it disposition. This disposition in Adam, was the cause whence his virtuous volitions proceeded; the reason why they were virtuous, and not sinful. Of the metaphysical nature of this cause I am ignorant; but its existence is, in my view, certainly proved by its effects." Again, on the same page, "In regeneration, the very same thing is done by the Spirit of God for the soul, which was done for Adam by the same Divine Agent at his creation. The soul of Adam was created with a relish for spiritual objects. The soul of every man who becomes a christian, is renewed by the communication of the same relish. In Adam, this disposition produced virtuous volitions. In every child of Adam, who becomes the subject of virtue, it produces the same effects."

* Works, Vol. II. p. 418.

The same idea is expressed, if possible, even more formally in the same volume, p. 451, where, among other things equally explicit, he says that by this disposition he intends "the cause, which in the mind of man produces all virtuous affections and volitions." The same doctrine is repeatedly taught in other passages of his works, as in the sermons on the Probation of Man, Vol. I. 394, on the Fall, 410, 413, on Depravity as derived from Adam, &c.

From various passages which occur in the pamphlet of Dr Tyler, already mentioned, we infer that he holds the same doctrine. The same principle, (that moral disposition may exist antecedently to all moral acts), is also frequently and clearly asserted by Dr Woods of Andover, in his controversy with Dr Ware. We refer to the opinions of these distinguished men, to show how united Calvinists, old and new, are in their views on this point, and that if the charge of believing in physical depravity and physical regeneration be sustained, it lies on almost the whole Calvinistic world. Still the main question recurs—is the charge well founded?

The main principle, as before stated, which is assumed by those who make this charge is, that we can only regard the soul as to its substance on the one hand, and its actions on the other. If, therefore, there be any change wrought in the soul other than of its acts, it must be a physical change. And if any tendency, either to sin or holiness, exist prior to choice, it is a positive existence, a real entity. Thus the charge of physical depravity and physical regeneration is fairly made out. We are constrained to confess, that if the premises are correct, the conclusions, revolting as they are, and affecting, as they do, the fair names of so large a portion of the christian church, are valid. The principle itself, however, we believe to be a gratuitous assumption. It is inconsistent with the common, and as we believe, correct idea of habits, both connatural and acquired. The word habit (*habitus*) was used by the old writers precisely in the same sense as "principle" by president Edwards, as explained above, or disposition, as used and explained by president Dwight. That there are such habits or dispositions which can be resolved neither into "essential attributes," nor "acts," we maintain to be the common judgment of mankind. Let us take for illustration an instance of an acquired habit of the lowest kind, the skill of an artist. He has a soul with the same essential attributes as other men; his body is composed of the same materials; and the same law regulates the

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obedience of his muscular actions to his mind. By constant practice he has acquired what is usually denominated skill; an ability to go through the processes of his art, with greater facility, exactness and success than ordinary men. Take this man while asleep or engaged in any indifferent occupation, you have a soul and body not differing in any of their essential attributes from those of other men. Still there is a difference. What is it? Must it be either "a real existence, an entity," an act, or nothing? It cannot be "an entity," for it is acquired, and it will hardly be maintained that a man can acquire a new essential attribute. Neither is it an act, for the man has his skill when it is not exercised. Yet there is certainly "something," which is the ground of certainty, that when called to go through the peculiar business of his art, he will do it with an ease and rapidity impossible for common men. It is as impossible not to admit that this ground or reason exists, in order to account for the effect, as it is not to admit the existence of the soul to account for its exercises. By constant practice, a state of mind and body has been produced adapted to secure these results, and which accounts for their character. But this is the definition of principle or habit as given above. A single circumstance is here wanting which is found in other "habits," and that is, there is not the tendency or proneness to those particular acts to which this state of mind is adapted. This difference, however, arises not from any difference in the "habits" themselves, but from the nature of the faculties in which, so to speak, they inhere. A principle in the will (in its largest sense, including all the active powers) is not only a state of mind adapted to certain acts, but prone to produce them. This is not the case, at least to the same degree, with intellectual habits. Both classes, however, come within the definition given by president Edwards and Dr Dwight,—"a state of mind," or "foundation, for any particular kind of exercise of the faculties of the soul." The same remarks may be made with regard to habits of a more purely intellectual character. A man, by devoting himself to any particular pursuit, gradually acquires a facility in putting forth the mental exercises which it requires. This implies no change of essence in the soul; and it is not merely an act, which is the result of this practice. The result, whatever it is, is an attribute of the man under all circumstances, and not merely when engaged in the exercises whence the habit was acquired.

But to come nearer to the case in hand. We say a man has a malignant disposition, or an amiable disposition. What is to be understood by these expressions? Is it merely that he often indulges malignant or amiable feelings? or is it not rather that there is an habitual proneness or tendency to their indulgence? Surely the latter. But, if so, the principle stated above, that we can regard the soul only as to its substance or its actions, cannot be correct. For the result of a repetition of acts of the same kind, is an abiding tendency, which is itself neither an act, (eminent or imminent,) nor an "entity." Here then is the soul with its essential attributes—an habitual tendency to certain exercises, and the exercises themselves. The tendency is not an act, nor an active state of the feelings in question; for it would be a contradiction to say, that a man whose heart was glowing with parental affection, or filled for the time with any other amiable feeling, had at the same moment the malignant feelings in an active state; although there might exist the greatest proneness to their exercise. We have seen no analysis of such dispositions, which satisfies us that they can be reduced to acts. For it is essential to the nature of an act, that it should be a matter of consciousness. This is true of those which are imminent acts of the will, or ultimate choices, (by which a fixed state of the affections is meant to be expressed,) as well as of all others. But a disposition, or principle, as explained above, is not a matter of consciousness. A man may be aware that he has a certain disposition, as he is aware of the existence of his soul, from the consciousness of its acts, but the disposition itself is not a subject of direct consciousness. It exists when the man is asleep, or in a swoon, and unconscious of any thing. Neither can these habits be with any propriety called a choice, or permanent affection. For in many cases they are a mere proneness to acts which have their foundation in a constitutional principle of the mind. Our object at present is merely to show, that we must admit that there are mental habits which cannot be resolved either into essential attributes of the soul, fixed preferences, or subordinate acts; and consequently, that those who believe in dispositions, prior to all acts, do not necessarily maintain that such dispositions are of the essence of the soul itself. If it be within the compass of the divine power to produce in us that, which by constant exercise we can produce in ourselves, then a holy principle or habit may be the result of the Spirit's influence

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in regeneration, without any physical change having been wrought.

But it is not only objected, that regeneration is a physical change, if any thing beyond a change in the exercises of the soul is effected ; but it is said, that the thing contended for is utterly unintelligible, incapable of definition or explanation. We are ready to acknowledge that it admits of no other explanation than that which is derived from stating its effects, and referring to cases of an analogous kind. There is in all men a social principle, as it is called, which is something else than a desire to live in society, because it is connatural, as may be inferred from its universality ; there is a tendency in all men to love their children, which is something besides loving them ; there is a tendency in man also to sympathise in the sufferings of others, &c. It may be said these are all constitutional tendencies implanted in our nature. This is very true ; but does saying this enable us to understand their nature ? May it not be objected to those who employ this language, You are using words without meaning ; what do you know of a social principle, distinct from the actual desire to live in society, or prior to its exercise ? What idea can you form of a principle of self-love excepting actually loving one's self ? Are we then to deny that there are any such original propensities or tendencies as these implanted in our nature, because we cannot directly conceive of them ? Yet Dr Cox says, in reference to this subject, " By holy principle, I mean love to God, and by love to God I mean actually loving him." On the same principle, he might deny the existence of any of the original dispositions or tendencies of the soul. For they are as incapable of being defined, as the holy principle which is produced in regeneration. The soul itself is in the same predicament. We know nothing of it, but from our consciousness of its acts. And if the objection, which we are now considering, be valid against the existence of principles prior to acts, then it is valid against the existence of the soul. We are conscious only of its exercises ; and therefore some philosophers and theologians tell us, we are not authorized to go any further. The existence of a substance apart from the exercises is not necessary to account for their existence, and therefore is a gratuitous assumption. An assumption, too, of the being of something which we are incapable of defining, explaining, or even conceiving. The reply which Dr Cox would make to this reasoning, is proba-

bly the same that we should be disposed to make to his objection against the existence of holy principles prior to holy acts. For the mind as instinctively seeks a reason for the choice which the soul makes in loving God, as it does for the various ideas and exercises of which it is constantly conscious. And we should probably be as little satisfied with the reasons which Dr Cox could assign to account for this choice, as he would be with those of the defenders of the exercise-scheme to account for these exercises without resorting to a thinking substance. If he were to say, that the effect is produced by the Holy Spirit, we should answer that this can only be done in one of three ways, that we can conceive of. First, either by his direct agency producing the choice, in which case it would be no act of ours; or, secondly, by addressing such motives to our constitutional and natural principle of self-love as should induce us to make the choice, in which case there would be no morality in the act; or, thirdly, by producing such a relish for the divine character, that the soul as spontaneously and as immediately embraces God as its portion, as it rejoices in the perception of beauty. The thing contended for is not more unintelligible than a hundred things of like nature. Taste is the ready perception and quick feeling of natural beauty. That is, these are its effects. But no one can directly conceive of it, as it is an attribute of the mind, either original or acquired. It is absolutely certain, however, that the man who does thus readily perceive and feel the beauty of natural objects, has a quality of mind which a clown does not possess. And we should be astonished to hear any one maintain, that there was no such thing as taste, but the exercise. "By taste I mean the love of beauty, and by love of beauty I mean actually loving it, and that is an act, and not a principle." But why does one man see and feel a beauty in certain objects, when others do not? Is there no difference between the clown and the most refined votary in the arts, but in their acts? Is any man satisfied by being told that one loves them, and the other does not; that it is in vain to ask why; the fact is enough, and the fact is all; there is no difference in the state of their minds antecedent to their acts; there can be no such thing as a principle of taste, or sense of beauty, distinct from the actual love of beauty? We are disposed to think that no man can believe this: that the constitution of our nature forces us to admit, that if one man, under all cir-

cumstances, and at all times, manifest this quick sensibility to natural beauty, and another does not, there is some difference between the two, besides their acts; that there is some reason why, when standing before the same picture, one is filled with pleasure, and the other is utterly insensible. We cannot help believing, that one has taste, (a quality, principle, or "inward sense,") which the other does not possess. It matters not what it may be called. It is the ground or reason of the diversity of their exercises, which lies back of the exercises themselves, and must be assumed to account for the difference of their nature. Now, there is moral, as well as natural beauty, and it is no more unintelligible, that there should be a "sense," or taste, for the one, than for the other. The perfect character of God, when exhibited to different men, produces delight and desire in some, repugnance in others. We instinctively ask why? Why do some perceive and delight in his moral beauty, while others do not? The answer, some love, and others do not, is no answer at all. It is merely saying the same thing, in other words. There must be some reason, why one perceives this kind of beauty, to which others are blind; why one is filled with love the moment it is presented, and the other with repugnance. And this reason must lie back of the mere exercise of this affection, must be something besides the act itself, and such as shall account for its nature.

It may be said, however, that the cases are not analogous: that the emotion excited by beauty is involuntary, while moral objects address themselves to the voluntary affections; and that it is admitted, that there is not only "something" back of each exercise of love, but we are told distinctly what it is, viz. the soul with its essential attributes, its ultimate or supreme choice, or dominant affection, and the object in view of the mind. Accordingly, it is easily accounted for, that when the character of God is presented, one man is filled with love, another with repugnance. The reason of the difference in *these* acts, does indeed lie back of the acts themselves; for it is found in the ultimate or supreme choice of the different individuals. But how is this to be accounted for? If there is no necessity for accounting for the particular character of the first or ultimate choice, (if so it must needs be called,) there is no need of accounting for the others. The difficulty is not at all met by this statement. It is only pushed back, from the secondary and subordinate, to the pri-

mary and dominant preference. There it returns. The question still is, why does the soul of one man make this supreme choice of God, or, in other words, love him, while another sets his affections on the world? There is precisely the same necessity for assuming some ground or reason for the nature of the first choice, as for any acts subordinate and subsequent to it. Let us suppose two individuals called into existence, in the full maturity of their faculties; each has a soul with the same constitutional powers, or essential attributes; the one is filled with delight the moment the character of God is presented, and the other is not; or the one loves his Maker as soon as the idea of his excellence is presented, the other does not. According to this theory, there is no reason for this difference. There is nothing back of the first act of choice that is not common to both. If instead of two individuals, we suppose two millions, one portion having their affections spontaneously called forth on their first view of their Maker, the other unaffected; we have only a greater number of effects without a cause, but the case is the same. It will not do to answer, that the choice is made under the influence of the desire of happiness, for this being common to all, is no reason for the difference of the result, which is the very thing to be accounted for. To say that the choice is made under the influence of the desire of happiness, is only to say, that when the character of God is presented, it gives pleasure. But the same character is presented in both cases, the same desire exists in both, yet in one it gives pleasure, is an object of desire; in the other, not. This is the fact which is left entirely unaccounted for on the theory in question, and for which the mind as instinctively seeks a question, as it does for any other effect. To account for the difference from the nature of agency, is to assume the liberty of indifference. For if the choice be made prior to the rising of desire towards the object, then it is made in indifference, and is of no moral character. If the desire rise, it is love; which is the very thing to be accounted for. We are at a loss to see how this theory is to be reconciled with the Calvinist's doctrine on the will, which is not peculiar to Edwards, but constituted the great dividing line between Calvinists and Arminians from the beginning. We feel, therefore, a necessity for assuming, that there is "something" back of the first moral act, besides the soul and its essential attributes, which will account for the nature

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of that act, which constitutes the reason, why, in the case supposed, the soul of the one individual rose immediately to God, and the other did not; and the "something" assumed in this case, is no more indefinite and undefinable, than the constitutional propensity to live in society, to love our children, or the mental quality called taste, all which are assumed from a necessity not more imperious than that which requires a holy principle to account for the delight experienced in view of the character of God. And if our Maker can endow us not only with the general susceptibility of love, but also with a specific disposition to love our children; if he can give us a discernment and susceptibility of natural beauty, he may give us a taste for spiritual loveliness. And if that taste, by reason of sin, is vitiated and perverted, he may restore it by the influences of his Spirit in regeneration. Neither, therefore, the objection, that what is not an act, must be an essential attribute; nor the unintelligible nature of a "principle of nature," is, in our view, any valid objection to the common doctrine on regeneration.

There is a third objection, however, to this doctrine, and that is, that it renders the sinner excusable, because it makes regeneration to consist in something else than the sinner's own act. This objection, as it seems to us, can only be valid on one or the other of two grounds: the first is, that the common doctrine supposes sin to be a physical defect, and regeneration a physical change; and the second is, that a man is responsible solely for his acts, or that there can be no moral principle anterior to moral action. With regard to the first, it is enough to say, that no physical change, according to the constant declaration of Calvinistic writers, is held to take place in regeneration, and that no such change is implied in the production of a holy principle, as we have already endeavoured to show.

The second ground is inconsistent with the common notions of men, on the nature of virtue, and if true, would render the commencement of holiness or regeneration impossible. It is according to the universal feeling and judgment of men, that the moral character of an act depends upon the motive with which it is done. This is so obviously true, that Reid and Stewart, and almost all other advocates of the liberty of indifference, readily admit it. And so do the advocates of the theory on which this objection is founded, with regard to all moral acts, excepting the first. All acts

of choice, to be holy, must proceed from a holy motive, excepting the first holy choice which constitutes regeneration; that may be made from the mere desire of happiness or self love. We confess that this strikes us as very much like a relinquishment of the whole system. For how is it conceivable, that any thing should be essential to the very nature of one act as holy, that is not necessary to another? Is not this saying that that on which the very nature of a thing depends may be absent, and yet the thing remain the same? Is it not saying that that which makes an act what it is, and gives it its character, may be wanting or altered, and yet the character of the act be unaffected? It is the motive which gives the moral character to the act. If the motive is good, the act is good; if the motive is bad, the act is bad; if the motive is indifferent, so is the act. The act has no character apart from the motive. This, it seems, is admitted with regard to all moral acts excepting the first. But the first act of a holy kind is an act of obedience, as well as all subsequent acts of the same kind. How then is it conceivable that the first act of obedience performed from the mere desire of happiness or self love can be holy, when no other act of the same kind, and performed from the same motive, either is or can be? How does its being first alter its very nature? It is still nothing more than an act done for self-gratification, and cannot be a holy act. It is said we must admit this from the necessity of the case, or acknowledge that there can be holiness before moral action. We prefer admitting the latter, and believing that "God created man upright," and not that he made himself so. That there was a disposition or relish, or taste for holiness, before there was any holy act, which to us is far more reasonable than that an act is holy because the first of a series, which, if performed from the same motive at a different point of the line, would have a different character. The grand objection, we know, that is made to all this is, that holy beings have fallen, which it is maintained would be impossible if the ground here assumed is correct. If the character of an act depends on its motive, a sinful act cannot be performed by a being in whom sin does not already exist; and, consequently, neither the fallen angels, nor Adam, could ever have apostatized. We think, however, that there is a broad difference between the commencement of holiness, and the commencement of sin, and that more is necessary for the former than for the lat-

ter. An act of obedience, if it is performed under the mere impulse of self-love, is virtually no act of obedience. It is not performed with any intention to obey, for that is holy, and cannot according to the theory precede the act. But an act of disobedience performed from the desire of happiness is rebellion. The cases are surely widely different. If to please myself I do what God commands, it is not holiness; but if to please myself I do what he forbids, it is sin. Besides, no creature is immutable. Though created holy, the taste for holy enjoyments may be overcome by a temptation sufficiently insidious and powerful, and a selfish motive or feeling excited in the mind. Neither is a sinful character immutable. By the power of the Holy Spirit the truth may be so clearly presented, and so effectually applied, as to produce that change which is called regeneration. That is, as to call into existence a taste for holiness, so that it is chosen for its own sake, and not merely as a means of happiness.

It is evident, therefore, that the theory which denies the possibility of moral distinctions being carried back of acts of choice, forces its advocates to adopt the opinion that the first holy act is specifically different from all others. That Adam was not created holy, but by choosing God made himself holy, and that this choice, though made with no holy motive or intention, but merely from a desire of happiness, has a moral character. This we think not only contradictory to the express declaration of Scripture, which says that man was created in the image of his Maker, (which includes his moral as well as his natural image, as we are taught in the New Testament), but is inconsistent with the very first principles of morals, as it teaches that an act performed without any good intention or motive is yet holy. It seems to us liable, also, to this further objection, that it represents man's obligation to love God, to rest upon the fact that it will promote his happiness. This is involved in the principle, that the choice made from this motive is a good choice; for it can only be good as it is in obedience to a moral obligation. If the obligation fulfilled is to God, then to fulfil it must be the motive. If the motive which prompts the choice have reference to himself, then the only obligation which he fulfils, is to himself. It is a wise decision, but it is no holy act. If it be said that the excellence of the choice lies in the nature of the object chosen, it is giving up the question. For if the excellence of the object be the

ground of the choice, it can act as a motive only by exciting a desire for it as excellent, which must needs be a holy desire, and if this determines the choice, then the man is holy before he chooses God as his portion, and the choice is the result, and not the cause of his holiness. Or if we call the desire itself the choice (which is an incorrect use of terms) still the case is the same. For the best definition that can be given of a holy being is, that holy objects excite in him desire, as soon as they are presented. If Adam therefore was filled with desire and pleasure, as soon as his mind rested on the character of God, then he was created holy. As we remarked above, this theory, that the first moral act is not performed from a holy motive, but from the constitutional desire of happiness, is not only inconsistent with the nature of a holy act, but affords no relief in the case. For the difficulty still remains, why the character of God should appear desirable to one being, and not to another, if both are called into existence in *puris naturalibus*.

That Adam was created holy, that is, with a holy disposition which existed prior to his first holy act, though necessarily destructive of the very first principle of the theory referred to, has been considered as a fixed point among Calvinists. We have already seen that Dr Dwight did not think it necessary to prove it. Because he says, "every man who believes the mind to be something more than ideas and exercises, and *does not admit the doctrine of casualty*, will acknowledge" it. President Edwards, in his work on original sin, has a whole chapter, in which he endeavours to prove that our first parents were created in righteousness, or, as he expresses it, "with holy principles and dispositions." The grand objection against this doctrine, he says, is this: "that it is utterly inconsistent with the nature of virtue, that it should be concreated with any person; because, if so, it must be by an act of God's absolute power, without our knowledge or concurrence; and that moral virtue, in its very nature, implieth the choice and consent of the moral agent, without which it cannot be virtue and holiness: that a necessary holiness, is no holiness," and he quotes from Dr Taylor of Norwich, the words, "Adam must exist, he must be created, yea he must exercise thought and reflection before he was righteous." To this he replies, "In the first place, I think it a contradiction to the nature of things, as judged of by the common sense of mankind. It is agreeable to the

sense of the minds of men in all ages, not only that the fruit or effect of a good choice is virtuous, but the good choice itself, from which that effect proceeds; yea, and not only so, but also the antecedent good disposition, temper, or affection of mind from whence proceeds that good choice is virtuous. This is the general notion, not that principles derive their goodness from actions, but that actions derive their goodness from the principles whence they proceed; and so that the act of choosing that which is good, is no further virtuous than it proceeds from a good principle, or virtuous disposition of mind; which supposes, that a virtuous disposition of mind may be before a virtuous act of choice; and that therefore *it is not necessary that there should first be thought, reflection and choice before there can be any virtuous disposition.* If the choice be first, before the existence of a good disposition of heart, what signifies that choice? There can, according to our natural notions, be no virtue in a choice which proceeds from no virtuous principle, but from mere self-love, ambition, or some animal appetite." P. 140. If there was a holy disposition, before there was "thought, reflexion or choice," Edwards most assuredly carried moral distinctions back of moral acts. That by so doing he carried them into the "essential attributes of the soul," is an assertion founded on the assumption, that what is not an act must be an essential attribute, which we believe few are prepared to admit. God has created man with various susceptibilities, dispositions or tendencies of mind towards objects without himself; these tendencies are not necessarily "real existences, entities," or essential attributes, for tendencies or habits may, as before remarked, be acquired, as the skill of an artist, or a proneness to any particular mental exercise. They may result from the relative state of all the essential attributes, and yet be no "part of the soul" themselves. Their nature, however, is confessedly as inconceivable as the nature of the soul, and no more so; and they are as necessarily assumed to account for the results which meet our view, as the soul or any of its attributes. If a million of intelligent beings, the first moment they think of the character God, are filled with desire and delight, it is as evident that they were created with a proneness or disposition to take pleasure in holiness, as it is that the hearts of mothers have an innate tendency to love their children, because they glow with delight the first moment

they are given to them. Nothing we think but the most determined adherence to a speculative opinion, can prevent any man acknowledging that it is as possible for the mind to be created with this "instinctive" love of holiness, as with a disposition for any other specific class of objects. And we think too, that the vast body of men will agree with president Edwards in thinking, that "such a disposition's being natural, or from a kind of instinct, implanted in the mind in its creation," is no objection to its being of a virtuous or moral character. Does the maternal instinct cease to be amiable, because it is natural? Does a disposition to kindness and gentleness lose its character by being innate? Are not the instinctive love of justice, abhorrence of cruelty, admiration of what is noble, which God has implanted in our nature, objects of approbation? If our feelings and the general sense of mankind answer these questions in the affirmative, they as certainly will decide that an innate disposition to love God, existing in the mind of Adam at the moment of his creation, does not lose its moral character by being innate. The common feelings and judgment of men, therefore, do carry moral distinctions back of acts of choice, and must do so unless we deny that virtue ever can commence, for "there can, according to our natural notions, be no virtue in a choice which proceeds from no virtuous principle, but from mere self-love."

If this be so, the very foundation of the objection that the common doctrine of regeneration destroys the responsibility of the sinner, is taken away. This responsibility rests upon the fact, that he stands in the relation of a rational and moral creature to God. He has all the attributes of a moral agent—understanding, conscience and will. He has unimpaired the liberty of acting according to his own inclinations. His mind is not subject to any law of causation, which determines his acts independently of himself. Motives, as external to the mind, have no influence, but as the mind itself, according to the laws of all rational creation, is affected by them and *voluntarily* admits their influence, and yields to it. The responsibility of man, therefore, resting on the immutable obligations which bind him to love and obey God, and on the possession of all the attributes of moral agency, is not destroyed by his moral depravity, of which the want of a disposition to holiness is an integral part. He does not love God, not because there is any physical defect

in his constitution, but because his moral taste is perverted by reason of sin. He is so corrupt, that even infinite loveliness appears hateful to him. There can, in the nature of things, be no reason why an intelligent and moral being, should be blind to moral excellence, excepting moral corruption. And if this be an excuse, then the more depraved, the less he is to blame. How he became thus depraved, is another question,—but it has nothing to do with the point before us, which is, the nature of the inability which it involves to love God. He may have been born so, or he may have made himself so. It makes no difference as to this point. So long as this depravity is his own, his own moral character, it can furnish no excuse or palliation for not complying with the great command of the law and gospel. An object worthy of all affection is presented to his view, viz: the divine character; he is capable of intellectually apprehending this object. If blind to its loveliness it is, in his own judgment, and that of all men, his sin; it is the very height of corruption to view as unlovely what is the perfection of moral beauty. That men do labour under this moral blindness, is one of the most frequently asserted doctrines of the Scriptures. “The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.” “These things,” says our Saviour, “will they do unto you, because they have not known the father nor me.” “To know God, is eternal life.” We are said to be saved through knowledge. The gospel is “hid to them that are lost.” Their eyes are blinded. Light has shined into the hearts of those that believe. The saints of old prayed to have their minds illuminated; and Paul intercedes for his fellow Christians earnestly and frequently for this blessing, as the only possible means of their sanctification. This is so plain, that president Edwards, in speaking on this subject, says, “There is such a thing, *if the Scriptures are of any use to teach us any thing*, as a spiritual, supernatural understanding of divine things, that is peculiar to the saints, and which those who are not saints know nothing of.” (P. 298, On the Affections.) The cause of this blindness is sin, and therefore it is inexcusable. But if it exists, there is an evident necessity for such a change in the soul, that it shall be brought to see this beauty of holiness, and from the constitution of our nature, this change must precede the exercise of love. For how can we love that

which we do not see. The affections must have an object, and that object must be apprehended in its true nature, in order to be truly loved. It is obvious, therefore, that regeneration, to be of a moral character at all, must consist in such a change as brings the soul into a state to see and love the beauty of holiness. It matters not what the change be called; a "spiritual sense," or "a taste," or "disposition," it is as necessary as that an object should be seen in order to be loved.

Now it is evident that all this must be denied by those who make regeneration to consist in the "act of loving God," who deny that there is any change prior in the order of nature, to the exercise of love. For if the sinner is blind to God's loveliness, it is absolutely impossible that he should love it, until he is brought to see it. It may be said, that this is to render the sinner's case absolutely hopeless. So it is. And they do but delude and mock him, who represent it otherwise. It is thus the Bible represents it. It tells him that the natural man cannot know the things of the Spirit of God. And it is moreover necessary, that the sinner should be brought to feel, that his case, as far as he himself is concerned, is absolutely hopeless; that he may be brought to fall, with his blind and wicked heart, at the feet of sovereign mercy, and cry, Lord, save me! or I perish. But does this make the sinner excusable? not unless his sin is his excuse. It is this, and this alone, which prevents his perception of the loveliness of God, and, therefore, the more complete his blindness, the greater his loathsomeness and guilt. The two sentiments of complete helplessness, and of entire blame-worthiness, are perfectly consistent, and are ever united in Christian experience. The believer feels them every day. He knows that it is his duty, at once, to love God as purely, and fervently, and constantly, as do the saints made perfect. Yet he feels that no mere efforts of his own, no use of means, no presentation of motives, no summoning of his powers, will ever enable him to raise his carnal heart to heaven. Does this free him from a sense of guilt? No. He covers his face with both his hands, and bows down in the dust, and cries, Behold, I am vile. Have mercy on me, O Lord, and create within me a clean heart.

That the denial of the sinner's blindness, to the holiness of God, is involved in the theory of regeneration, under consideration, is perfectly evident, and is not, we presume, de-

nied. If the mere choice of God, as the supreme portion of the soul, is regeneration, and the performance of this act constitutes the change, then of course no previous change is admitted to be necessary to enable him to make the choice; no opening of his eyes to see the moral excellence of the object he is to choose, no production of any sense of its loveliness; the choice itself is all that is demanded; and for this, every thing is present that the act requires. The object, the capacity of viewing it in its true moral excellence, and the motive whence the choice is to proceed. For he need not choose God from any holy motive or intention, (which would be to make holiness precede moral action), the simple desire of happiness is all that is required. The character of this first act does not depend on its motive. It is holy, though performed merely from the desire of self-gratification. This is a conclusion from which our minds instinctively revolt, and which Edwards says, is contrary to the natural notions of men. It is, however, a conclusion which is legitimate and acknowledged, and, being in our view, a complete *reductio ad absurdum*, the system is fairly, in our humble apprehension, *felo de se*.

Dr Cox asks whether it is not "intrinsically absurd," that a man should be regenerated before he does his duty? We think the absurdity is all the other way, that he should do his duty without being regenerated. That he should love God without having any proper perception of his character; or that an unholy soul should have this perception of the beauty of holiness. It appears to us a contradiction in terms to say, that a holy object can be viewed as excellent and desirable by a carnal mind; for a holy mind is best defined by saying, that it perceives and relishes the beauty of holiness. It is inconceivable to us, therefore, that any sinner should love God, without this previous change, except on one or the other of these two grounds; that all his acts are created in him, and he is really no agent at all, or that an act proceeding from mere self-love is holy. Both which contradict what to us are primary principles or intuitive truths. But how is it that regeneration precedes the exercise of love? As the opening of the eyes precedes sight; as a sense of the beautiful precedes the emotion of beauty; as the maternal instinct precedes maternal love. As it is impossible for a man to have his eyes open in the day time without seeing, so it is impossible for a man to be regenerated without delighting

in God. Yet opening the eyes is not seeing, nor is regeneration delighting in God. What the metaphysical nature of this change is, no one can tell. All the soul can say, is, whereas I was blind, now I see. What once appeared repulsive and "foolishness," now appears supremely desirable and excellent. What once excited enmity, now calls forth love. What once was irksome and difficult, is now easy and delightful. To say that these exercises themselves constitute the change, and the whole change, is to say, that a wicked man is suddenly transformed in all his views, feelings, and conduct, without any reason for it. And to refer all to the immediate operations of the Spirit, is to make man a machine, a mere instrument, on which a mysterious hand plays what tune it pleases, to the delight or torment of the conscious, but passive subject.

There is still another point. Dr Cox speaks of this "certain kind of principle," as "a mysterious gratuity," with which the receiver has nothing to do. A something inserted in the soul in some magic manner to influence his exercises, but which forms no part of his character. We are persuaded that a fundamental difference, as to the nature of agency, and human liberty, lies at the foundation of all such objections. We are as yet only fighting in the dark. The real turning point is yet in the back ground. We do not mean that it is intentionally kept there, but that these objections have not even the semblance of force, if (what is yet considered common ground) the Calvinistic theory of the will is retained. Was it a mere "mysterious gratuity," without moral character for him, that Adam was created in the image of God "with holy principles and dispositions?" Were these not voluntary principles? Was he not free in all his exercises of love determined by them? A disposition is not the less voluntary because it is innate. The affections are all voluntary, although concreated with us. Is a man less free in loving himself because self-love is a constitutional propensity? Does a mother love her child against her will, because she acts agreeably to her nature? Does not the disposition so to do enter into her character? If this be true with regard even to constitutional propensities, it is still more obviously true with respect to moral disposition, whether originally implanted or restored in regeneration. There is a continual play upon the double sense of the word voluntary. When the faculties of the

soul are reduced to understanding and will, it is evident that the latter includes all the affections. In this sense, all liking or disliking, desiring or being averse to, &c., are voluntary, or acts of the will. But when we speak of the understanding, will and affections, the word will includes much less. It is the power of the soul to come to a determination, to fix its choice on some object of desire. These two meanings are distinct, though they may relate only to different states of the same faculty. In the latter sense, will and desire are not always coincident. A man may desire money, and not will to take it, or to make it an object of pursuit; he may not fix his choice upon it. The will is here determined by some other desire of greater force; desire of doing right, for example. When we speak of a volition, of a choice, of a decision or determination of the will, the word will is used in the restricted sense. A man may have many objects of desire before his mind; the decision which the will makes among them, or its selection, is its choice. There are a thousand things capable of ministering to our happiness; riches, honour, sensual pleasure, the service of God; the selection which the soul makes, is made by the will in the narrower sense. This is a voluntary act, in one sense of the term. But in another, the desire itself which the soul has for these objects, and not merely its decision or choice, is a voluntary act. For, according to Edwards, "all choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, *liking, disliking*, directing, commanding, *inclining*, or being averse, *a being pleased*, or *displeased with*;" are acts of the will. In this sense, all the affections, and all desires are voluntary exercises, whether constitutional or not, and not merely the decisions to which they lead. Hence self-love, the love of children, the love of society, the desire of esteem, are all voluntary, although all springing from native tendencies of the mind.

This distinction between these different senses of the word will, although frequently made, and formally stated, is yet, time after time, lost sight of in discussions of this nature; which gives rise to endless confusion. The word is often used in one sense in the premises of an argument, and in the other in the conclusion. How often is it said that a man can love God if he will? What does this mean? If will be here used, in its narrower sense, this is not true. The affections no more obey a determination of the mind,

than the emotions do. A man can no more will to love, to hate, to be pleased or displeased, than he can will to be joyful or sorrowful, gay or sad, or even hot or cold at any given moment. But if the word be taken in its larger sense, as including the affections, then the proposition is identical; it is saying, a man can love God, if he does love God. And when Dr Cox says, there are some men who teach, that a man has no ability to believe, even if he has the inclination; the very statement is absurd. For if the mind is inclined to embrace the truth in its real character, it does believe.

Although the advocates of the theory, that morality attaches only to acts of choice, lay down, as the foundation of their doctrine, Edwards' definition of the will as given above, yet it is plain, that in a multitude of cases, they confine acts of choice to acts of the will in the restricted sense. Thus the desire of money becomes avarice, they say, only when the will comes in and decides on money as the main object of pursuit. Self-esteem is not pride, until the will decides on preferring our own claims unduly. In all such cases, it is the will, as the faculty of decision between different objects of desire, that is intended. It is to acts of the will in this restricted sense, and to the states of mind thence resulting, and not to voluntary acts in the broad sense of president Edwards, that morality is made to attach. Hence in the case of Adam, the desire excited by a view of the divine perfections, has no moral character. That belongs only to the act of the will, which fixes on God as the chief good. And the first holy act of a new-born soul is not the desire which rises in view of the divine Being, but the act of the will by which he is chosen as a portion. Hence, in the distinction between constitutional and voluntary propensities, the social affections, the love of children, desire of esteem, &c. are referred to the former class, and are not considered as voluntary. Yet in the broad sense of the word will, assumed as the foundation of the theory, according to which, all "inclining or being averse," all "being pleased, or displeased with," are acts of the will, they are as truly voluntary as the others. Now, when it is asserted, that no disposition is of a moral character, except so far as it depends on choice or preference, and that all morality lies in the will, the whole mean-

ing turns on the sense in which the word will is taken. If taken in its broader sense, this would be admitted; if in the restricted sense, we should deny it altogether. Those who make the assertion, doubtless take it in the latter; for they say that all that precedes the decision of the soul, its fixing on some object of desire as its chief portion, is neither sinful nor holy; that holiness consists in the selection of God and sin in the choice of the world, and that there is nothing sinful or holy but these primary or ultimate choices, and the subordinate acts resulting from them. But it is clear that the term voluntary applies not only to such acts of choice, but to all exercises of the affections or desires preliminary thereto. No one would say that the disposition to love ourselves, or our children, depends on choice; and yet these dispositions are properly and truly voluntary. We cannot love otherwise than voluntarily. When, therefore, these gentlemen use the word voluntary, it is in reference to acts of the will in the restricted sense, excluding the spontaneous exercises of the native propensities of our nature. They of course deny that Adam was created holy. The spontaneous rising of desire in his mind to God, was neither holy nor unholy. His moral character commenced with the first act of choice, that is, with his selection of God from among the various sources of happiness as his chief good. Here lies one great point of difference between them and common Calvinists. President Edwards maintains clearly that Adam was holy before this act of choice, yea, before he exercised "thought or reflection." And he says, that it is according to our natural notions of things that there could be no virtue in this choice, unless it was determined by a virtuous disposition. The common judgment of men is, that moral character belongs to the desire of moral objects. The morality lies in its nature, independently of its origin. Its being from "a kind of instinct," does not destroy its moral character. The desire of holiness is holy, no matter how it rises in the mind. If this be so, a similar tendency of mind and a similar desire, if produced in our mind by the power of the spirit in regeneration, is not "something inserted in the soul" without influence on our character. It constitutes us holy, as truly as Adam was holy at his first creation, though much of sin may yet remain. It is indeed "a mysterious gratuity;" the Scriptures call it *GRACE*; but it is still ours, from its nature, voluntary and active. It is

an inclination of the heart, and, as Dr Bellamy remarks, an "involuntary inclination of the heart is a contradiction in terms." He uses the word voluntary in its larger sense, as Edwards does, and not merely in that which applies to a decision, or selection from among different objects of desire. With him all spontaneous exercises of the mind are voluntary; self-love, the love of children, and all other similar affections. A disposition therefore to these, or any other exercises, existing prior to the exercises, in his view, does not destroy their character as voluntary, nor their morality if they have reference to moral objects; this depends upon their nature, not their origin.

We have already remarked that the opposite system destroys the moral character of the first act (in reference to moral objects) in Adam, and in regeneration. We are ready to admit, that as the desire of a holy object is from its nature holy, so the choice of such an object as holy, is from its nature good. But it is inconceivable that holiness, as such, can be chosen without a previous apprehension of its real excellence and desire for it as such. For the choice is but the determination of the desire. If therefore moral character be denied to the antecedent desire, the choice loses its moral character also. It cannot be confined to the act of choice, for there can in fact be no choice of a holy object as such, but from a desire for it in its true character, and this is a holy desire, and precedes the choice. If self-love be only so far the motive to this choice, that it "prompts to the choice, but not determines it," what, we ask, does determine it? There are but two answers to this question. The one is that the will determines itself, *i. e.* the choice is made in indifference, and has clearly no moral character; or it is determined by a desire of the object as such, (not mere desire of happiness, for that only prompts to the choice, *not determines it*) and then the whole theory is relinquished, for here is the desire of a holy object, not merely as a means of happiness, but for the object as holy, which must needs be a holy desire, and being antecedent to the choice, would be, according to the theory, anterior to the commencement of holiness.

The truth is, that this whole system is a forced and unnatural union, between Arminian philosophy and Calvinistic facts. A union which can neither be peaceful nor lasting. Nor is this the first time that it has been attempted. The

favourite principle of the opposers of the doctrines, which are now called Calvinistic, in all ages, has been, that moral character can only belong to acts of choice; and of course, that no such thing as original righteousness or original sin is possible or conceivable; that any other influence in regeneration, than that of moral suasion, by which one man is led to make a good choice, which another man, under the same influence, might refuse to make, is inconsistent with moral agency; that the doctrines of election and perseverance of the saints, presupposing that of efficacious grace, must necessarily be untrue. The first departures from these doctrines have commenced by adopting the main principle, and endeavouring to reconcile it, as far as possible, with the facts involved in the doctrines themselves; viz. that all men do sin, with absolute certainty, the moment they become moral agents; that the influence of the Spirit is infallibly efficacious: and that all whom God has chosen certainly believe and attain eternal life. But less than a generation has commonly been sufficient to break the connexion, and leave the philosophical principle undisputed master of the field.

That this principle is inconsistent with the doctrine of original righteousness is formally admitted. That it involves the denial of original sin, as this doctrine has been commonly held among Calvinists, is equally clear. According to the prevalent doctrine on this subject, original sin consists, first, in the imputation of Adam's sin: this, it seems, has been long exploded: secondly, in the want of original righteousness, this is gone too, for there never was any such thing; and thirdly, in the corruption of nature, that is, a tendency to do what God has prohibited, existing prior to all acts of choice, and independently of them, and now this is gone. There is no such tendency to sin, as can be considered a moral disposition.

Although this article has already swollen far beyond our expectations, we cannot pass this subject without a single remark on the charge of physical depravity. The futility and unfairness of the same charge, as it regards the subject of regeneration, we have endeavoured to expose above. As this rests on precisely the same grounds, it must stand or fall with the other. If there may be moral principles prior to moral acts, (as we think must be assumed, in the case of Adam, or make the commencement of holiness impossible,)

then there is not a shadow of ground for this charge. Nor is it the Calvinistic doctrine, that there is a specific propensity to sin, (analogous to the holy disposition implanted in the heart of Adam), connatural with the soul of man. None such need be assumed, and none such is believed to exist. The mere absence of a native tendency to God leaves the soul in moral confusion and ruin. There is no positive infusion of wickedness. The essential attributes and constitutional propensities are there, and nothing more. But they are there without a principle of moral order and subordination. There is no presiding spirit to turn them to the service of God. The result of this absence is all manner of evil, and a tendency to all this evil lies in this very state of the soul, and exists prior to any of its moral acts. Does the withholding this predisposition to holiness, from a being to whom all the essential attributes of his nature are left unimpaired, make God the author of sin? then must he be accused of being the author of all sin that results from the abandonment of the reprobate, and of all that by the utmost exertion of his power he could prevent. Nor is it more difficult to reconcile this fact (that God should withhold from the fallen race of man those communications which resulted in the innate tendency to holiness, which filled the soul of Adam) with the divine justice and goodness, than it is the admitted fact that he has brought, and is still bringing, the countless millions of the human family into existence under circumstances so unfavourable, that all, without exception, incur the penalty of eternal death at the first moment of moral agency. And that moment arriving too at the first dawn of intellect, and when the first faint flushes of moral feeling rise in the soul. If this be no penalty, we know not what is. "To be placed under a law," says Coleridge, (*Aids to Reflection*, p. 168), "the difficulty of obeying, and the consequences of not obeying which, are both infinite, and to have momentarily to struggle with this difficulty, and to live in momentarily hazard of these consequences—if this be no punishment!—words have no correspondence with thoughts, and thoughts are but shadows of each other, shadows that own no substance for their anti-type. Of such an outrage on common sense Taylor (Bishop Jeremy) was incapable. He himself calls it a penalty; he admits that in effect it is a punishment." It is a penalty too, according to this theory, without transgression; a punishment without a crime. We

cannot see, therefore, that any thing is gained by the new theory over the old doctrine, which represents our race as having enjoyed a full and fair and favourable probation in their first parent, and as being regarded and treated as an apostate race on account of his rebellion: so that the withholding those divine communications which resulted in the first man, in the moral image of his maker, is a penal evil, from which, it is true, utter ruin results, but it is the ruin, not of innocent, but of fallen human beings. This doctrine involves no mysterious confusion of the identity of the race with that of Adam, and no transfer of moral character from him to us. His act was personally his own and only his; it is ours only on the representative principle, which is recognised not only by Dr Hopkins and his followers distinctly, but by Arminians and Pelagians*, and is so clearly taught by the fact, that the race fell when Adam fell, that it is admitted in reality even by those who formally deny it.

But to return to our subject. This theory not only overthrows the doctrines which we have just mentioned, but it throws the Spirit's influences almost entirely out of view. We are not speaking of the opinions of its advocates, but of the tendency of the theory. According to their views, regeneration consists in the choice of God as the supreme portion of the soul. This requires that the soul should view him as supremely desirable. This the sinner is, not only naturally, but morally, able to do; for his corruption does not blind him to the excellence of holiness, or its adaptedness to promote his happiness. To secure this happiness is the only impulse or motive necessary to make this choice, and he is urged to make it, assured that if he will summon all his powers to the effort, the result, by the grace of God, may follow. We think the grace of God acts a part scarcely more conspicuous in all this scheme, than it does in the enumeration of the titles of an European monarch. There is no blindness to the excellence of the object of choice to be removed, no holy motive is necessary for the grand decision; all that is required is a practical conviction that it will be for the sinner's interests. Firmly as these brethren may believe in the necessity of the Spirit's interference, it is evident that necessity is left out of view almost entirely in

* See Whitby on Romans, v. 12.

their theory. Accordingly, when they come to describe the process of this great change, the sinner is the only agent brought to view; he is to consider, ponder and decide, for all which he absolutely needs no assistance, though it may be graciously afforded. This mode of representation stands in strong contrast with the language of Scripture in those passages in which we are said "to be born of the Spirit," "to be created anew in Christ Jesus," to experience the workings "of the exceeding greatness of the power of God," and many others of a similar character.

As to the point which Dr Cox thinks so "intrinsically absurd," and about which he says so much, whether man is passive in regeneration, it will be seen that, for its own sake, it does not merit a moment's discussion. It depends entirely on the previous question. If regeneration be that act of the soul by which it chooses God for its portion, there is an end of all debate on the subject. For no one will maintain that the soul is passive in acting. But if there be any change in the moral state of the soul, prior to its turning unto God, then it is proper to say, that the soul is passive as to that particular point. That is, that the Holy Spirit is the author, and the soul the subject of the change. For all that is meant by the soul's being passive, is, that it is not the agent of the change in question. Its immediate and delightful turning unto God is its own act, the state of mind which leads to this act is produced directly by the Spirit of God. The whole question is, whether any such anterior change is necessary. Whether a soul polluted and degraded by sin, or in Scripture language, carnal, needs any change in its moral taste before it can behold the loveliness of the divine character. For that this view must precede the exercise of affection, we presume will not be denied. If this point be decided, the propriety of using the word passive to denote that the soul is the subject and not the agent of the change in question, need not give us much trouble. Sure it is that this change is in Scripture always referred to the Holy Spirit. It is the soul that repents, believes, hopes and fears, but it is the Holy Spirit that regenerates. He is the author of our faith and repentance by inducing us to act, but no man regenerates himself. The soul, although essentially active, is still capable of being acted upon. It receives impressions from sensible objects, from other spirits and from the Holy Ghost. In every sensation, there is an impression made by

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some external object, and the immediate knowledge which the mind takes of the impression. As to the first point, it is passive, or the subject; as to the second, it is active, or the agent. These two are indeed inseparably connected, and so are regeneration and conversion. It is even allowable to say that the mind is passive considered as the recipient of any impression, no matter how communicated. Coleridge says, "In ATTENTION, we keep the mind *passive*: in THOUGHT, we rouse it into activity. In the former, we submit to an impression, we keep the mind steady in order to receive the stamp." P. 252. Whether this is "technically wretched, philosophically wrong, and theologically false," or not, we do not pretend to say. All that we say is, that it is perfectly intelligible and perfectly according to established usage, to speak of the mind as passive, when considered as the subject of an impression. And if the Holy Spirit does make such an impression on the mind, or exert such an influence as induces it immediately to turn to God, then it is correct to say that it is passive in regeneration, though active in conversion. However, this is a very subordinate point; the main question is, whether there is not a holy "relish," taste, or principle produced in the soul prior, in the order of nature, to any holy act of the soul itself. If Dr Cox can show this to be "intrinsically absurd," we shall give up the question of "passivity," without a moment's demur. To relinquish the other point, however, will cost us a painful struggle. It will be the giving up the main point in debate between the friends and opposers of the doctrines of grace from Augustine to the present day. It will be the renunciation, not only of a favourite principle of old Calvinists, but of one of the fundamental principles of the theology of Edwards, Bellamy, Dwight, and, as we believe, of the great body of the New England clergy. It will be the renunciation of what Calvinists, old and new, have believed to be the Scriptural doctrine of original righteousness, original sin and efficacious grace. It will be the rejection of that whole system of mingled sovereignty and love which has been the foundation, for ages, of so many hopes and of so much blessedness to the people of God. And all for what? Because it has been discovered, that what is not an act is an entity; that to suppose the existence of moral disposition prior to moral action, is making morality a substance. As we are incapable of seeing the truth of these axioms, and

believe their assumption to be encumbered with all the difficulties above referred to, we are not disposed to renounce, on their behalf, doctrines which have for ages been held dear by the best portion of the Christian church.

Dr Cox demands what has been the moral history of these doctrines? It would require more time and space than we can now command fully to answer this question. Not to enter on questionable ground, however, we would refer him for an answer to the history of the reformation. These doctrines were held sacred by all those men who were God's great instruments in that blessed work, and are incorporated in the confessions of all the reformed churches. We would point him to the history of the English Puritans and Non-conformists; to the Puritans of New England, from the time of their landing down to a late period in their history, and to the present opinions of the great body of their descendants. We would refer him to any age or any church, peculiarly distinguished for genuine piety. For there is scarcely one of the doctrines which he has empaled in his introduction, (with the exception of the mere extent of the atonement, a point of very subordinate importance to that of its nature), which does not enter in the faith of the great body of evangelical Christians. We have no doubt that Dr Cox believes these doctrines. What we lament is, that he should have "caricatured" the manner in which the vast majority of those who hold them have been accustomed to represent them, and that he should even seem to advocate a principle which we fear is subversive of them all.

REVIEW.

Lectures on the Shorter Catechism of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, addressed to Youth. By Ashbel Green, D.D. Philadelphia. A. Finley, and Towar and Hogan. One Volume.

With pleasure we hail the appearance of these Lectures on the Shorter Catechism, and we are gratified to see them

comprised in so handsome a volume; for we are more and more persuaded, that nothing is gained to any body by coarse paper and a bad type. A perspicuous and orthodox commentary on this concise but rich system of gospel truth, cannot but be a valuable present to the christian public, and especially to the members of the Presbyterian church. Such a work we have now before us, which, in our opinion, supplies an important desideratum in our theological literature. For although we have several expositions of the Westminster Shorter Catechism which are sound and pious, yet, having been written a long time since, their language is now uncouth, and the whole style of composition antiquated; so that they are little read, and indeed are for the most part out of print. The whole body of Presbyterians, therefore, of every sect, who use this catechism, will feel themselves under special obligations to the venerable author for producing what, we hope, will become a sort of standard work for the instruction and edification of their youth; and certainly it is matter of congratulation with the friends of orthodoxy, that the execution of such a work has fallen into hands so competent to do it justice. The reader, it is true, will not, in these lectures, find much discussion of abstruse and difficult points in theology, nor any great parade of critical learning: both of which would have been entirely out of place in a work addressed to youth, and intended for the edification of persons of all classes in society. But we are far from intimating that the young theologian may not study these lectures with profit. We do believe, that often the student of theology spends his time and wastes his strength in reading authors which have no other recommendation but that they are abstruse, obscure and learned; while he neglects and perhaps despises works which are rich in truth and strong in argument, merely because they are plain and unpretending. We do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend this volume to the careful and repeated perusal of our candidates for the holy ministry. In fact, it comprehends all the truths which they will ever have occasion to teach.

It is no part of our object, in this review, to enter into a critical examination of the style and composition of these lectures. This is altogether unnecessary at this time; for although they now appear for the first time collected into a volume, the whole of them have been twice before the

public; first, when they were orally delivered by the author to his own catechumens, and secondly, when published in numbers in *The Christian Advocate*, of which valuable miscellany the author of this volume is the well known editor. It will be sufficient to remark, in general, that the style of these lectures is remarkable for correctness, perspicuity and force; the language is well adapted to the subjects treated, and while it furnishes a good example of purity and neatness, it is every where intelligible to the humblest capacity.

But if we do not entirely misinterpret the temper and taste of the times in which we live, doctrinal catechisms, and lectures explanatory of such catechisms, are not the books which will be sought after and read with avidity. The religious taste of most readers is, we fear, greatly vitiated by works of fiction and other kinds of light reading. Nothing will now please, unless it be characterized by novelty and variety; and while many new means of instruction have been afforded to our youth, in which we sincerely rejoice, we are so old fashioned in our notions, as to feel regret that in our own church those excellent little summaries of Christian doctrine, the Westminster Catechisms, are falling with many into disuse. Our numerous periodicals, coming out weekly, monthly, and quarterly, and often presenting much that is interesting, so occupy our leisure, that works of solid instruction are now read by few. Even the theologian, who is devoted to sacred pursuits, unless he is very economical in the distribution of his time, will find, that after perusing all the pamphlets which fall from the press in such abundance, he will have a small portion left for the more deep and solid works of theology; it is well indeed if by this means the Bible itself is not neglected. There is, doubtless, a great increase of reading among the population of this country within a few years; yet we cannot but fear that didactic and practical works of sound theology have, in too many instances, been excluded by the religious novel and the religious newspaper. And here, again, we must enter a caution against being misunderstood; as though we wished to proscribe all attempts at promoting a taste for reading by well composed fictitious narratives; or, that we would, if we could, diminish the facilities which now exist, of conveying religious intelligence to every corner of our country. We assuredly entertain no such feelings: but what we regret is, that while on the one hand we are gain-

ing many advantages which our fathers did not enjoy, on the other we are losing benefits which they did possess, and which they highly prized. For we see no good reason why the acquisition of new privileges should lead us to-relinquish the old. There is certainly no necessary repugnance between different approved methods of religious instruction. In the circumstances in which the rising generation are placed, there may be abundance of shallow, showy, bustling, active piety ; but the ripe fruits of profound spiritual knowledge, and of deep practical experience, will be rare. In process of time, we apprehend, the strong lines of demarkation between truth and error, on many important points, will become more and more indistinct : and not only so, but many precious evangelical doctrines will be held in low estimation ; because, perchance, they are not embraced by every denomination of Christians. Creeds and catechisms, so highly appreciated by our ancestors, are in danger of being cast aside like old-fashioned furniture, which is too cumbersome for modern use. Many are not at all aware that there is an increasing tendency to these consequences ; while others foresee them, and rejoice in what they consider the extinction of a sectarian spirit ; and fancy they see, in the course of things, an approximation to that happy state of the church, predicted in Scripture, when all sects shall be melted down into one harmonious, united society. Now, although we respect the motives by which such persons are actuated, and would as truly rejoice in the universal peace and unity of Christ's body on earth as any others ; yet, we are persuaded, that union which has not gospel truth as its foundation, is worthless, and in the nature of things cannot be lasting. When that happy period of the church shall arrive, which has been alluded to, Christians will be better acquainted with all the doctrines of the Bible than at any former time, and will be more attached to them. As long as error exists in the world there must be a collision between it and truth : for light and darkness cannot dwell together ; and no church will really be promoting unity and peace by relinquishing or neglecting what she believes to be truth, because some sections of the church do not view these points in the same light. If these doctrines are true, all will eventually embrace them ; and the sooner, if they are clearly and faithfully exhibited. We think, then, that the true policy for every Christian denomination to pursue, is to

maintain firmly and faithfully the doctrines which are believed to be scriptural; and at the same time, to treat other denominations who do not differ from it in fundamental points, with a kind, paternal, and liberal spirit; but while real differences exist, not to attempt an amalgamation, or even too close an union; for bodies which continue very peaceable towards each other when at a proper distance, may, when placed in too close contact, be thrown into a state of violent collision.

Catechetical instruction must have been coeval with the human family. At first all knowledge was communicated orally, and handed down by tradition. The first man delivered a stock of important ideas to his children; and they again to theirs, with different degrees of ability and fidelity. The most usual place of instruction was, doubtless, for a long time, the domestic circle. Here the pious patriarch would spend much time in dealing out to his listening children the lessons which he had learned in his youth from his predecessors, and those which he had been taught by his own experience. These instructions were properly of the nature of *catechising*, which may be defined to be "the familiar communication of knowledge, orally." As long as this duty was faithfully performed by parents, the darkness of ignorance and idolatry was prevented, but as soon as it fell into neglect, error and vice must have been the consequence. Of Abraham, God certifies, "I know that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment." Gen. xviii. 19. And God, by Moses, insisted more upon no duty than this, of domestic instruction in the truths of religion. "And the words which I command thee shall be in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Again "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but teach them, thy sons, and thy son's sons." Deut. iv. 9, 10. vi. 7. To these precepts the Psalmist refers, when he says, "He established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children: that the generation to come might know them, even the children

which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children." Psal. lxxviii. 5, 6. The word *catechise*, is properly Greek, derived from the verb *καταχέω*, "to instruct with the voice," which is found, in some of its parts, six or seven times in the New Testament, but is commonly translated "to instruct:" because in English, the word *catechise* has somehow acquired a narrower signification than the original term, and conveys the idea of *instruction by question and answer*; whereas, the word in Greek includes all manner of elementary, oral instruction: and it would be desirable to bring back the word to its original meaning. This, however, is of small moment. The passages in which the original word is found, are the following: Luke i. 4. Acts xviii. 25. xxi. 22, 24. Rom. ii. 18. 1 Cor. xiv. 19. Gal. iv. 6.

It appears, therefore, that this mode of instruction is fully recognised in the sacred Scriptures. Indeed, if no other methods of inculcating divine truth were resorted to, than delivering elaborate and continued discourses from the pulpit, very little information would be gained by the young and the ignorant. Preaching supposes and requires some preparatory knowledge in the hearers, to render it useful in communicating religious knowledge. Elementary principles must be acquired in some other way; and this was more especially the case before the invention of printing, when books were very scarce, and few persons were able to read. It seems that the apostles and first teachers of the Christian religion were much occupied in giving religious instruction, from house to house; and we know, from undoubted authorities, that in the earliest times of the primitive church, all who applied for admission into the church, from among the heathen, and all the children of Christians, were carefully instructed by catechising; that is, by a course of familiar teaching, *viva voce*. To every church a class of catechumens was attached, and formed a kind of school, in which the first principles of religion were inculcated, and certain formulas of Christian doctrine, such as the early creeds, carefully committed to memory, together with portions of the sacred Scriptures. In some places these schools for catechumens became very famous, and were supplied with teachers of the highest character for learning and piety; so that they were frequented by the lovers of sacred literature from other countries. A celebrated institution of this sort flourished for several ages at Alexandria, in Egypt, in which

Origen was educated, and of which he became the most distinguished teacher. A large number of the treatises written by the fathers, in different countries, and in different centuries, were composed expressly for the instruction of the catechumens. And until darkness overspread the church, and her unnatural pastors deprived the people of the Scriptures, the church was, as it ever should be, like a great school; where holy men of God devoted their time to the instruction of the rising generation, and of converts from paganism.

In catechetical, or elementary instruction, the grand secret is, "little at a time, and often repeated." Whoever would successfully instruct children and very ignorant adults, should avoid the error of crowding too many things into their minds at once. It is as preposterous a practice as it would be to attempt to increase the activity, vigour and size of the body, by cramming the stomach with as much food as it could hold. Moreover, the truths first communicated should be as simple as possible. Tender minds must not be fed with strong meat, but with pure milk. To accommodate instruction to the state of advancement in knowledge, and to the degree of development of the mental faculties, is certainly that part of education which is most difficult, and at the same time most important. That historical facts should form the commencement of a course of religious instruction, is indicated, first, by the method pursued in the Bible; and secondly, by the predilection of all children for this species of knowledge. But, at a very early period, moral and doctrinal instruction of the most important kind may be connected with the scriptural facts inculcated, and may always be most advantageously engrafted on them. Doctrinal catechisms are, it is admitted, not commonly understood well by children; but it can do them no harm to exercise themselves in committing the words to memory; for it is universally admitted, that to strengthen the memory, it must be frequently and vigorously exercised: and will it not be much better to have it stored with words, which contain the most salutary truths, rather than those which may, by some association, prove injurious on the recollection? Sometimes the having committed to memory such a system as the Shorter Catechism, is of the utmost importance to an individual when his lot is cast where he has no means of correct information; or in case the person should lose his sight or hearing. We once noticed an exemplification of this in the case of a man of

strong mind, who had led a busy life, without much concern with books, and who in his latter years was entirely blind. In conversation on the most important topics of religion, in which he took a deep interest, he would continually recur to the answers in the Shorter Catechism, which he had learned when young; and which now seemed to serve as a guide to his thoughts in all his meditations. But the true reason why so many children learn the catechism without understanding its meaning, is, that no pains are taken to explain its doctrines, and to illustrate them, in a way adapted to their capacity. Parents are, for the most part, either incapable of giving such instruction, or negligent in the performance of this important duty. Most parents then need just such a help, for the discharge of this duty, as is here provided for them. Why then should not every Presbyterian family possess itself at least of one copy of these Lectures, which are handsomely printed, and sold at a very reasonable rate? And why may not this become an important aid to the teachers in Sunday schools, where these schools consist of the children of Presbyterian parents? We do earnestly hope that attention to doctrinal instruction will not be relinquished, nor diminished, in our church. Hitherto Presbyterians have been distinguished above all people in the world, for a correct and thorough knowledge of the tenets of their own church. No people on earth are so well indoctrinated in the principles of religion, and in the proof of the doctrines believed, as the Scotch, and their descendants in Ireland and America. Other people far exceed them in metaphysical speculations, and in the knowledge of other matters: but for sound religious knowledge, commend us to Scotch Presbyterians of every sect.

The benefits of thorough instruction in the doctrines of religion cannot be calculated. The truths thus received into the mind may prove ineffectual, in some cases, to restrain from open sin; but even in these, the force of the truth is often felt, and the person thus situated, is much more likely to be convinced of the error of his ways than those transgressors whose minds are almost totally destitute of the knowledge of the doctrines of religion. There is, moreover, an unspeakable benefit from the possession of correct doctrinal information, when the mind falls under serious impressions of religion; for, then, truths which had been early inculcated, and long forgotten, will revive in the memory, and serve to guard the

anxious mind from those enthusiastic errors into which ignorant persons are so prone to fall when they are deeply exercised on the subject of their salvation. Let not the members of the Presbyterian church, therefore, become remiss in that which has ever been her most honourable distinction; the careful initiation of children into the doctrines of religion, contained in her catechisms; than which, we believe, a sounder system of theoretical and practical theology, cannot be found in any language. It may appear rather extraordinary, that the assembly of divines at Westminster, should have prepared two catechisms, as this seems rather calculated to distract than edify the church. But the history of this matter is simply this. The Larger Catechism was first composed by a committee of three members; Dr Tuckney, Dr Arrowsmith, and the Rev. Mr Newcomen; though there is good reason to believe that the first named had the chief hand in the composition. The work was highly approved, but was thought to be too long to be generally committed to memory by children; the committee was therefore directed to prepare a catechism containing the same truths, in a more condensed form. The Shorter Catechism is therefore an abridgment of the Larger, and by comparison it will be found to contain the substance of the Larger, expressed with more brevity, but containing, for the most part, the very language of the original. It was formerly a frequent thing for young persons of both sexes, in our church, to commit to memory, accurately, the whole of the Larger Catechism. Whether this practice is continued in many of the Presbyterian congregations, under the care of the General Assembly, our information is not sufficient to enable us to declare; but we cannot but believe that young persons who have accomplished this object, have acquired a treasure which may be to them of more value than thousands of silver and gold. One thus armed with the panoply of divine truth, will not be liable to be "carried about with every wind of doctrine," and every wild spirit of enthusiasm which may be abroad in the world; and when he reads religious books, or hears discourses from the pulpit, he will be not only capable of understanding them better than others, but will carry about with him a test, by which he can make trial of the correctness of what he hears or reads, and thus be in a situation to obey the apostle's exhortation, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." We cannot be contented to let the opportunity pass

of bestowing merited commendation on those denominations of Scotch Presbyterians who are not in communion with the General Assembly, for their indefatigable industry and care in giving doctrinal instruction to their children. In this respect, it must be acknowledged, they greatly excel all other denominations of Christians in our country. Among them, we have reason to believe, there has been no falling off in attention to the Catechisms; and few instances ever occur of the members of these churches being seduced by the insidious arts of the propagators of error and infidelity.

The question may occur to some, To whom does it belong to give catechetical instruction? We answer, to all who are capable of teaching any thing of divine truth correctly. But, especially, it is the duty of parents, guardians, masters, schoolmasters, elders, and ministers. All who can be enlisted in the service should be engaged to teach those more ignorant than themselves. And we feel constrained to give our testimony strongly in favour of Sunday schools, in which so many persons are employed, so beneficially to themselves and others, in giving instruction out of the Bible. When this is called a new institution, it surely is not meant that any new instruction is given; or that there is any thing new in the manner of communicating religious knowledge. The whole novelty of the thing consists in the success of the attempt to engage such a multitude of teachers in giving lessons, and such a multitude of scholars in learning them. But we would respectfully ask, whether parents, and ministers, and elders, have not become more remiss in catechising since the introduction of Sunday schools?

In order to render the public catechising of children profitable, the pastor of the flock must manifest a deep and lively interest in the exercise. If he should appear indifferent, and attend on catechetical exercises in a formal, or careless manner, no great good can be expected to arise from such meetings: but if he will take pains to arrange all the circumstances of such exercises, so as to render them interesting to old and young;—if he will propose special subjects of inquiry, refer to proper books, and converse freely with his people on this topic, a spirit of investigation will be excited, religious knowledge will be pursued with diligence and alacrity, and catechising will be found to be the most effectual means of diffusing correct information on the doctrines of religion.

If common schools were what they ought to be, semina-

ries in which Christian doctrine was carefully taught, then our schoolmasters would all be catechists, and the children would be trained in the knowledge of God, and their duty. The business of catechising youth seems also to be one of the appropriate duties of the eldership : for surely these officers ought not to be restricted to mere matters of order and government. As leaders of the people, they should go before them in religious instruction ; and it would be an expedient, as it is a common arrangement, to have each parish so divided into districts, that every elder would have a little charge of his own to look after, the families within which he might frequently visit, and where he might frequently collect and catechise the youth. If ruling elders are commonly incompetent to perform such a work as this, they are unfit for the office which they hold, and can be of little service in the church in other respects. It is now becoming matter of common complaint, that our ruling elders are not generally sensible of the important duties which belong to their office, and are not well qualified to perform them. But how can this evil be remedied ? We answer, that the effectual remedy will be found in an increased attention to instruction in the doctrines of the church, by which means many will acquire a taste and thirst for religious knowledge ; and whenever this occurs, there will be rapid progress in the acquisition of such a fund of sound theology, as will qualify them to communicate instruction to the young and ignorant. In the mean time, let every pastor meet with the elders of his church, once in the week, for the express purpose of discussing questions which relate to the duties belonging to their office ; and thus those who are really desirous of executing their office in a faithful and intelligent manner, will become better and better prepared for their important work every year.

The question has often been agitated, whether it would not be expedient to have an order of catechists, whose duty it should be to attend to this whole concern ; and the idea has been favourably entertained by some in the Presbyterian church. But to us it appears, that such an office would be worse than useless : for, if the catechist be taken from among the members of the church, where he is expected to officiate, and this must be the case if every church is supplied with one or more, then why not constitute him at once a ruling elder ? Surely the mere name of *catechist* would not qualify him to give instruction ; and if he is qualified, would he not

be as able to teach, if called by the name elder as catechist? And if the office is judged to be expedient, because we cannot obtain well qualified elders, how can it be supposed that competent catechists could be found? The idea of some, however, is, that to perform the duties of catechising well, requires much more time than men can commonly afford from their own business; and, therefore, proper persons should be employed, at a reasonable salary, to devote their whole time to this important branch of instruction. Now all this is very reasonable, and brings us to the very point mentioned before, viz. that schools, among Christians, should have it as their chief object, to bring up children in the knowledge of divine things; and the proper catechists of the church would be the teachers of these schools. If it be said, that school-masters are often incompetent to perform this part of their duty; we reply, that the same thing would be true, if they were called catechists; or if other persons were sought for, in the present state of the church, there would exist the same difficulty in obtaining them as there is now in finding well qualified schoolmasters. The truth is, the church should take pains to train men for this very office; and parents should set a much higher value on it, than they have been accustomed to do; and the office ought to be rendered more respectable, and more desirable than it is at present.

It may, perhaps, be thought by some, that the prevalence of Sunday schools renders it unnecessary for church officers to concern themselves with the instruction of the youth under their charge. If, indeed, the schools of this description within the parish are under the special superintendence and tuition of the pastor and elders, there is no good reason why catechetical instruction should not be given in a Sunday school as well as any where else. Catechising is an exercise peculiarly suited to the Sabbath, and if the officers of any church should agree to conduct this part of instruction in their valuable institutions, it would certainly be an improvement on the plan on which they are commonly conducted. But when, as is commonly the case, these schools are made up of children of different denominations, and are under the direction of persons not connected with any one church, their existence and prosperity, while it will greatly facilitate pastoral labours, ought not to be considered as a substitute for catechising. We are afraid, however, that some pastors, as well as many parents, have become remiss in this

part of their duty, from the mistaken idea, that their labours in this field are now superseded. This mistake should be carefully counteracted; and while the benefits of Sunday schools are gratefully acknowledged, the instruction of our youth in the catechisms of our own church should be pursued with increasing diligence.

The old Presbyterian plan of conducting catechising did not confine this method of instruction to children and youth, but extended it to all persons except the officers of the church. And certainly one of the chief hinderances to the success of catechetical instruction has been that it commonly terminates too soon. When children have arrived at the age of twelve or fourteen years, they take up the opinion that they are too big and too old to repeat the catechism; in consequence of which, until the institution of Bible classes, our youth received no appropriate instruction, in many congregations, in that period of their lives which of all others is most important for improvement in knowledge. While we are strong advocates for catechetical instruction, we are at the same time warm friends to the method of instruction pursued in Bible classes; and we should be pleased to see both these methods of instruction extended to all ages and conditions of men; for who is there that has not something yet to learn? And what upon earth is so worthy of time and pains as the knowledge of God's word, and the doctrines of his wonderful love and grace? Every man who contributes to the increase of this kind of learning by his writings, should be deemed more a public benefactor than he who invents the most useful machine. Let all, then, whom God has entrusted with so excellent a talent as that of writing well on theology, take heed that they do not hide it in a napkin or bury it in the earth; for never was there a time when there was greater need of good books and tracts to counteract the floods of error which are issuing from a thousand sources; and never was there a period when the effect of good writing was so extensive. By means of the improvements in printing, and the facilities of conveyance in our day, opportunity is afforded of circulating opinions throughout the land; and if religious men sleep, there is no doubt that the enemy will sow his tares plentifully. Let the friends of truth, therefore, be watchful and wise, and ever on the alert, in seizing opportunities of enlightening the world with the pure doctrines of the word of God.

LETTER OF DR COOKE, AND REPLY OF THE
EDITORS.*Lexington, Feb. 20, 1830.*

MESSRS. JAMES KAY, JUN. & CO. PHILADELPHIA.

Gentlemen,

I have received, by favour of Dr Blythe, the Biblical Repertory for January 1830, which came to hand, the Dr informs me, a day or two ago. In it I see a review of my Essay on Ordination. I am there openly charged with "palming" certain things on the public, &c. &c. I write to inform you that I shall immediately set about an answer to it, and wish to know whether you will insert it in your next number. This is a piece of justice which I am not willing to believe you will deny me. There is an obvious difference between a reply to a published work, by another, offered for sale in the same way, and by a publication in a periodical. The latter compels the notice of numbers who would not, perhaps, choose to purchase the former. There will, therefore, be many who will read the review, who will never read the work reviewed, nor the answer to the review, if not published in the same periodical. You will please let me have your answer without delay through my friend, who will hand you this.

Yours, &c.

JOHN E. COOKE.

P.S. I should have written to the Editors, had I known where to address them, or whom to address. There are no instructions that I perceive, on this subject, on the cover. If you determine to insert my answer, send me the work for the year, and you shall be paid immediately after hearing from you.

It was with no little surprise that we received the foregoing letter. That Dr Cooke should expect and demand that the pages of the Repertory should be open, without limit, to all he might choose to write in answer to our review of his book, does, indeed, appear to us truly wonderful. Had he, instead of the above communication, sent us a letter, adapted to fill two or three, or even half a dozen pages, showing, or attempting to show, wherein we had misrepresented him, or done him, in any way, the least injustice, we should have inserted it promptly and with pleasure. And this, if he is as familiar with the periodical works of the day as we suppose him to be, he must know is all that is usually admitted in similar cases. But to have it intimated to us, that he had in view an answer entirely too long to be completed in a few hours; and that, if we would promise it a place, he would "immediately set about" the preparation of it, was, indeed, a prelude of most portentous aspect. We appeal to Dr Cooke's candour. If he were allowed to answer at as much length as he might think fit, our review of his book, the same privilege might be, with equal propriety, claimed by all persons whose writings or opinions we might happen to oppose; and thus every heretic and infidel in the land, whose works or sentiments we had assailed, would feel himself entitled to speak at full length in our pages. Would this be reasonable? Besides, we do not choose to permit the Repertory to be filled, or to any disproportioned extent occupied, with pieces on the Episcopal controversy. There are many subjects, the discussion of which we consider as far more likely to be useful, as well as more acceptable to the great mass of the religious public; but for which we have not room in our pages. If Dr Cooke thinks proper further to waste his time and strength on this controversy, we have no right to object; but he must excuse us for declining to become partners in the concern. Whatever he may write, we reserve to ourselves the privilege of noticing or not, as we may think proper. If we should choose to animadvert on any of his future lucubrations, we will certainly try to do him justice. More we cannot promise.

THE EDITORS.

Select List of Recent Publications.

BIBLICAL.

A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, or a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible; very useful to all Christians who seriously read and study the Inspired Writings. In two parts. To which is added, A Concordance to the books called Apocrypha. By Alexander Cruden, M.A. From the tenth London edition, carefully revised and corrected by the Holy Scriptures. To which is added, an original Life of the Author. Philadelphia, published by Thomas Wardle, Minor street. Pp. 872. Imperial 8vo. Stereotype, 1830.

We take great pleasure in placing at the head of our list this American reprint of a work so truly valuable to biblical students. There is little difference of opinion as to the worth of this elaborate concordance. Since its first appearance in 1737, it has stood above all competition, and no christian library can be considered complete without it. The English editions, however, have been both expensive and inaccurate, and we cannot but commend the enterprise of the publisher in Philadelphia, who has spared no pains in order to present a fair and correct impression. The typography is singularly beautiful, and some idea may be formed of the care which has been expended upon the work, when we are told that more than *ten thousand* references have been corrected, which had escaped the revision of the London publishers. It would be superfluous to add any further commendation of a book so advantageously known. For thus affording it at a very reduced price, Mr Wardle is justly entitled to the thanks of every reader of the Holy Scriptures.

A Summary of Biblical Antiquities, compiled for the use of Sunday School Teachers, and for the benefit of Families. By John W. Nevin, late Assistant teacher in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, (N. J.) In two Volumes. Revised and corrected by the author, for the American Sunday School Union. 1830.

A Pocket Dictionary of the Holy Bible. Containing a Historical and Geographical Account of the Persons and Places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments: and also a Description of other objects, Natural, Artificial, Civil, Religious, and Military; together with a copious reference to Texts of Scripture under each important word. Prepared for the American Sunday School Union, and adapted to general use. By Archibald Alexander, D.D. Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. 18mo, pp. 546. Philadelphia, 1830.

Analecta Theologica, a digested and arranged Compendium of the most approved Commentaries of the New Testament. By the Rev. William Trollope, M.A. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and one of the Masters of Christ Church Hospital. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1830.

The Book of Psalms; newly translated from the Hebrew, and with Explanatory Notes. By W. French, D.D. Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; and G. Skinner, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 8vo. John Murray, London, 1830.

Annotations on the Gospels. Parts I. and II. Designed for the use of Students at the University, and for candidates for Holy Orders. By the Rev. M. Bland, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S., Rector of Lilly, Herts: Prebendary of Wells, and late Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. London, 1830.

Two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation, with an Appendix. By Herbert Marsh, D.D. F.R.S. and F.A.S. Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Bishop of Peterborough. 8vo. London, 1830.

The Veracity of the Five Books of Moses, argued from undesigned coincidences to be found in them, when compared in their several parts. By the Rev. J. J. Blunt, Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Small 8vo. London, 1830.

The Veracity of the Gospels and Acts, argued from the undesigned coincidences to be found in them, when compared, first, with one another; secondly, with Josephus. By the Rev. John James Blunt. 8vo. London, 1830.

Conversations on the Bible. By Erodore. Boston, 12mo, pp. 112.

Biblical Emendations, or a View of the Various Readings of the most important passages of Scripture. Boston. Carter and Hendee. 12mo.

THEOLOGY.

The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature, set forth in four parts. 1. Statement of the Doctrine from Scripture. 2. Confirmation of it from the Creeds of the Primitive Churches, and of the Church of Scotland. 3. Objections to the True Doctrine considered. 4. The Doctrines of the Faith which stand or fall with it. By the Rev. Edward Irving, A.M. 12mo. London, 1830.

Natural Theology, or Essays on the Existence of Deity and of Providence, on the Immateriality of the Soul, and a Future State. By the Rev. Alexander Crombie, L.L.D. F.R.S. and M.R.S.L. 8vo. London, 1830.

Sermons, Explanatory and Practical, on the Thirty-nine Articles. By the Rev. T. Waite, D.C.L. Chaplain to H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, and to the Hon. and Right Rev. the Bishop of Oxford; and Master of the Grammar School, Lewisham Hill. 8vo. London, 1830.

A Treatise on the Evidence of the Scripture Miracles. By John Penrose, M.A. formerly of C. C. College, Oxford. 8vo. London, 1830.

True Christian Religion; containing the Universal Theology of the New Church, which was foretold by the Lord in Dan. vii. 13, 14, and in the Apocalypse, xxi. 1, 2. Translated from the Latin of E. Swedenborg. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1830.

A plain and Serious Address on the subject of the Christian Religion; urging the practice of it in a candid and charitable spirit. Boston. Gray and Bowen.

Friendly Letters to a Lady, on Doctrinal Subjects. By John Butler, A.M. Boston. James Loring.

Strictures on the Review of Dr Spring's Dissertation on the Means of Regeneration, in the Christian Spectator for 1829. By Bennet Tyler, D.D. Portland. Shirley and Hyde. 8vo, pp. 64.

Letters to a Friend on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion. By Olinthus Gregory, L.L.D. Honorary member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, Associate member of the Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Dijon, Member of the Astronomical Society of London, and Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Two volumes 8vo.

First American, from the fourth London edition. New York, G. and C. Carvill. 1826.

There are some books which we dismiss with a single perusal. Important, perhaps, only as communicative of facts, and characterized by no peculiar felicity of execution, they contribute little to mental improvement, and hence should not long detain us from more interesting works. There are others, which, from the nature of the subjects they discuss, and the quickening manner in which they are written, deserve our frequent attention and study. They do not merely afford instruction ; they impart the spirit of the author, cherish and strengthen the desire of knowledge, awaken the mind to a consciousness of its energies, and lead to the perception of higher truths than they unfold. To this class belong the "Letters" of Dr Gregory. They first appeared in England in 1812, and soon passed through a number of editions. But one edition has as yet, we believe, been published in this country. This we regret, as we know of no work better adapted to give just views of the evidences, nature and importance of revealed religion. The first volume treats of the absurdity of deism, and of the necessity and evidences of revelation. The various topics are discussed in a manner at once brief, clear and convincing. The second volume treats of the most important Christian doctrines, and closes with a summary of the Christian duties. The views of the author on these subjects are orthodox, and his mode of treating them worthy of his powers and acquirements. He evinces not only a clearness of conception and an accuracy in reasoning which few attain, but a liveliness of emotion which is not usually deemed compatible with scientific pursuits, and a warmth and elevation of piety which is truly refreshing. Should our Journal meet the eye of any who have not read the letters, we hope they will avail themselves of the pleasure and profit of so doing, and increase the usefulness of the work by promoting its circulation.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The History of the Church of England. By J. B. S. Carwithen, B.D. of St Mary's Hall, Oxford, Bampton Lecturer for 1809, and Vicar of Sandhurst, Berks. Part I., to the Restoration of the Church and Monarchy in 1660. 2 vols, 8vo. London.

The History of the Rise and Early Progress of Christianity ; comprising an Inquiry into its true character and design. By the Rev. Samuel Hinds, M.A., of Queen's College, and

Vice Principal of St Alban's Hall, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. London.

A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World. By John Evans, L.L.D. Fifteenth edition, with the Author's last improvements. 12mo. London.

Dr Edward Calamy's Historical Account of his own Life and Times; now first printed from the original MS., including interesting particulars relative to Lord Shaftesbury, Dr Tillotson, Mr Baxter, Dr Burnet, Dr Sherlock, Hobbes, &c. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1830.

The Last Hours of Eminent Christians; from the commencement of the Christian Æra to the death of George III. Compiled from the best authorities, and chronologically arranged. By the Rev. Henry Clissold, M.A., Minister of Stockwell Chapel, Lambeth. 8vo. London, 1830.

The Life of Bishop Heber, with selections from his correspondence, and from his unpublished works. By his Widow. 4to, with a portrait. London, 1830.

Memoirs of the Rev. Edward Payson, D.D., late Pastor of the Second Church in Portland, Maine. 12mo, with a likeness. Boston, 1830.

Anecdotes Curieuses et Authentiques sur les célèbres réformateurs Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Farel et Viret, suivies de Notices Biographiques sur ces deux derniers. Paris, 1829.

Successful Missions; or a History of the Missions conducted by the London Missionary Society, in the Society and Georgian Islands; with an account of the unsuccessful attempt at the Friendly Islands. By Asa S. Colton. 18mo, pp. 174. Philadelphia, 1830.

PROPHECY.

Lectures on the Apocalypse. By William Jones, M.A., Author of the "History of the Waldenses," &c. &c. 8vo, pp. 632. London, 1830.

Lectures on the Book of the Revelation. By the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A., &c. &c.

These are, in substance, the discourses delivered by the erratic author during the sittings of the Scottish General Assembly in 1829. They are now in the course of publication by numbers, and are upon the following subjects. 1. Name, Authority, Substance and

Sanctions of the Book. 2. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ by Names and Titles.* 3. *Jesus Christ as the Universal Bishop and Head of the Churches.* 4. *Jesus Christ as the Lamb slain, revived, received in Heaven, and put into possession of the seven-sealed Book.* 5. *The seven-sealed Book.* 6. *Jesus Christ the High Priest and Intercessor in Heaven, sending forth the seven Angels with the trumpets of judgment.*

Annotations on the Apocalypse ; intended as a sequel to those of Mr Elsley on the Gospels, and of Mr Prebendary Slade on the Epistles ; and thus to complete a set of comments on the whole of the New Testament. For the use of Students in Prophetical Scripture. By John Chappel Woodhouse, D.D. Dean of Litchfield. 8vo. London. 1830.

The Apocalypse, or Revelation of St John, translated : with notes Critical and Explanatory. By J. C. Woodhouse, D.D. 8vo. London.

A Key to the Revelation of St John the Divine ; being an Analysis of those parts of that wonderful Book which relate to the General State of the Christian Church through all the times since it was written, and to the peculiar signs of those times. By the Rev. Philip Allwood, B.D. Fellow of Magdalene Collegè, Cambridge. 8vo. London, 1830.

The Scheme and Completion of Prophecy, wherein its design and use, together with its sense and application as the grand fundamental proof of Religion, specially adapted to all periods of the world, and all stages of the Church, are considered and explained ; together with an inquiry into the Shekinah and the Cherubim in the Holy of Holies, and the Visions of the Prophets. By the Rev. John Willey, D.D. T.C.D. Master of the School of Galway. 8vo. Wakeman. Dublin, 1830.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

Sermons, Plain, Brief and Explanatory, on the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments. By John Nance, D.D. 12mo. London, 1830.

Sermons, Preached in the Parish Church of St Botolph, Bishopsgate. By C. J. Bloomfield, D.D. Rector, now Bishop of London. 8vo. London, 1830. *Twelve Lectures on the Acts of the Apostles ; to which is added a new edition of Five Lectures on the Gospel of St John.* Second Edition. By the Bishop of London. 8vo. 1830.

Sermons, by Samuel Horsley, L.L.D. F.R.S. & F.A.S. late Lord Bishop of St Asaph. Only complete edition. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1830.

Sermons on the principal festivals of the Christian Church. By the Rev. John Bird, Lord Bishop of Chester.

Practical Discourses; a selection from the unpublished MSS of the late venerable Archdeacon Townson. Edited by John, Bishop of Limerick. 8vo. London, 1830.

A Discourse on the Duties of Church Members. By Thomas H. Skinner, Pastor of the Fifth Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. 12mo. Philadelphia.

A Discourse delivered in the Meeting House of the First Baptist Church and Society in Boston, on the day of Public Thanksgiving, Nov. 26, 1829. By Cyrus P. H. Grosvenor. 8vo. Boston. True and Greene. 1830.

A Discourse delivered in the Meeting House of the First Baptist Church and Society in Boston, Dec. 6, 1829. By Cyrus P. H. Grosvenor. Boston, 1830.

A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Church in Milton, Oct. 21, 1829. By Charles Lowell. 8vo, pp. 24. Boston.

A Sermon preached on the day of the Annual Thanksgiving, November 26, 1829. By Daniel S. Southmayd. 8vo, pp. 24. Boston.

Holiness Preferable to Sin. A Sermon by Edward R. Tyler, Pastor of the South Church, Middletown, Connecticut. New Haven, 1829.

Thoughts on Unitarian Christianity; a Sermon preached September 27, 1829, before the First Unitarian Society in Milton. By Daniel Kimball. Dedham.

Christianity a Universal Religion. A Discourse at the Ordination of the Rev. James W. Thompson in Natick.

Address on Temperance, delivered Jan. 14, 1830. By A. L. Peirson, M.D. 12mo. Boston.

Extracts from an Address delivered by the Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins of Albany, before the Saratoga County Temperance Society in September 1829.

An Address delivered before the Temperance Society of Plymouth, N. H. July 4, 1829. By Jonathan Kittredge. Boston.

An Address delivered in Pomfret, Conn. Oct. 28, 1829, before the Windham County Temperance Society. By the Rev. John Marsh. Hartford.

H. & F. J. Huntington, Hartford, Conn.

AND

Towar, J. & D. M. Hogan, Philadelphia,

HAVE FOR SALE,

1. *Familiar Lectures on Botany*, including Practical and Elementary Botany, with Generic and Specific descriptions of the most Common Native and Foreign Plants, and a Vocabulary of Botanical Terms, for the use of High Schools and Academies. By Mrs. Almira H. Lincoln, Vice Principal of the Troy Female Seminary. Containing Thirteen Beautiful Engravings on Copper. 1 Vol. Imperial 12mo.—\$1,50, bound.

2. *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*, on a new plan, designed for Academies and Schools, by the Rev. Charles A. Goodrich. Illustrated by Engravings. 1 Vol. 12mo.—Price \$1,25, bound.

From the Spirit of the Pilgrims.

"The incidents in this work are well selected and arranged; the style is sufficiently elevated and always perspicuous; and the volume will be found interesting and useful, not only in academies and common schools, but in private families. The plan of making Ecclesiastical History the subject of attention and recitation in the higher schools, is obviously important, and we know of no work more suitable to be adopted as a text book, than the one before us."

From the Rev. R. Emerson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Andover Institution.

"It appears well adapted to its object—the use of schools. Ecclesiastical History, always important, appears doubly so at the present time, for the rising generation in this country. Its bearing on the question of Popery, and on the cause of missions and the spread of the Bible, is as important as it is obvious. Next to the Gospel itself as read and preached, we must ever regard the history of the Church as the best antidote to the corruptions and the strongest excitement to the virtues that have been found in its bosom. To introduce such works into our schools is an important step towards rendering them truly Christian and 'practical.'"

ADVERTISEMENTS.

From the Rev. Joseph Emerson, Principal of the Female Seminary at Wethersfield.

"During the last two years, I have devoted a considerable portion of my time to studying and teaching Ecclesiastical History, while my estimation of this most noble branch of literature has been continually rising. I am therefore prepared most cordially to repeat my brother's recommendation, and could add much more.

"The sweet simplicity, the classical neatness, the luminous perspicuity, the able arrangement, the distinct numerical statement of causes, in connection with the importance of the matter, can hardly fail to render your work both interesting and profitable to all who may study it. But probably the *Questions* are its most distinguishing excellence. May you long continue to be more and more useful, in your most difficult and momentous employment of composing books for the rising generation."

The above work has been introduced into several seminaries during the short period since its publication, and has in every instance afforded the utmost satisfaction in both teachers and pupils. Very flattering notices have been received by the Author from a large number of clergymen, and reviews commending the book have appeared in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, *Journal of Education*, and most of the Religious weekly periodicals in this country.

From Professors Taylor and Fitch, of New-Haven.

This work presents the outlines of Ecclesiastical History in a faithful and perspicuous manner. By arranging the principal events into distinct propositions, with comments and additional facts subjoined, in small letter, and by inserting questions upon the text at the foot of each page, the author has happily adapted the book to the capacities of the young and to exercises in our schools. And the impartiality of the narrative renders it a useful class book to children universally, to whatever religious denomination they may belong.

3. *Remains of the Rev. Charles Wolfe, A.B. Curate of Donoughmore, Diocese of Armagh, with a brief memoir of his life, by the Rev. John A. Russel, M.A. with a fine Engraving of Mr Wolfe.* In 1 Vol. 12mo.—Price \$1,50.

4. *Journal of a Residence during several months in London, together with Excursions through various parts of England; and a short tour in France and Scotland, in the Years 1823 and 1824.* By Nathaniel S. Wheaton, A.M Rector of Christ Church, Hartford.

THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

FOR JULY 1830.

REVIEW.

Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature. By a Society of Clergymen. Vol. I. Containing chiefly translations of the works of German critics. New York. G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1829. Pp. 567, 8vo.

The importance of biblical literature is gradually rising to its appropriate value in the estimation of many of our clergymen. To those whose acquirements and taste have led them to feel a deep interest in the progress of theological literature in our country, and whose biblical studies have made them sensible of the want of more ample means for extending their researches, the attention recently awakened to this subject cannot fail to be highly gratifying. For deep and original investigation in this productive field our country has hitherto laboured under peculiar disadvantages, which, although diminished by the productions of every passing year, must long continue to be felt. Our public libraries are not stored with ancient manuscripts, accumulated by the contributions and collections of successive centuries; our geographical location cuts us off from many important facilities of acquiring a radical knowledge of oriental languages, literature, and cus-

toms; and our theological and literary institutions have not, until recently at least, afforded the requisite means and encouragements for profound research. Few men of talents possess the means of pursuing their studies beyond the narrow limits prescribed for admission to professional engagements, nor has the tone of public sentiment afforded adequate patronage to warrant the appropriation of much time and expenditure upon extensive investigation.

But in all these respects we are happy to perceive decisive indications of improvement. The gradual development of the treasures accumulated in the ancient libraries of Europe, by the publication, from time to time, of the most valuable articles in various forms and languages, is constantly rendering access to the originals less important. The printed copy of a useful document, if accurate, will be as valuable an assistant in our researches as the musty manuscript, and will in most cases afford the additional advantage of translation, collation, or commentary, which may essentially facilitate our labours. Thus the deficiencies of our libraries are in a course of supply from the overflowings of those of our more favoured neighbours, and the elements of profound investigation are accumulating around us without the wearisome process of ransacking dusty shelves and examining corroded masses of ancient manuscripts. The multiplication of elementary books, journals of travellers and missionaries, and increasing intercourse, are constantly rendering easier the acquisition of oriental literature. The political changes and revolutions in the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, and the interest felt in the efforts of missionaries, are directing the attention of the community so strongly to that quarter, as to create a popular sentiment in favour of any pursuits connected with the east, especially if designed to illustrate the scriptures. Nor is it among the least gratifying characteristics of the present age, that our theological seminaries of various denominations are making special efforts to give prominence to the claims of biblical literature, and to furnish increasing facilities to young men of promising talents to pursue their studies beyond the mere prescribed routine. And last, though not least among the cheering improvements of the day, we may name the improving character and increasing number of publications, both original and imported, on the various topics embraced in this branch of theological science.

We rejoice in this progress, not only because we consider the subject important in itself, but especially because we are

persuaded that the assistance of this department of theology will soon be required in a peculiar manner, and to an extent hitherto unknown, to sustain the interests of truth. The prominent aspect which error and infidelity are assuming, the talents and learning enlisted in their support, and the unwearied assiduity with which they are rallying and organizing their hosts, admonish us to put on our armour and prepare for the contest. The spirit of free inquiry is gone forth; the doctrines of revelation are undergoing a radical investigation; sentiments are no longer revered for having been held sacred by the best of men, from time immemorial; the truths which established the faith and nourished the piety of our fathers, are called in question with as little hesitation as the speculations of yesterday; and new efforts of inventive genius are daily put in requisition to expose weak points in the foundations of our faith, and to construct new instruments to undermine or storm the citadel of truth. The social fireside and the popular meeting; the legislative discussion and the industriously-circulated periodical; the speculations of the philosopher, obtruded upon the community after the hand that recorded them has mouldered in the tomb; and even the sacred desk—"I name it, filled with solemn awe," are seized as occasions or employed as vehicles to render objections to the received system of religious truth, popular and influential. In this process the cause of piety must suffer, and the souls of multitudes be deluded, if the advocates of the truth are not qualified to maintain the system with equal talent, learning, and industry. Whatever therefore lays claim to the least agency in diffusing a profound knowledge of the scriptures, clear views of their authenticity and canonical authority, familiar acquaintance with their essential facts and truths, and correct principles of interpretation, cannot fail to be welcome to every intelligent Christian, and especially to the clergyman, who feels himself in a peculiar manner appointed in the providence of God, and "moved by the Holy Ghost," to stand forth as a "defender of the faith." No age of the church perhaps has more imperiously required a firm phalanx of able ministers of the New Testament to preach in demonstration of the spirit and of power the unsearchable riches of Christ, and contend earnestly by all legitimate means for the faith once delivered to the saints.

But as our object in noticing the work before us is not to make it the text of an essay or dissertation of our own, but to give some account of its contents, to recommend it to the careful attention of our readers, and at the same time to express

our dissent from some of the positions maintained in it, we proceed to a detailed examination of the various discussions which fill its pages. Seldom has a volume issued from the American press replete with such deep and varied learning, applied to its appropriate objects with so much judgment and taste. The general design of the work is "to advance the cause of biblical literature, principally by placing within the reach of students some treatises which are not now readily accessible." The articles are all, with one exception, translated from the German or Latin works of Michaelis, Tittmann, Storr, Eichhorn, and Gesenius; names which no lover of German literature, or connoisseur in the higher walks of theological science, can pronounce without respect, although we regret that some of them have been enlisted on the side of neology, or rationalism. Few traces of these erroneous opinions appear in the pieces introduced into this work; and when they do occur, the translators have omitted them, where it could be done without injury to the connexion, or accompanied them with cautionary notes. We deem this course on the whole judicious; for while we exceedingly dislike the practice of garbling the works of valuable writers, we consider it a far more serious evil to import foreign errors, or foreign arguments, in support of native error.

The volume opens with a "History of Introductions to the Scriptures, by William Gesenius, translated from the German by Samuel H. Turner, D.D. Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpreter of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." The article was written for the "General Encyclopædia of the Sciences and Arts, by Ersch and Gruber," and republished, with the other articles in that work referring to the Bible, in a separate volume, at Leipzig, in 1823. This volume contains in a small compass much valuable information on the History, Criticism, Antiquities, Translations, &c. of the Bible, from the pens of De Wette, Niemeyer, and Gesenius. The essay before us is very brief, and consequently superficial and unsatisfactory. Several works, by no means unimportant, are entirely omitted, most of which however the translator has referred to in a note. The author sets out by defining the appropriate limits, and pointing out the proper subjects or materials of an Introduction to the Scriptures; and then mentions the principal works which have successively appeared bearing this title, or discussing the subjects which it indicates. This branch of theological science has

been cultivated more extensively in Germany than any where else. "It gives, on the particular books, discussions respecting their authors, and times of composition, genuineness and integrity, contents, spirit and plan; and also, as the subject requires it, respecting the original language, its earliest history, and so forth; and further, in general respecting the origin of the Bible collection, or Canon, its original language and versions, the history of the original text, and other matters of this kind."

The material elements of a work of this class are arranged by our author in the following manner: the history of the cultivation of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Hellenistic languages, writing, and literature; the history of the Canon, or of the collection, arrangement, and ecclesiastical (we would also add, divine) authority of the books; the history of the original text, the various changes which it has undergone, and the means of improving it; and the hermeneutical part, which exhibits the aids for understanding the Bible, and directions for the application of them. The historical sketch, which constitutes the body of the essay, often furnishes little more information than the name of the author in his proper place in the succession, and the title of his work in a note, and utterly disappoints our expectation of seeing the principal works characterized and estimated according to their respective merits. The principal introductions to the New Testament are thus described:

"After the very learned preparatory works of Richard Simon, the first who published an introduction to the New Testament was J. D. Michaelis. His work was a very imperfect manual, which in later editions was greatly improved and enlarged, and by Herbert Marsh was enriched with learned additions and corrections. But the marked progress which biblical criticism and exegesis had made towards the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century, was conspicuous in the manuals respectively, of Hänlein, whose work is particularly distinguished by its agreeable composition, of J. C. Chr. Schmidt, who abounds with clear and unbiassed views, and of J. L. Hug, who excels all his predecessors in deep and fundamental investigations. Eichhorn has also extended his inquiries to the subjects comprehended in the introduction to the New Testament, but has published no more at present than the particular introduction. The subjects, in this department, which have engaged the attention of the inquirers, as of principal importance, and have occasioned many hypotheses and learned controversies, are the following: the arrangement of the manuscripts according to recensions and classes, (Griesbach's system of recen-

sions); the manner of illustrating the agreement of the first three gospels; the chronology of Paul's epistles, and, since the publication of Schleiermacher and Bretschneider's works on this subject, also the authenticity of the gospel of John, and of the epistles to Timothy."

Beyond the limits of Germany the author finds only two writers worthy of notice: Lanigan, an Italian, and Horne, who "both comprehend the Old and New Testaments, and the latter the exegetical helps also, as biblical antiquities, geography, and other subjects of this kind. In addition to the various works named or described, a catalogue is given of the German journals and reviews which have discussed particular topics, and reviewed the various books which have appeared from time to time in this branch of theological science. These are numerous, and some of them have extended to many volumes; indicating decisively the strong hold which investigations of this kind have taken, in the popular feelings of the more intelligent classes of the community. It is an undoubted fact, as our author states, that "other nations are far behind the advances which have been made by the Germans," though we should hesitate to subscribe to the reasons he assigns for the deficiency; which are, that the Bible is not studied elsewhere with so much ardour, and that the doctrinal views of divines in other countries "are opposed to the results to which many of the disquisitions tend." We should not be easily persuaded to believe that the Bible is not as faithfully and as profitably read in England and our own country as in Germany; and if the fruits of piety actually exhibited were taken as the criterion of the fidelity with which English and American Christians search the scriptures, we should have little fear of mortification in the comparison. But in the other reason assigned, there may be truth in the view which the author takes of the subject. It is not, however, in foreign countries alone that these results, so deleterious to the best interests of piety, are deplored and opposed. This opposition is nowhere so decided, and so powerful at this very time as in the heart and throughout all the borders of Germany; and nowhere else has it enlisted so much talent, and such an extent and variety of learning in the cause of truth. The ablest veterans of the neological school, who had long boasted of their triumph over the established system of their church, and had been deemed invincible by their admiring followers, have recently been assailed in the name of the Lord of Hosts, pursued through all their ample range of classical and oriental learning,

and discomfited on their own ground. Some of those who still survive are sinking into neglect and losing their influence, while others are approximating to the truth and spirit of the gospel, and associating with their more evangelical neighbours in disseminating its salutary blessings. It ought, however, to be remarked, that there is nothing in the nature or tendency of these investigations in themselves, if conducted in a proper spirit and manner, from which piety or orthodoxy, even in its "most straitest" forms, need shrink. The translator, in a note to the passage under consideration, very justly remarks, "Disquisitions of the kind referred to, do by no means tend to the results with which the German neologists have satisfied themselves. They tend to a fundamental acquaintance with scripture, to a confirmation of its claims as the inspired word of God, and to a sound and incontrovertible system of religious faith, founded in all its parts, not on metaphysical philosophy, or traditional authority, but on the Bible, and nothing but the Bible." For the truth of this we might appeal to the characters of the most profound biblical critics of every age, from the days of Jerome to the present time; but the subject has been too often discussed, and is in its very nature too plain to need further illustration in this place.

The next article in the volume is a "Treatise on the Authenticity and canonical authority of the scriptures of the Old Testament, by John Godfrey Eichhorn; translated from the German by J. F. Schroeder, A.M. an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New York." It presents, in the compass of about eighty pages, a compendious view of the testimonies and arguments on which our belief in the genuineness and authenticity of the Old Testament rests. The introductory paragraphs embrace some important general observations. The diversity of style, the "march of thought and range of imagery," and the gradual change of manners developed in the successive books, demonstrate them to be the works of different authors; while the nature of the case, and the utter absence of any conceivable motive, forbid us to think of an agreement between different writers of different ages to impose upon the world so extensive and influential a forgery. "The very reasonings that argue for a Homer, maintain even the authenticity of all the particular books of the Old Testament;" and "as yet no one has been able to oppose with arguments the integrity and credibility of any writer of the Old Testament; but every discovery in ancient literature has hitherto been some new confirmation of the sacred books." All the books, of which the

writers are known, "are impressed with the seal of the integrity of their authors;" and where these are not known, "internal considerations always show, that we are *compelled* to recognise them as authentic." "The Book of Joshua, for instance, the author of which is unknown, enters so deeply into the particulars of the most ancient geography, that miracle upon miracle must have been wrought on an impostor, if he could have been in a situation to compose it *thus*."

Before introducing the direct evidences and testimonies of authenticity, an observation is premised in which we cannot acquiesce. We insert it entire.

"The very nature of the origin of many scriptures of the Old Testament renders it necessary that ancient and modern passages and sections must interchange in them. Very few proceeded from the hand of their authors in the form in which we now have them. The separate constituent parts of many had long been extant as special works, before they became united with certain parts now added to them. Should even the Mosaick writings, in their present order, not be those of Moses; yet they have been collected from Mosaick documents, and have merely been disposed by a more recent hand. Our Psalms, according to their existing arrangement, first attained their present extent after the captivity, by the combination of several larger and smaller books of Psalms. The materials of our Daniel were originally separate, in treatises that had been composed in different dialects. The golden proverbs of Solomon have been increased by accessions: even in Hezekiah's time, there were additions made to them."

We are not prepared to adopt any of the statements of which this paragraph is composed, without much greater limitations and qualifications than the known sentiments of the author allow us to prescribe. The translator has omitted some connected passages on account of the "peculiar sentiments which they advance," and referred us to Jahn's Introduction for proof that the Pentateuch is in reality "the work of Moses," and "not a compilation of recent date."

We are unable to perceive what it is in the "nature of the origin of many scriptures of the Old Testament," which renders an interchange of ancient and modern passages and sections necessary, at least to any considerable extent. The writers of the books containing the national history of the Hebrews, both before and after their separation, unquestionably used the records, official annals, and other public documents of the kingdom whose history they describe; and they may have occasionally introduced extracts. In some instances the historian interweaves with his narrative the oracles of

prophets, the effusions of inspired poets, and the speeches, decrees, letters, or remarks of the individual whose history he is writing.* Some of these documents may have existed long before the writer's age, though probably very few will be found by examination. We may admit also that the editor, or editors, who revised the books, when arranging them into their proper place in the canon, added or inserted some remarks, changed perhaps some geographical names, and in Deuteronomy appended a whole chapter. Marginal notes may, by the carelessness or officiousness of transcribers, have been transferred to the text, and other slight variations must have occurred in the course of time, and frequent transcription, to render the text now in some degree different from what it was when it issued fresh from the hands of the author. Hence the various readings which characterize the existing manuscripts, none of which, in all probability, accurately represent the autograph in any one book. With these exceptions, which materially affect very few of the books, we see no reason for admitting this interchange, or succession of ancient and modern passages, which, however we might limit, it would make strange patchwork of the sacred volume, and would certainly affect in a serious degree the genuineness, if not the authenticity, of the inspired books. Unless we are prepared to yield the question of genuineness, we must maintain that we possess them substantially, in matter and form, as they were published by their respective authors. It is true they exhibit marks of having been revised, arranged, and prepared for permanent use, public and private, at a period subsequent to the composition of most of them, but the changes and additions thus made, so far as can now be ascertained, did not substantially affect the character or component parts of any single book. The Psalms, at least many of them, existed without doubt as separate compositions; some of them perhaps a long time before they were collected into a volume; and the Proverbs of Solomon, "which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out," contained probably in the last seven chapters of the book, may have been then first added to the collection previously made; but the materials were of the same

* See 1 Kings, xiv. 29, and xv. 7. 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, and xxix. 29. 2 Chron. xxiv. 27. 2 Sam. i. 18. 2 Chron. xii. 15, and xiii. 22. Ezra i. 1—4. After the separation, the Chronicles of the two kingdoms are separate documents. Compare 1 Kings xv. 7, 31, and xxii. 39, 45.

character, prepared by the same hand, and of course they constitute a whole, as genuine and authentic, as if they had been transcribed in successive chapters and verses, by the hand of the royal author.

But we are more particularly anxious to vindicate the Pentateuch from the insinuation here thrown out against its genuineness, as a real work of Moses.

From the speculations of Carlostadt, Spinoza, Astruc and Paine, to the criticisms of Eichhorn, Vater, and De Wette; infidels and theologians co-operating in unholy concert; the Mosaic origin, and of course the divine authority of the Pentateuch, has been a favourite object of attack. It seems to have been considered the most questionable portion of the whole series of God's revelations, the most vulnerable point in the citadel of the christian faith. Yet scarcely two of these critical cavillers can agree in their theories, or rely on the same mode of explaining the actual phenomena of the books, as they have been transmitted to us in the sacred volume. While some imagine they find evidence of composition at a period long posterior to the time of Moses, when or by whom they cannot decide; others, compelled by internal evidence and historical testimony to refer them to the age of Moses, represent them as a series of fragments, partly composed by Moses, and partly by other unknown hands; some of them, as Vater* and De Wette,† extend this fragmentary character to all the books; while others, as Astruc, Eichhorn and Jahn, limit it to Genesis, and maintain that Moses found these documents among his people, and collected, arranged, revised, and modernized them, and incorporated them into his history. Yet they cannot agree as to the number and extent of these documents,‡ which they distinguish by the use of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim, by a difference in the style and mode of narration, by repetitions of the same truth or fact, and by inscriptions or other expressions indicating the commencement or the end of a section. These are probably the "documents" to which the

* *Commentar ueber den Pentateuch.* Vol. III. p. 393, &c.

† *Lehrbuch der historischen Kritischen Einleitung, in die Bibel, A. and N. T.* § 150—155.

‡ Astruc, who first advanced the theory, (in his *Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroît, que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genese.*) reckoned twelve, Eichhorn two, Vater many, greater or smaller, Ilgen three, &c.

author alludes in the passage before us, and which he calls Mosaic, because they passed through the hands of Moses and received his sanction and revision; yet we hardly know how to reconcile the declaration with the doctrine he elsewhere maintains, that these documents were arranged and prepared, and all the other books written by Moses himself, with the exception of the last two chapters of Deuteronomy.* Being accustomed to consider the whole as the work of Moses, and finding it every where quoted and referred to as such, in the Old Testament and in the New, by ancient writers, Jewish as well as Christian, we are by no means disposed to relinquish the opinion; nor do the discordant assertions and reasonings of Eichhorn, of Jahn, of Vater, of De Wette, or of Augusti, render it in our estimation untenable. Perhaps the hypothesis, as maintained by Eichhorn and Jahn, is not utterly incompatible with the authenticity and inspiration of the book of Genesis, (yet it cannot be a genuine work of Moses, and where then is the evidence of its authenticity?)

Nearly all the writers of the Old Testament cite or refer to the writings or the law of Moses, but nowhere give us a description of the particular books included in these writings. In Joshua, i. 8, and viii. 31, 34. and xxiii. 6, the book of the law, or of the law of Moses, is distinctly mentioned, with reference in the contexts to historical circumstances, threatenings, and promises, contained in the Pentateuch; and in ch. xxiv. 26, we are informed that he made an addition, or appended a supplement to the book of the law of God, which must have been the farewell address of Joshua, recorded in this chapter, if not, as we deem more probable, the whole book bearing his name in substantially its present form. Here then, as early as the days of the immediate successor of Moses, we see his writings expressly mentioned as one entire and inspired work. As we follow the course of the sacred history, we perceive the same evidence in succeeding ages of the Jewish theocracy. David, at the close of life, admonishes his son and successor to keep the charge of the Lord his God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written, (or as they are written) in the law of Moses. (1 Kings ii. 3. compare 1 Chron. xxii. 13.)

* See Augusti's *Grundriss einer historisch kritischen Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, § 101.

The variety of expressions employed forbids our applying the reference to the decalogue simply, or any particular injunctions or statutes. In still later periods of the Jewish history, numerous references to the Pentateuch occur under the various titles of the book of the law of Moses, (Neh. viii. 1), the law of Moses, (2 Chron. xxiii. 18. Ezra iii. 2), the law of Jehovah, (1 Chron. xvi. 40, and 2 Chron. xxii. 12, 13); and in 2 Chron. xxv. 4, a passage is quoted literally as "written in the law in the book of Moses." The historical parts of the Old Testament every where abound with similar instances, and the Psalms and prophecies are full of allusions in various forms to these writings; (compare Ps. cx. 4, with Gen. xiv. 18—20. Isaiah, liv. 9, with Gen. viii. 21. Isaiah li. 12, with Gen. xii. 1, and see also Psalms lxxviii. cv. cvi. cxxxv. cxxxvi, &c.) The Pentateuch, therefore, has been known, read, quoted, and referred to in every period of the Jewish history, and always as the sole, entire work of Moses, containing the laws and revelations of Jehovah. In the New Testament the references and quotations are so numerous, as to render it altogether unnecessary here to name any.* Could this representation be consistent with the accuracy of inspired truth, and would it have occupied so conspicuous a place in the inspired volume, if so large an integral part of the whole as the book of Genesis were not the work of Moses, but the collected fragments of some unknown writers of preceding ages? Can we then admit the supposition, that these writings, in their present order, as one entire work, are not the genuine productions of Moses, without diminishing, if not destroying, our faith in their authenticity and inspiration? Or had the work existed, as the rhapsodies of Homer are said to have done, for any considerable time after Moses, in separate fragments, even on the supposition that he composed them, or any part of them, as the expression "Mosaic documents" seems to intimate, and as the author elsewhere admits,† would it have been so uniformly referred to and quoted, even from the days of Joshua, as one work, one book, one law of Moses? The supposition is incredible,

* The translator of the essay before us, in a note appended, gives a list of nearly a hundred "direct quotations" from the Pentateuch, among which are twenty-two from the book of Genesis alone.

† I. G. Eichhorn's *Urgeschichte*, pt. i, p. 180. Gabler's edition.

and we believe capable of being satisfactorily disproved. But our limits forbid us to pursue it further at present.

We pass on to notice the remark on the prophecies of Daniel, which contains an assumption that we hold to be altogether gratuitous. We admit of course that the book presents different subjects, forming sections sufficiently distinct to be intelligible as separate documents, written also in different languages. But does the fact, that various subjects are arranged together without any effort to exhibit a connexion between them, prove that they were originally separate documents? Does mere divisibility demonstrate the necessity of division and independent origin? Internal evidence,* historical tradition, (for the Jews, with one or two exceptions, never questioned it), and New Testament testimony, prove it the work of one author, who must have lived contemporaneously with the events recorded in it. If this be so, we have no possible ground to deny that it was written by Daniel; and if this is established, we have little concern to know, whether the various parts were written at one or at different periods; whether the successive sections were recorded on one roll or more. The difference of language in different parts of the book forms no objection either to its unity or its genuineness; for, from his situation, Daniel must have been as familiar with the Aramaean (and not the Syriac, as inaccurately translated in chapter ii. 4.) as with the Hebrew; and peculiar circumstances, with which we are unacquainted, may have created a peculiar necessity for the Chaldaic or East Aramaean dialect in a part of the book. This portion may have been published in a separate form for the use of the Chaldeans, who would not have understood the Hebrew. Yet even on this supposition, the Hebrew introduction (chap. ii. 1—3.) must have been translated, for the Chaldaic portion is so intimately connected with the Hebrew, as not to be intelligible if separated from the Hebrew preface. How little ground is there, therefore, for an argument from the different languages against the original unity of the book?

* See Jahn's *Introductio in Libros sacros*, &c. pt. ii. § 150. De Wette (*Lehrbuch der Einleitung*, &c. § 256,) proves it to be the work of one author, although he denies its genuineness. Michaelis rejected only the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters, but Eichhorn, Bertholdt and others question the whole book. The arguments pro and con may be seen at length in Bertholdt's *Einleitung*, Volume IV, § 387.

But we trust we have said enough, if not to evince the untenability of the assumptions in the paragraph before us, which we have interpreted according to the known sentiments of the author, yet to enter our caveat against such insinuations and unwarrantable modes of speaking of the sacred books, on which our faith and our hopes are founded. We have no fear of the judicious application of criticism to the inspired writings, and we would cordially say with our author, "higher criticism must fulfil its office" for "the writings of the Hebrews" as well as the "classics of Grecian and Roman antiquity;" but we utterly disapprove of such indefinite and unqualified assertions, and abhor the ungodly spirit which can approach the sacred volume with the cold indifference of a commentator on Homer or Plato, and apply the arbitrary canons of a licentious criticism, regardless of the holy sanctions of divine authority and inspiration.

The simple object of our author in the essay before us, is to establish, by historical testimony alone, the canonical authority of those books to which Christ and his apostles referred in their teaching, and to which they ascribed divine authority. "At that period there was in Palestine a collection, which made up a complete whole, and in the New Testament was sometimes comprised under the appellation scripture, or holy scriptures; sometimes paraphrased by law and prophets, or by law, prophets, and Psalms." That this collection was the same which we now possess in the Old Testament, is the precise point of inquiry; and he proceeds in the investigation with the intelligence of an able advocate, judiciously introduces the principal witnesses, examines and cross-examines them skillfully, weighs their testimony candidly, and gives his verdict clearly and satisfactorily. In the examination of witnesses, he has not taken so wide a range as many others have done, and has relied principally on the testimony of Philo, Josephus, Melito, Origen, Jerome, and the Talmud. The New Testament is also mentioned as evidence, but is very briefly disposed of, in a manner by no means corresponding with its importance in the list of witnesses, or with the critical examination which the others have received. The translator has endeavoured to supply this deficiency by appending a list of the direct quotations from the Old Testament, and some judicious references. We cannot trace the course of the investigation, and will only add the substance of the result.

"From the remotest period, the Jews glowed with a sacred re-

verence for their national writings. In the language of Josephus, 'it was, so to speak, innate with them, to regard these as divine instructions; in their solicitude they ventured not, as he assures us, to *add*, or to *take away*, or to *alter* any thing, although some of the writings had a very high antiquity.' (§ 29.) Even by the greatest calamities, which the mad spirit of persecution gathered around them on account of their sacred books, they did not permit their reverence to be repressed. How could a nation, with these sentiments, suffer to be ranked with their sacred books, such as were of inferior value and authority; in case it had been made out and generally decided, *how many* and *what books* were entitled to divine authority?

"This also was settled. As far as we can go back in their history, just there, where the Apocrypha unites the broken thread of Hebrew literature, we find express mention of a sacred national library of the Hebrews, as the several parts of it were strictly determined. It thus appears, that it was begun soon after the Babylonian captivity; or that, from the writings, which in regard to contents, authors, and date of composition were so different, there was made a complete whole, with a view that, for the future, no new writings should be added to them; although, from the want of accounts, we are not now able to specify in *what year*, and *why* additions at that period ceased to be made.

"In short, HISTORY ATTESTS, THAT AFTER THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY, AND INDEED SOON AFTER THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HEBREW STATE IN PALESTINE, THE CANON WAS FULLY SETTLED, AND AT THAT TIME COMPRISED ALL THOSE BOOKS WHICH WE NOW FIND IN IT."

The annunciation of this decision, so satisfactory to our faith in the plenary authenticity of the Old Testament, suggests a correlative inquiry of some interest and importance. If all the credible witnesses agree so decidedly in their testimony for those writings only which were written by holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, how did the apocryphal books find their way into the sacred collections of the primitive Christians? The Jews distinguished carefully between the "works of the prophets" and other writings; and it does not appear that they ever regarded any other as of divine origin. Among Christians, however, after the days of the apostles, as early as the existing records carry us, these books seem to have been held in undue estimation, and some of them quoted and described as belonging to the inspired canon. Barnabas cites a passage from the fourth book of Esdras, with the formula *καὶ οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν*, Clemens of Alex.

quotes Tobit, Jesus, Sirach, and Wisdom, as scripture, *ῥεγρα*, and the book of Baruch as inspired scripture, *Θνα ῥεγρα*. Origen informs us that the Jews neither use the books of Tobit and Judith, nor have them in Hebrew, but the churches use Tobit. The council of Laodicea (An. 360) prohibits the use of uncanonical books, but places in its catalogue of the canonical, Baruch, and the epistle of Jeremiah; the council of Hippo (An. 393.) name Tobit, Judith, and two books of the Maccabees; and the councils of Carthage (An. 397, and 419) insert the same books. Cyril mentions Baruch and the epistle of Jeremiah.* Ambrose considers the apochryphal books as inspired; and even Augustine calls the books of the Maccabees canonical;† and Jerome informs us that the council of Nice was said to have numbered Judith with the holy scriptures.‡

To explain this phenomenon several distinguished writers have adopted the hypothesis of an Alexandrian, or Hellenistic canon, which differed from that used in Palestine, and embraced all the books now found in the Septuagint. But there is little positive evidence to sustain the opinion, and accordingly Eichhorn in the essay before us, and other judicious critics, reject it; for otherwise, says Storr,§ how could Josephus, after naming the twenty-two books, say, "No one has ventured to add or take away, or change any thing in them." The principal reasons urged by Eichhorn against the hypothesis are, the relation in which the Jews of the two countries stood to each, which though not intimate, was sometimes so near that Philo was sent by his brethren to Jerusalem, to present offerings in their behalf in the temple; that the son of Sirach and Philo agree with Josephus and the New Testament in calling their ancient sacred books by the same periphrasis, "law, prophets, and other writings;" that the son of Sirach distinguishes the work of his grandfather, an apochryphal book, from the sacred books of his countrymen; and that Philo,

* See Alexander on the Canon, p. 55.

† We insert the whole sentence, part of which is quoted by Dr. Alexander on the Canon, p. 61. *Horum supputatio temporum non in scripturis sanctis, quae canonicae, sed in aliis invenitur, in quibus sunt et Maccabæorum libri, quos non Judæi sed ecclesia pro canonicis habet propter quorundam martyrum passiones. De Civitate Dei. L. XVIII. c. 36.*

‡ Augusti Grundriss einer—Einleitung, &c. § 56, and De Wette, Lehrbuch, &c. § 25—27, and 300, 308, from whom these statements are collected.

§ Lehrbuch der Christl. Dogmatik. Vol. I. p. 231. See also Mueller's Belehrung vom Kanon des Alten Testaments, p. 211.

although acquainted with them, and occasionally borrowing phrases from them, does not cite a single passage, or make any use of them to establish his opinions. It may be further added, that the high regard for the Septuagint professed by the Hellenistic Jews, and the claims of inspiration set up for the translators, were limited principally, if not altogether, to the Pentateuch.* There is no evidence that any other books were translated in the reign of the "second Ptolemy," and Josephus expressly says† "that he did not receive the whole scripture; but only the law was furnished by those who were sent to Alexandria to make the translation." The Hellenistic Jews read these books in the Synagogues,‡ but it does not appear that they ever introduced the sections of the prophets, as their Hebrew brethren did; for the same cause; for their introduction did not exist beyond Palestine. The prophets were read in the apostles' days at Antioch, in Pisidia, and probably throughout western Asia, but no decisive evidence has been adduced to prove the use of the Greek version. The earliest information we have of this entire translation is furnished by the son of Sirach, more than one hundred and fifty years after the version of the law in the days of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but he does not say how long it had been published. The probability is, that it was made at different times by different persons, as the difference in the execution of the various books is too great to permit us to believe they were all translated by one individual, or at one time by several individuals in concert. Philo dwells upon the Pentateuch and expends much labour in illustrating it, but seldom mentions or uses the other books. Josephus does not speak of them at all, unless he includes them under the name of the Law, which is not probable, as he makes a distinction clearly in the passage already quoted; and the writers of the Talmud, while they make honourable mention of the Greek Pentateuch, pass the other books in silence.§ These circumstances render it highly probable that these portions of the version were never held in the same estimation by the Hellenists; their canonical authority conse-

* See Reinhardi *Opuscula Acad.* Tom. I. p. 15, &c.

† Preface to *Antiquities*, § 3.

‡ Reinhardi *Opus. &c.* p. 29. Vitringa *De Synagoga Veteri*, L. 3. part 2, maintains that the Septuagint was never publicly read till the sixth century, and Walton on the other hand supposes our Saviour read it in Nazareth.

§ Reinhardi *Opuscula*, Vol. I. *Disput.* i. § 8.

quently was less carefully guarded, and their contact with apocryphal books less cautiously avoided. No rigid laws, like those adopted by their Hebrew brethren, guarded the accuracy of copies made from time to time; transcribers were permitted to attach to various books additions or appendices at pleasure, to engross on the same rolls or in the same volume other books, which were never admitted to be canonical or inspired. Thus the apocryphal books, now found in the Septuagint and Vulgate, and most modern Bibles, except those published by the English and American Bible Societies, were gradually inserted in the Hellenistic copies of the sacred volume. In this form the manuscripts fell into the hands of the early Christians, few of whom possessed learning or critical acumen enough to distinguish between the precious and the vile; and as the Greek and Latin Christians generally were ignorant of the Hebrew, they could not refer to the originals to ascertain the truth. The high regard they cherished for the sacred volume would naturally extend itself to all the books, especially as they observed, that the apostles not unfrequently quoted passages from various parts of the collection, as "scripture given by inspiration of God." This evil propagated itself in silence probably to considerable extent before it was noticed by any ecclesiastical writer, or counteracted by any synod or council. Hence the Christians were the first, and in fact the only advocates of the inspiration of these apocryphal writings; for the Jews never deemed them canonical, and were therefore prepared consistently to reject them, when the controversy with the Christians arose. Having thus found their way into the church, and having been canonized, as Augustine observes, not by the Jews but by the church, they have maintained their place in the sacred volume and in the estimation of the unenlightened multitude, even to the present day, notwithstanding the efforts of fathers, the decisions of councils, and the flood of light shed on all scriptural subjects since the days of the reformation.

An "essay on the life and writings of Samuel Bochart; by William R. Whittingham, A.M. chaplain and superintendent of the New York protestant episcopal public school," occupies the next place in the volume, and is the only original article it embraces. Bochart is a name of such eminence in the history of the literature and interpretation of the Bible, that it may well excite surprise that so little is known of him; and we are gratified indeed to be favoured with so full a sketch of

his history. His character and writings are well worthy the attention of biblical scholars. Mr W. has exhibited much industry and patient research in this essay, and displayed a familiar acquaintance with his voluminous works. Bochart was born at Rouen in 1599, studied at Sedan, Saumur, Leyden, and Oxford, with several of the most distinguished men of that age, and was afterwards ordained to the ministry and settled as pastor of the protestant church at Caen, a considerable town in the west of France, distinguished by an ancient university. Here he devoted himself to profound study, and the unostentatious discharge of pastoral duty. The even tenor of his life was only interrupted by an occasional controversy with his catholic neighbours, and a visit in company with his friend Huet to Sweden by invitation of the celebrated Christina. Here he was permitted to examine a collection of oriental manuscripts, with extracts from which he afterwards enriched his works. "After his return the only incidents which variegated his days were the publication of his works, and the removal or change of his colleagues, until his earthly labours were terminated in 1667. As a specimen of Mr Whittingham's style and manner, and as an example which might serve to stimulate the literary zeal of the pastors of our day, we insert a paragraph or two from the first part of the essay.

"However extraordinary it may appear, the pastoral duties of our author during this period were the occasion and the source of the monuments of wonderful erudition, which he has left to perpetuate his fame. He undertook, and accomplished the composition of a course of sermons to his congregation on the book of Genesis, from the beginning of the book to the 18th verse of the 49th chapter. These sermons, fairly written out with his own hand, he left among his other papers, to his family. Bochart was not one who would content himself with a superficial or a partial view of any subject. While engaged in the study of the sacred writings for the purpose of eliciting from them practical instructions for his flock, he could not pass over the difficulties which they occasionally present, nor leave unexamined any, even the nicest, question respecting the facts which they contain. The description of Paradise in the second chapter of Genesis excited him to a closer investigation of the real situation of that happy spot than had ever before been instituted; which resulted in the treatise *De Paradiso Terrestri*, now extant, though in a very imperfect state, in the third volume of his works. In like manner, almost every chapter presented some points not suited to be the themes of public discourses, and affording

occasion for the exercise of his deep research and unvaried erudition. The chronology and geography of the sacred volume,—its natural history,—the origin of the names of men and places which it records, and the more intricate portions of its history, were not matters to be neglected by our studious pastor. While plainer, and perhaps more useful, subjects formed the matter of his weekly instructions to the people, these were the favourite objects of his esoteric labours, and in these he was gradually accumulating the astonishing mass of learning, which he at length digested into his *Sacred Geography and Hierozoicon*.”

We add the portrait of his literary acquisitions—a picture truly characteristic of the age which he adorned.

“It would be superfluous to say any thing respecting the *erudition* of Bochart, after what has been already brought in evidence upon the subject. In Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and the Rabbinical dialect, he may be considered as a perfect scholar. Few attain a more thorough knowledge of the Arabic and Syriac languages than he possessed. The Aethiopic he first made himself acquainted with by means of the *Prodromus* of Athanasius Kircher, and afterwards studied under Ludolf, who resided as his preceptor for some months under his roof. Of this and the Punic, however, he never accounted himself master, although his knowledge of them was equalled by very few, until toward the close of the eighteenth century, when the materials and means of information had exceedingly increased. Of the modern languages, after the fashion of the day, he knew only his native tongue, and never attained to any degree of elegance of composition even in that.”

His works on the geography and natural history of the Bible constitute an era in the history of these sciences, and contain a treasure of rich and varied learning; which, although in a great measure superseded by the more tasteful and less cumbersome researches of modern days, may still be consulted with advantage. The analysis of his works, which forms the second part of the essay, is very full, and affords some valuable information. We had marked several passages for quotation, but omit them to avoid extending the article to an undue length.

Our attention is next arrested by two critical dissertations from the pen of the illustrious Storr, who, as a light shining in a dark place, with a few able and faithful associates at Tübingen and Stuttgart, maintained the truth as it is in Jesus, through the darkest period of neological aberration in Germany. They conducted the able periodical, which was designated by some of its contemporaries a *Seltenheit* (rarity), be-

cause it advocated the inspiration of the scriptures. Storr published many works, principally critical and expository, devoted to the illustration of the scriptures, but most of them are small; and some commentaries on whole books and two volumes of sermons have been published since his death, which occurred in 1805. His *Biblical Theology*, and *Opuscula Academica*, from the first volume of which the pieces before us are taken, are so well known, and exhibit his intellectual character and religious sentiments so fully, that we need say little to recommend the essays before us to the careful attention of our readers. The first is a "Dissertation on the meaning of 'the Kingdom of Heaven' in the New Testament, translated by Manton Eastburn, M.A. Rector of the church of the Ascension, New York." The author's Latin style in biblical investigations forms a singular contrast with the simplicity of his German, and Mr Eastburn's version has transferred more of its peculiarities into our mother tongue than we should have deemed possible. The interest of the perusal, if not the value of the investigation, is certainly diminished by the stiffness of its style, the abundance of its references to texts for illustration or proof, and especially by the unusual number and extent of the notes; which however embrace a valuable series of criticisms on particular texts, or important terms and phrases. The reader who has perseverance to surmount these obstacles, and trace out the references, will find matter enough in the essay to reward his toil. By 'the kingdom of Heaven' the author understands the reign of the Messiah; and the particular topics which he discusses are its commencement, its perpetuity, its extent, and its periods.

The "Dissertation on the Parables of Christ, translated by W. R. Whittingham, A.M." we have read with deeper interest, because the discussion itself is more important, is less encumbered with notes, and is presented in more classical English. The long involved sentences of the original are judiciously divided, and the meaning in general elicited with much accuracy. But we have not room for detail or quotation. We hope the whole dissertation will be carefully studied by all whose official duty calls them to interpret the parables of the New Testament for popular edification.

The next and longest article in the volume is, an elaborate effort to prove that "No traces of the Gnostics are to be found in the New Testament; by C. C. Tittman, translated from the Latin by Manton Eastburn, M.A." The author, like his con-

temporary Storr, has the merit of having maintained the truth at the Saxon capital, during the reign of darkness, after having for some time occupied a theological chair in the ancient university of Wittemberg. The history and opinions of the Gnostics have been a favourite topic of investigation with the German divines; but before the labours of Mosheim about the middle of the last century, little more than scattered shreds and discordant traditions had been collected. Ittigius, on the Heresiarchs of the apostolic age, and Beausobre, on the Manichees, had collected some valuable information, but it was reserved for Mosheim to make a full collection, to organize it into systematic form, and exhibit this ancient heresy in its genuine character. To this subject he devoted much time and attention. More than one-third of the first volume of his *Institutiones Hist. Eccl. Majores** is occupied with it, and he afterwards revised and improved the illustration successively in his commentaries on the state of the church before Constantine, and in his history of the Ophites. Contemporary with him, and pursuing similar investigations with a different object, Brucker brought out the same results, so far as the origin and character of the Gnostic philosophy were concerned. These were followed by Walch, in his extensive history of heresies, who by laborious research exhibited the same general principles, and of course deduced corresponding conclusions, which were also sustained by Michaelis, and ably advocated by Semler, in his introduction to Baumgarten's work on Theological Controversies. Then came Tittman, in the vigour of youth and the conscious strength of talent and learning. He undertook to question the facts, to deny the principles, and to overturn the results established by the independent yet concordant labours of his predecessors; and on the ground he has taken he stands, we believe, alone; even those who approximate the nearest, admit that he has gone too far. Within the last fifteen or twenty years the subject has been again revived, and illustrated with new light by an ample investigation of oriental records; many of which are ancient and authentic, and either totally unknown to, or but partially examined by earlier writers. The publications of Neander, Lewald, Hahn, and Luecke, constitute a new era in the history of these researches, and we regret that

* This is not the work translated by MacLaine, but another on a much more extensive scale.

some of these works, or collections from them, had not been adopted instead of the work before us; to the examination of which we now apply ourselves.

With some professions of modesty the author boldly enters the arena, wields his weapons with no humble measure of apparent self-confidence, and occasionally breaks out into strains strongly savouring of vituperation. We cannot easily exonerate the introductory statement, in which he exhibits the doctrine he intends to oppose, from the charge of exaggeration, the commonplace artifice of controversial zeal. He admits, evidently with reluctance, "that about the time of Christ, and a little before, there was in use among the Persians and neighbouring nations" "a certain kind of philosophy, or even of theology, which, as it flourished in the east, may be termed oriental; although it was unknown by this appellation to all antiquity, and embraced opinions respecting God and the origin of all things, both moral and natural, especially the latter." This is the substance of what Mosheim maintains, and almost in his own words, which literally translated are as follows: "In the better known provinces of Asia and Africa, a certain singular kind of philosophy flourished, which treated of God, of things not perceivable by the senses, and finally of the origin of this world; and which its advocates were accustomed to call *γνῶσις*, or *knowledge*; but others named it the *oriental philosophy* or *doctrine*, unquestionably because they wished to distinguish it from the philosophy of the Greeks."* Brucker describes the same system as "originating from the relics of Zoroaster's doctrine a little before the Christian era, and attracting a multitude of followers in Asia; of whom not a few, migrating into Egypt, contaminated not only the philosophy, principally the Pythagorico-Platonic, but also the religion, both of the Jews and Christians, producing among the former the Cabalists, and among the latter the heretics, commonly called Gnostics, from the higher philosophy to which they laid claim."† Such is in substance the oriental philosophy, described by these writers; yet Tittman represents them as maintaining "besides this

* Institut. Hist. Eccl. Majores, Vol. I. p. 136.

† Bruckeri Institutiones Hist. Phil. Per. II. part i. lib. i. c. 3.

In his larger work (Vol. II. p. 639) referring to the passage of Mosheim, quoted above, Brucker remarks, "Qui vidit et detexit, fuisse circa nati Salvatoris tempora, in notioribus Asiae atque Africae regionibus singulare quoddam philosophiae genus, quod divinarum rerum cognitionem caeteris

philosophy, another of a peculiar and different character, from which, as the fountain head, the Gnostic system sprang, not only in the time of Christ, but even long before, and which already in the time of Christ and his apostles had spread from Egypt and Syria into Asia Minor and Greece; was well known among the Jews in Palestine; was favourably regarded by many; was made use of in numerous instances for the purpose of confusing and deceiving the minds of Christians; was diligently practised and studied with the view of corrupting the pure doctrine by sundry errors, and of thus weakening, unsettling, and at length altogether overthrowing the foundations of the Christian religion, while as yet in its incipient and growing state; and "defiled the whole world with its iniquitous doctrines;" so that the apostles were obliged seriously to admonish Christians; to prove the wickedness of the system in their writings; and to establish and defend the truth of Christianity against these its worst enemies; and so that, moreover, traces of this philosophy are found in their writings, both in allusions to it, in refutations of it, and in the mention of it by name." Of this peculiar system we find not the least trace in either Mosheim or Brucker, in the passages referred to; nor does it appear by any thing that has fallen under our notice that any other writer has maintained this theory.

After a brief introduction he enters upon his task, and very properly divides his investigation into two parts; one historical, the other philological. The historical portion is principally occupied in the examination of a few testimonies from early writers, and in controverting the expositions and inferences which other historians had made. The witnesses on whom our author relies are few and brief in their testimony.

praestantiorem sibi vindicans, orientalis doctrinae a vetustissimis philosophis ad se derivatae gloriam sibi vindicavit, exque ea secta plures cum ad Christianam religionem se contulissent, preceptaque sua cum hac praeposita conjungere conati essent, exorta esse illa heresim examina quae Gnosticorum nomine superbientia, muscarum instar per omnes Asiae atque Africae ecclesias pervolitarunt, et nugis ineptissimis simplicitatem sanctissimae religionis contaminarunt, ad Judaeos quoque et ipsos Gentiles progressae, domesticam utrorumque philosophiam misere corruerunt, sententiarum monstra excogitarunt, fanaticismum late regnantem confirmarunt et auxerunt, librorum spuriorum segetes disseminarunt, pessimisque doctrinis totum commacularunt orbem.

It will be observed that the author is here describing the progress and effects of the Gnostic doctrines after the publication of the gospel.

Irenæus refers the origin of the Gnostics to the time of Anicetus in the second century. Clemens of Alexandria declares, that during the reign of Adrian, the inventors of heresy made their appearance and propagated their doctrines. Hegesippus assures us, that before this time (the reign of Adrian) "those who were endeavouring to corrupt the sound standard of the preaching of the gospel lay hid in dark obscurity," and did not emerge to disturb the peace of the church till after the death of the apostles, and those who had heard the preaching of our Lord. This testimony is confirmed by a passage of Eusebius, showing that "the heresy of Basilides began in the reign of Adrian," and another from Irenæus, testifying "that there lived at the same period one Carpocrates, the founder of a sect called Gnostics." This is followed by a quotation from Firmilian, showing that the "execrable heresies" of Marcion, of Apelles, of Valentine, and of Basilides, arose at a period subsequent to the age of the apostles; and Tertullian proves the same fact, by asserting that the heresy could not precede the true doctrine, "for in all cases truth precedes the resemblance of it; the likeness comes afterwards;" and that accordingly, Marcion the Pontic pilot, Valentine the follower of Plato, and other heretics came after the time of the apostles, "who pointed out by name the enemies of the Christian religion who were then in existence; but among these did not make any mention at all of the Valentinians, the Marcionites, or the Gnostics."

Such is the substance of the patristic testimony on which the author reposes the historical strength of his cause; which however he further corroborates by a negative argument, drawn from the silence of ecclesiastical writers on occasions where some information might have been expected. He deems this argument cogent, because it is altogether improbable that sagacious writers would have failed to notice a system, which, as the authors and supporters of the opposite opinion suppose, not only began before the time of Christ, but was, besides this, in such reputation, was so celebrated and favourably received through all the world, as to have admirers and disciples both very numerous in multitude, and distinguished for the elegance of their genius and learning. (We might ask, by the way, where this representation is found among the advocates of the opposite opinion?) Then follow references to some passages in Josephus and Philo, in which no mention is made of Gnosticism, and a paragraph on the obscurity of the origin

of the system; and the historical portion of the work concludes with an attempt to disprove the existence, before the Christian era, of any such oriental philosophy as he had described in his introductory statement. Now we believe the whole legitimate force of his testimonies may be admitted—though we should question some of his expositions and inferences—in full consistency with the opinion, that Gnostic sentiments and doctrines had been published long before our Saviour's advent, and were known and alluded to by the writers of the New Testament. Mosheim and Brucker may be too unqualified in their statements; we are not disposed to come forward as their advocates; yet we are persuaded there is evidence enough to satisfy any candid inquirer, that many of the characteristic opinions of the Gnostics had been published more or less extensively through the world at an early period; had gained footing both among Jews and Gentiles; had exercised an influence unfavourable to the progress of the Gospel, and perverted the minds of many who received the doctrines of truth. The way was thus prepared for the full development of that heterogeneous mass of religious and philosophical truths, speculations, and absurdities, afterwards propagated by the different sects of the Gnostics. If this be true, where is the difficulty of supposing that the sacred writers alluded to them, and were led by the inspiring spirit to exhibit such views of truth as were most likely to meet and counteract them, and to define and illustrate such terms as were already enlisted in the cause of error, and would be most frequently employed or perverted to heretical purposes. But we proceed to inquire for some positive information on the subject, and we do this the more cheerfully, as the recent researches in this productive field of investigation enable us to go forward with ease and certainty. We have only to regret that our limits will confine us to a mere abstract.

The nations of the east, among whom knowledge and civilization originated, are generally characterized by greater vigour of imagination, and ardour of feeling, than the natives of the colder regions of the west and north. This peculiarity of constitutional organization affected in a greater or less degree the whole character of individuals and nations. The poetry, the philosophy, and even the religion of the oriental nations, is not different in their essential principles, assumed different forms correspondent to the variety of constitutional character, and national manners and customs. But as the various nations, from time immemorial, differed from each other in languages,

laws, manners, and institutions, each of course would exhibit some peculiarities; and even where derived from the same family, would in the course of ages imperceptibly establish its own usages and modes of thought. Hence every nation had its own system of philosophy; its own forms of religion; and its own style of literature; and where the same original system was adopted, especially in religious opinions, it was so modified by each, as to assume various forms and accompaniments. In the progress of civilization, and especially in the course of war and conquest, the intercourse of nations became more extended; the different opinions and systems came in contact more frequently, and comparison, investigation, controversy, conversion from one sect to another, and the combination of various opinions or systems into heterogeneous creeds, were not unfrequent. Perhaps no series of events ever occurred more fertile in results of this kind, than the conquests of Alexander, and the reign of his successors. The various forms of Grecian philosophy and theology were then transported into Egypt and the heart of Asia, and planted by the side of the Asiatic systems—Sabian, Chaldean, oriental, whatever may be their appropriate names and characters; and the followers of Plato and Aristotle thrown into contact with the disciples of Zoroaster. New light was elicited by this intercourse; a new direction was given to the speculations of the philosopher and religionist, and new modifications of opinion and of practice were the result. Perhaps no spot on earth collected a greater number of the followers of these discordant systems, or presented a greater mass of heterogeneous opinions, modes of thinking, and rites of worship, than Alexandria, under the reign of the Ptolemies. This splendid capital, like Athens at a former period, and Rome in after ages, might not inappropriately be termed the literary metropolis of the world; whither inquirers after knowledge; advocates of science; amateurs of the arts; inventors and propagators of new opinions, flocked together as if drawn by one common attraction from all quarters of the civilized world, and rendered it a perfect Babel of confused opinions, and an arena for the display and contests of the most discordant sentiments, which all the various habits, and all the wild imaginations of numerous and distant nations could produce. In its distinguished academy, a multitude of literary men from all nations indiscriminately were supported by the government, with full liberty to explore the inexhaustible treasures of its library; and Zenodotus and Aristarchus, Apol-

Ionius and Theocritus, with many other celebrated philosophers and poets, pursued their respective studies together. Here a new era was established in the history of ancient literature, and a new channel opened for the current of thought and sentiment.* Among the crowds assembled at Alexandria, the Jews were honoured with distinguished privileges; and multitudes dragged from their country by conquest, or driven by internal dissension, or attracted by Egyptian honours, here established their permanent residence;† and as many of them, especially the more literary and ambitious classes, soon adopted the Greek language—the language of the court and the intelligent part of the community—the scriptures of the Old Testament were translated, perhaps rather for their use, than to grace the royal library.‡

This celebrated school was the cradle of Gnosticism in the Christian church. Here now, as formerly in Greece and Chaldea, the line of demarcation was widely drawn between the philosopher and the illiterate; the initiated religionist and the vulgar man; the speculating idealist and the contracted materialist. The former, pursuing their proud speculations, alike despised the ignorant multitude; and whether those speculations took for their text the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, or the Eastern philosophy, the mysteries of Eleusis or Isis, or the visions and revelations of the Jewish Scriptures, they afforded ample scope for the workings of Oriental and Grecian imagination. The Jews, as well as the Greeks, engaged in these investigations, and aspired to the honour of initiation into the mysteries of the philosophical and religious systems which grew in process of time out of them. Here are found the earliest traces of the peculiar sentiments which distinguished the Gnostics at the period when the surviving fragments of early ecclesiastical history first present them to our notice. Whether these first buddings of the system were of Greek or oriental origin has been a subject of controversy. The Christian fathers and the earlier modern writers uniformly ascribe them to the Grecian, especially the Platonic philosophy; while later and more extensive investigation has traced many of them to Asiatic sources. In the Alexandrian

* Luecke ueber Johannis Schriften. Vol. I. p. 164. *Conversations-Lexicon*, Art. *Alexandria* and *Alex. Zeitalter*.

† Joseph. Antiq. XIV. 7, 2, and XII. 1, & Jewish Wars, II. 18, 7.

‡ Sturzian De Dialecto Macedonico et Alex. § I. Horne's Introd. II. 166.

school—we use this term because it has been frequently so applied, and we know no better word that could be substituted—a modified and orientalized Platonism unquestionably held a prominent place, and gave a colouring to all the other parts of the system—all the parts and principles adopted from the Jewish and Christian revelations; and in the Syrian school the ancient philosophy of Chaldea and Persia is more distinctly discernible.* There can be little doubt, therefore, that the whole system in all its protean forms originated in the attempt to combine the heterogeneous materials of the Greek and Asiatic philosophy with the truths and facts of the gospel; and the predominance of one or the other of these component elements constituted the characteristics which distinguished the different schools into which they were divided. Of the existence of all their elements prior to the Christian era there can be no doubt; and of the tendency to such combinations as afterwards produced the Gnostic doctrines, testimonies reaching to an early date are not wanting. Michaelis has traced them back as far as the time of the translation of the Septuagint, in which he has detected some vestiges.† In the works of Philo the approximation is much more apparent. It is seen in the philosophical speculations which he engrafts upon the Mosaic system; in the allegorical mode of interpretation by which he endeavours to accommodate the Jewish records to the Platonic philosophy in the orientalized form in which he maintained it; and, above all, in the distinction derived from Oriental sources and afterwards adopted by all the Gnostics, between the invisible and ineffable God, shut up in his own glory, and exalted above all likeness, material forms, or comprehension (ὁ θεὸς, το ὄν, ἀγέγνωτος, ἀόρατος, &c.) and his revelations, powers, or emanations, in successive subordinate beings (ὁ λόγος τοῦ ὄντος—δυνάμεις τοῦ ὄντος, &c.) inhabiting the regions of light (φῶς) and deriving originally their existence from him as the life (ζῆν) and source of being.‡ “Is Philo,” our author asks, “on that account to be called a Gnostic, or a votary and defender of the oriental philosophy?” Certainly not; but he is to be held a good witness for the existence and publication of such opinions as the Gnostics afterwards held, before the

* Neander's *Gnostische Systeme*, p. 2. Geiseler's *Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 119.

† *Syntagma Commentationum*. No. 13, p. 251.

‡ Neander's *Einleitung*. Niemeyer *De Docetis*, cap. 2. Geiseler, &c.

composition of the books, especially the later books of the New Testament. And if they had been published—if they were at that time operating upon the minds of Jews or of Christians, and presenting an obstacle to the progress of the gospel, or an instrument for its perversion, might it not naturally be expected that some effort would be made by the inspired writers to counteract their influence?

To what extent these sentiments prevailed among the Jews we have no means of ascertaining; but from the talents and intelligence of Philo we have reason to suppose that his works exerted considerable influence among his Hellenistic brethren. The rigid opinions and ascetic character of the Essenes have also been brought forward as witnesses on this subject, with what justice we are not prepared to say, or called upon to inquire. Our author objects to their testimony, because they were a Jewish sect; (but could they not be Jewish, and still adopt more or less of these speculations?) and because the “philosophy under discussion rejected the whole law,” but it is known that the Essenes adhered to it. This rejection, however, is only true of one part or class of the Gnostics; while another class, derived from the Jews,* retained the law, and interwove with their system many of the peculiarities of Judaism. Philo did not deem it necessary to reject the law in order to make room for his philosophical speculations, and might not the Essenes have received many kindred opinions from the east and other foreign sources, and still retain their national religion? “Gnostics there were,” says Eichhorn,† “in every ancient religious institution which was connected with sacred writings, after its disciples had adopted a different mode of education. There were Gnostics among the Jews, both before and after the birth of Christ; those who lived before employed themselves in sublimating the Jewish religion, and those in after ages the Christian.” “Tittman,” he adds, “has indeed substantially proved that Gnostic *parties* or *sects* first existed in the second century; but Gnostic *opinions* prevailed earlier, as history clearly proves.”

In order to give a fair development of the subject, it would be necessary to trace the history of the Gnostics through the

* See Neander's *Gnostische Systeme*.

† *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, vol. ii.

varied forms of opinion and practice which successively distinguished the different schools; to inquire to what extent and under what forms these sentiments had been previously published; and to compare them in detail with the language of the New Testament. But this would require a volume, and we have already exceeded our intended bounds. We must, therefore, pass over the philological part of the work, although its importance would warrant a more extended examination.

A single remark on the translation. In general it is plain and perspicuous, exhibiting very accurately the meaning of the original. We are inclined to believe the translator might have spent his strength to better advantage on some more important subject; though we should not regret the publication of this, if the facts could be thoroughly discussed and the truth impartially presented to the public. But we have no expectation that this will be done, and perhaps the time and attention of our learned theologians might be employed in more important investigations. We should be glad however to see a condensed but comprehensive outline of the result of the modern researches on this subject. We are aware it would require a considerable extent of reading and laborious research; but since the subject has been brought forward, especially in this partial form, we think it desirable that the truth should be known; and the application of these results to the interpretation of the New Testament would constitute an important contribution to our stock of exegetical theology.

The "History of the Interpretation of the prophet Isaiah by W. Gesenius, translated from the German by Samuel H. Turner, D.D." which follows next in order, is an interesting document. It constitutes, in the original, the second and largest part of the introduction to the author's elaborate commentary on Isaiah. The whole introduction displays no ordinary measure of learning and research. Its principal topics are the life, character, writings, and interpretation of the prophet. As the prophecies of Isaiah have always been deemed one of the most important portions of the Old Testament, they have received more attention from theological writers, than perhaps any other prophetic book, and Jews and Christians of all names and ages from the days of Origen to the present time have vied with each other in the application of talent and learning to their illustration. Many of the clearest predictions of the Messiah and some of the fundamental doctrines of the

gospel system are here presented; and are often quoted and referred to by Christ and his apostles. Hence a correct apprehension of the meaning of this prophet must have an important bearing on the interpretation of the New Testament, and the system of doctrines we derive from the Scriptures. The difficulties which the expositor must encounter in the study of these prophecies are fully commensurate with their importance; and accordingly, many essential discrepancies, both in the principles of interpretation adopted and in the results elicited, characterize the principal writers. Hence it becomes a matter of substantial importance, as well as of high literary interest to ascertain what has been effected, and by whom, for the exposition of this prophet. This has been accomplished to a considerable degree in the brief history before us—exhibiting a condensed view of the ancient Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, Latin, and Arabic versions of the book; and of the Christian fathers, Jewish Rabbins, and modern theologians who have rendered themselves illustrious by expositions of it. The English commentaries, however, with the exception of Poole and Lowth, are passed over in silence—an omission deserving notice, as the author, having spent considerable time at an English university, cannot be supposed ignorant of the existence of the leading works which have controlled the opinions, established the faith, and nurtured the piety of English Christians.

The earlier and more important versions are minutely described, and their characteristic modes of interpretation illustrated by many examples. In the quotation of these examples, the original passages, when Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Greek, are introduced, and generally, with much accuracy. The early expositors are more fully described than the later, and the largest space is allotted to Ephrem the Syrian, and the Jewish writers of the middle ages, from whom considerable extracts are introduced. The translation in the first part of the essay is well executed, but the latter portion is not so accurate. If the translator will throw his eye on page 437 he will perceive that he has missed the sense of two passages, in the same paragraph. The words "was ihm meistens wohlgeelngt" are rendered, which to his ear is generally euphonic, instead of "in which he is generally successful." A sentence or two after we read, sometimes in this way the exposition acquires additional force, "einigemal ist dadurch auch der Erklærung Gewalt angethan worden," i. e. "sometimes violence is thus done to the exposition." We have noticed several other cases in which

the translator's attention has flagged. We would refer the gentleman, merely for his own satisfaction, to one or two instances. On page 458, the sentence "one should not begin, &c.;" on page 400, the first part of the paragraph relating to David Kimchi; on page 476, "in the latest work of Eichhorn, &c." It is no grateful task to notice such blemishes in a work, for the most part so well executed. It would be easy to select whole paragraphs faithfully translated, and many passages rendered in a manner truly felicitous. We know not how to make a more appropriate transition to the remaining article than by inserting the general description of the ancient Syriac versions of this prophet.

"Among the old versions, the third place in point of time belongs to the Peshito *Syriac*, which, resting on the authority of the two last, and, moreover, conducted by more correct principles of interpretation and translation, meets the demands of a correct and faithful translator far better than those, and nearly in the same manner, as Symmachus and Theodotion. The author translates from the Hebrew text, not without knowledge of the language, with selected use of the Alexandrine version, more rarely of the Chaldee, but frequently also independently of both, agreeably to his own feeling and judgment. Where he does not happen to follow the Septuagint, he preserves the figures and tropes, and from arbitrary introduction of opinions he is freer than almost any other ancient translator, so that the name of *Peshito*, that is, the *simple and faithful*, is most appropriately applied to his work. Since also the character of both tongues favours this close approximation, the imitation is sometimes to be called masterly."

"A treatise on the use of the Syriac languages, by John David Michaelis, translated from the German by John Frederick Schroeder, A.M." &c. closes the volume before us. It is merely an extract from the dissertation prefixed as an introduction to the author's Syriac Chrestomathy. The whole piece bears evident marks of having been hastily written. Its style is diffuse, and its reasonings and illustrations rather loosely thrown together. It is translated from the second edition, "corrected and enlarged by the addition of the author's valuable notes;" but on comparing the portion here translated with the first edition, we find few additions of any importance, and no improvement in style or manner. Unfortunately the translator has transfused into his version all the diffuseness of the original, and introduced considerable additional vagueness by frequent inaccuracy and occasionally essential mistakes in

the translation. No piece in the whole volume indicates so little care and skill in the execution. We shall notice in passing a few of the more palpable variations from the original.—“A book is printed, and lies long upon the shelf as an ornament not in use; for it does not immediately serve the purpose of the learned; and too little indeed was he favoured by fortune that could buy it. How commonly does this occur! It is a chance, if within a hundred years of the printing of an old outlandish book, any one can *guess* all for which it might be useful, and of which the editor perhaps never once thought.” p. 488. Ein Buch wird gedruckt, und steht in Buechersaelen lange zur Zierde muessig, den es faellt gerade dem Gelehrten nicht in die Hand, der es anwenden koentte: und er war wohl vom Glueck zu wenig beguenstiget, es kaufen zu koennen. Welch ein gewoehnlicher Zufall! Beynahe ist es ein Gluck, wenn man innerhalb hundert Jahren nach dem Abdruck eines alten auslaendisches Bucks, alles erraeth, wozu es nuetzlich seyn koennte, und woran vielleicht der Herausgeber nicht einmal dachte. A book is printed, and stands useless a long time as an ornament in the bookshop; for it does not directly fall into the hands of the learned man who is competent to use it; and he (the learned man) may be too little favoured by fortune to be able to purchase it. What a common occurrence! It is almost a mere chance if, within a century after the reprint of an ancient foreign book, any one can discover all the purposes for which it may be useful, and of which perhaps the editor never even thought.—“But still the New Testament may hence derive much for its elucidation.” p. 500. Jedoch ohne dass das Neue Testament viel Erlaeuterung davon borgen kann; yet so that the New Testament cannot derive much elucidation from it.—“This removes a great obscurity in the passage.” p. 502. Dis breitet eine grosse Dunkelheit ueber die Rede aus. This diffuses great obscurity over the discourse.—On the same page a clause is omitted after the words, “Many strangers called upon his name,” yet they were not on that account to be immediately received.—In page 511 it is said of the Syriac version of the Scriptures, “sometimes it contributes by its own to set forth other readings of the Masorites.” Bald traegt sie das ihrige mit bey, eine andere Leseart der Masorethischen vorzuziehen. Sometimes it contributes its influence to render a different reading preferable to the Masoretic.—“Geography becomes possessed of those regions in

which the Syriac language was formerly spoken, &c." p. 526. Schon dadurch gewinnet die Geographie der Laender, in denen die Syrische Sprache ehemals geredet ist. The geography of the countries in which the Syriac language was formerly spoken is thereby improved. We had marked many other passages in which the author's meaning is not given, or imperfectly exhibited, or associated with some variation or additional shade of thought, but neither our object nor our space requires us to point out all the failures which the treatise exhibits.

We regret that this essay is not more attractive and forcible; for we consider the subject important, and invested with claims much stronger than are here presented. The author himself informs us, that it was not his intention to exhibit a full view of the subject, but merely to state such circumstances as he considered important to those who were about to use his book in learning the language. For several important arguments he refers to other works, and his remarks on the facility of its acquisition, and its value as a medium of access to the Hebrew, are omitted by the translator. The character of the language itself; its affinity with the Hebrew and Chaldaic of the Old Testament; its substantial identity with the vernacular tongue of our Saviour and his disciples, and the antiquity of the Peshito version, conspire to render it a subject of considerable importance to every independent and intelligent interpreter of the scriptures. The facility with which it may be acquired, especially by those who are acquainted with the Hebrew, will be an additional inducement to the study. "Of all the oriental languages," says Michaelis in the fourth section of the treatise before us, "the Syriac and Chaldaic are the easiest, and the Hebrew the most difficult. I could wish, therefore, that the Syriac might be studied first. Even those who only intend to learn the Hebrew, and dread the study of all other oriental languages, would thus facilitate their labour, if they would follow my advice; and I believe I could enable a class of the same views and proficiency to acquire the Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, and Hebrew in the same time that many apply to the Hebrew alone." This is probably exaggerated; but other judicious orientalists place it first in point of simplicity and facility of acquisition. The means also for acquiring it are constantly increasing by the publication, especially in Germany, of elementary books of all kinds, adapted to all classes of learners.

The translator has furnished in a brief appendix a list of the most common of these works, but has omitted several recent and valuable publications; such as Oberleitner's Chrestomathy, and the selection of Ephrem's Hymns arranged as a Chrestomathy, with an excellent vocabulary by Hahn and Seiffart. We should certainly recommend the New Testament and Dathe's edition of the Psalms to the early attention of the student, as the language is easier than that of any other introductory work we have seen. We cannot subscribe to the commendation appended to the notice of Tychsen's Elementale, as we happen to know by experience resulting in despair, that it presents obstacles almost insuperable to the learner, who is not furnished with the means of supplying its deficiencies. The want of a comprehensive lexicon, adapted to the whole range of Syriac literature, as far as it comes within the reach of the student, is seriously felt by oriental scholars. For the New Testament, Buxtorf, Schaaf, or Zanolini; and for the Old Testament, and perhaps some other works, Castell's Lexicon in the London Polyglott, and Michaelis's improved edition of the same work in a separate form, may suffice; but no general lexicon adapted to the wants of the student, who would pursue his researches beyond the mere elements and the versions of the Bible, has yet appeared. Quatremere de Quincy at Paris, and Professor Bernstein of Breslau, have long since promised works of this character, which, from their high reputation as oriental scholars, are expected to accomplish for Syrian lexicography what Hoffman has done for its grammar, and Gesenius for the Hebrew.

Except for missionaries destined to western Asia, and oriental professors, we consider this subject important only in reference to the illustration of the Scriptures. In this we desire the assistance of every auxiliary which ancient and modern literature can supply, and all the means which philology can furnish, to render more intelligible and more impressive the revelations of God. These are the life of our souls, and every thing else in comparison is unworthy the attention of an immortal spirit. However discursive our wanderings in literary pursuits, we must come back with childlike simplicity to the gospel of the grace of God, if we would secure our own comfort and edification as christians, or feed others with the bread of life, pure and unadulterated. For this purpose the oracles of God must be distinctly understood and clearly in-

terpreted. The languages in which they were published must be studied. What judicious instructor would attempt to explain any other ancient documents without a knowledge of the language in which they were written? We should ridicule the preposterous pretensions of a public lecturer on ancient literature, who, unacquainted with Latin or Greek, should attempt to expound Homer or Cicero; and is it wiser, with similar incompetency, to engage in the exposition of the revelations of the Bible, on which the everlasting welfare or misery of our souls depends? Can the accredited expositors of this system of truth meet the demands of their own consciences, or satisfy the just expectation of the churches, by relying on the translations and interpretations of fallible men? Oh let us drink the waters of life pure from the fountain, since God by his special providence has kept it open, and given us easy access! But something more than the mere knowledge of the languages, and the amount of reading requisite to acquire those languages, is indispensable to constitute an intelligent interpreter of the Scriptures. The manners, customs, opinions, civil and literary history, and institutions political and ecclesiastical of the favoured people to whom they were given; the kindred languages, literature and history of the surrounding nations; the geographical position and natural history of the regions described or referred to, may all be employed as auxiliaries to illustrate the phraseology and allusions employed by the sacred writers. Profound thought, laborious investigation, and extensive reading are indispensable for the full development of the treasures of God's word. But, at the same time, we would impress upon the attention of students, the necessity of a practical and devotional perusal of the Scriptures. It is not by critical study alone, or principally, that the spirit of piety is nourished in the bosom, and invigorated to its appropriate energy. Let it be ever borne in mind, that the labour of ascertaining precisely the truth revealed by all the critical and exegetical auxiliaries within our reach, is one thing; the practical consideration of the truth thus ascertained, the honest application of it to the conscience, and the continual recurrence to its truths, precepts and promises for direction, instruction and consolation, are another and very distinct operation. If the latter be neglected, the former will prove comparatively useless and often dangerous; leaving the soul to famish in the midst of a "feast of fat things," or to be led into the devious paths of error by the

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unrestrained impulse of an inventive imagination. A judicious combination of both is necessary to the preservation of an enlightened and healthful tone of piety, and indispensable to the formation of a successful expositor of the sacred records. Neither can be neglected by ministers of the gospel without serious disadvantage. Let them never lose sight of the inspired admonition, which spreads before them the pages of revealed truth, and enjoins: "Meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them: that thy profiting or improvement may appear to all."

REVIEW.

The Works of Dugald Stewart. In Seven Volumes. Cambridge. Published by Hilliard and Brown. 1829.

Few men of the present age have received so liberal a share of public approbation as the late Dugald Stewart, and none have manifested a more spotless integrity, or a more sincere regard for the best interests of man. So often have talents and acquirements been sold to vice, or employed wholly in schemes of selfish ambition, that it is doubly cheering to meet with those who have consecrated their high powers and attainments to the cause of philanthropy and virtue. A brief account of the life and writings of Dugald Stewart, and an estimate of his character, will not then, we trust, be unacceptable to our readers.

Dugald Stewart, son of Dr Matthew Stewart, professor of mathematics in the university of Edinburgh, was born Nov. 22, 1753. His early days were passed partly in Edinburgh, and partly in Ayrshire, whither his father retired during the intervals of the academical sessions. At the age of seven, he was placed at the grammar school, where he attracted the attention and excited the hopes of his instructors by the quickness of his apprehension, and the facility with which he acquired and expressed in his own language the ideas of the authors he perused. After leaving the school, he entered the university, and attended on the instructions of the distin-

guished men at that time connected with the institution. With these, his situation in his father's family allowed him familiar intercourse, which was doubtless of more profit than any public instructions. Nor were his advantages in this respect confined to the officers of the university: he enjoyed the society and friendship of most of the eminent men of Scotland, and particularly that of Adam Smith, the celebrated author of the "*Wealth of Nations*."

In 1771, when he was eighteen, he repaired to Glasgow to receive the instructions of Dr Reid. He immediately engaged the confidence and affection of his instructor, and here was the commencement of that warm and continued friendship, which forms so amiable a trait in the characters of both.

He had attended but one course of lectures in this place, when, by the declining health of his father, he was obliged to return and undertake the instruction of the mathematical classes in the university. This task he performed with singular success. Notwithstanding the high reputation and acknowledged talents of Dr Stewart, the number of pupils considerably increased under his son.

When he had arrived at the age of twenty-one, he was appointed assistant professor of mathematics, in which situation he continued for a little more than ten years, when, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the vacant chair. During this time, besides instructing in mathematics, he often lectured with great acceptance for the other professors, particularly on moral philosophy for Dr Ferguson, and on rhetoric and belles-lettres for the successor of Dr Blair. These lectures were unwritten, and were composed on the day of their delivery, while walking in his father's garden. These facts, together with the promptness and ability which he ever manifested in assisting his associates during the whole of his academical career, attest the extent of his acquirements, and the facility with which he could direct his attention to the various departments of knowledge.

In the same year in which he succeeded to the chair of his father, an exchange of professorships was effected with Dr Ferguson, by which he became professor of moral philosophy. In imparting to his pupils the principles of this science, to which he informs us he was early attached, and in otherwise promoting its advancement, he acquired his brilliant reputation. He continued to discharge the duties of this office till 1809, when his health obliged him to retire: previously,

however, he had succeeded in effecting the appointment of the late Dr Brown as his associate and successor. From this time, until his death in 1828, he was employed, as his health would permit, in preparing for the press a number of his works, which we shall notice in their order.

Before proceeding to our account of the writings with which he has favoured the world, we would dwell on one or two circumstances of his education. The first is, in reference to the free intercourse he was allowed with his professors and other eminent men. This rendered his advantages superior to those of almost any with whose history we are acquainted. Many have studied at more celebrated universities, but few have enjoyed the instruction, much less the personal friendship, of such men as Robertson, Smith, and Reid. He probably derived more improvement from their private conversations than their public prelections. By the latter, principles may be learned, but not the method of their deduction. We have placed before us the result of labour—the most advanced efforts of superior mind. Yet even this is but of little use. The object of education is to learn to perform similar labour. Unless we know the process by which these truths are acquired, we cannot perform it, and proceed to the development of others more abstruse. A splendid edifice may be shown us, its different parts designated, and the rules of its proportion made known. But will this enable us to begin at the quarry, and construct one similar or superior? In order to this, the process must be spread before us. So in regard to principles of science. We wish to know the manner in which they are acquired; the mode of pursuit which the successful have adopted. Then we are prepared to proceed in our own deductions, and these and the principles we have learned are valuable aids.

Another circumstance in the education of Stewart which we shall briefly notice, was the fact of his being called at so early an age to impart instruction. This was doubtless highly conducive to his mental improvement, and laid the foundation of his character as a teacher, on which his reputation most firmly rests. It gave him a command of his acquired knowledge, which young men seldom attain. Though their knowledge may be accurately stored in their memories, yet it seldom passes through that process of assimilation which is essential to mental growth. To this process, the attempt at communication is favourable. A definiteness of conception,

and clearness of arrangement is then sought for, the need of which was never before experienced. Were our young men to spend a few years in this employment before engaging in the active duties of their profession, we think they would find it of great advantage.

We now proceed to treat of the writings of Professor Stewart in the order of their appearance. In 1792, seven years after he had been made professor of moral philosophy, he published the first volume of his "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind." With this it is probable our readers are better acquainted than with any other of his works, as it has been studied in most of our colleges, and had a very general circulation. We consider it as the most valuable of his productions. It contains, indeed, few principles which are not to be found in Reid, or preceding writers, yet they are more clearly brought forward, in a style, if not the best adapted to philosophical writing, at least idiomatic, flowing, and melodious. Some of the subjects are treated in a manner exceedingly interesting: we refer in particular to the chapter on association, imagination, and memory. The first of these recommends itself in an especial manner to the student of belles lettres and criticism. Indeed the volume abounds with valuable remarks, though to all it contains we do not yield our assent. On a discussion of the points of difference it is unnecessary to enter at present, as we have, for the most part, treated them in a former number of our work, to which we refer our readers for our views on *attention, conception, abstraction, association, nominalism, &c.*

More than twenty years elapsed before the second volume of his Elements appeared. In the mean time, he was called to the melancholy task of writing the biography of three of his distinguished friends; that of Adam Smith in 1793, of Robertson in 1796, and of Reid in 1802. These consist of notices of their lives, brief, because the incidents of a literary life are few, and of general observations on their works, for the most part too general for utility. The power of nicely portraying character is not apparent. Hence these efforts of Mr Stewart have properly been termed "a union of general criticism with literary history."

In 1793 he also published his "Outlines of Moral Philosophy," which is a syllabus of the course of lectures he was accustomed to read before the university. It contains most

of the principles which are expanded and illustrated in the "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," and "The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers." It was designed only for the students attending on his lectures.

In 1810 appeared his Philosophical Essays, which were written at Kinneil House, a seat belonging to the duke of Hamilton, on the banks of the Frith of Forth, whither he had retired on resigning his professorship. In this work, he informs us, it was his intention to expand and illustrate more fully some of the doctrines contained in the first volume of his Elements, and to discuss some collateral subjects.

The preliminary essay contains an able vindication of the utility of mental philosophy from the attacks of the Edinburgh Review. The volume, then, is divided into two parts. The subjects treated in the first are the origin of our knowledge; the idealism of Berkely, the influence of Locke on the French systems of philosophy, the theories of Hartley, Priestley and Darwin, and the philological speculation of Horne Tooke. In these essays there are many remarks interesting to the lovers of mental science, but no very definite impression follows their perusal.

The second part of the volume treats of the more interesting subjects of beauty, sublimity, and taste. Believing in the original adaptation of certain objects to awaken the emotions of sublimity and beauty, and which would therefore be denominated beautiful and sublime, he proceeds to illustrate the manner in which he supposes these terms were applied, "by transition," to other objects. Colour and altitude, he thinks, occasioned the first ideas of beauty and sublimity, and hence received the first application of these terms. It is interesting to follow him in this supposed process of generalization, though we know not that it sheds any new light on the philosophy of the mind.

TASTE, the subject of the next essay, is not considered as an original faculty of the mind. He first proceeds to trace "the gradual progress by which it is formed." But this and the succeeding essay, "*On the culture of certain intellectual habits connected with the first elements of taste,*" do not possess sufficient connection, and embrace too great a variety of topics to allow of an analysis. There is, however, exhibited by the writer, an elegance of mind, a correctness of judgment, a familiarity with the objects of taste, that induce

us to believe that his talents were adapted to excel in the departments of belles lettres and criticism, rather than in the abstruse labours of metaphysical disquisition.

We would here briefly remark on taste, as perhaps there may exist on this subject a want of distinct apprehension, that when it is asserted that taste is not an original faculty, the idea arises that it is entirely arbitrary and conventional. But this is far from truth, for its principles are evidently laid in human nature. The difficulty is occasioned through want of a distinct notion of the meaning of the term faculty, a term which even Stewart, notwithstanding his usual precision, has employed in a very indefinite manner. It expresses, as we have before had occasion to observe, the action of the thinking principle in reference to particular objects, or perhaps we should rather say, particular classes of objects. The operations of the mind, though multifarious, are capable of arrangement into certain classes, from their relation to certain objects. All those, therefore, which are exercised on, or occasioned by particular objects, and are thus distinct from others, are for convenience referred to a separate faculty. Now, the question is, whether the operations of mind, in reference to what are termed objects of taste, are sufficiently distinct from all others to be referred to a separate faculty? That there are principles of taste is admitted by all. The question relates to the amount of difference between the result of these and other principles. We shall leave it to our readers to decide for themselves.

In 1813 appeared the second volume of his "*Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.*" This would have attracted little attention, but for the previous fame of the author. As it is, we believe, it is seldom read. It contains some valuable thoughts, but they are familiar to those who are acquainted with the works of Reid, Beattie, and Campbell. There is a precision in the use of terms which is commendable, but this cannot atone for its diffuseness and want of connection. It is proper to state, that this may in part be owing to the frequent interruptions to which the author was subject while composing. He remarks in his preface, "I have repeatedly had occasion to regret the tendency of this intermitted and irregular mode of composition, to deprive my speculations of those advantages, in point of continuity, which, to the utmost of my power, I have endeavoured to give them. But I would willingly indulge the hope, that this is a blemish

more likely to meet the eye of the author than the reader; and I am confident, that the critic who shall honour me with a sufficient degree of attention to detect it, where it may occur, will not be inclined to treat it with an undue severity."

There is certainly less connection apparent than the author seems to suppose. Every train of thought in a well disciplined mind has some degree of connection; but that this may be rendered apparent to other minds, a more rigorous process of condensation is necessary than Stewart was accustomed to exercise.

About the same time, we believe, were published the Preliminary Essays to the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica. In this it was intended to exhibit "A General View of the Progress of Metaphysical, Moral and Political Philosophy in Europe, from the Revival of Letters." This work has received high commendations, but without reason. It can with no propriety be termed a "History of Philosophy," but should rather be entitled *Miscellaneous Observations on various Writers*. We expect a history of philosophy to afford us a condensed and clear account of the various systems that have been adopted, and the peculiar opinions of successive writers. Mr Stewart assumes the reader's possession of this knowledge, and proceeds to criticism and general remark. Hence the work is far less valuable than Enfield's imperfect abridgement of Brucker. We hesitate not to affirm, that from the most attentive perusal of the work, the reader will not become acquainted with the peculiar system of a single philosopher.

We are not pleased with the importance which, in these essays, is attached to the writings of the infidel Hume. In this, Mr Stewart is censurable, in common with Reid and Brown. They all seem to forget his scepticism in their admiration of his talents. We are unable to account for this in men of such sound principles, and who would seem to have had at heart the good of the human race. When a man honestly errs, even on points of fundamental importance, he should be treated with kindness and respect; but if he wilfully pervert the truth, and task his mind to perplex the distinctions of right and wrong, and to tear asunder the bonds that unite society and government, he never should be mentioned but with indignant scorn.

The third volume of his *Elements* appeared in 1827. The subjects are "language, imitation, the varieties of intellec-

tual character, and the faculties by which man is distinguished from brute animals." The remarks on the first topic for the most part consist of comments and criticisms on Smith's Theory of Language, the general principles of which are adopted. Without engaging in that discussion in which so much time and talent have been wasted, viz. that of the origin of language, we must be permitted to observe, that the opinions of those philosophers, who represent man as placed at first in the world without language, and, in short, in a state differing little from the brutes, appear to us ineffably absurd. It is inconsistent with the continuance of his existence, and the narrative dictated by the holy spirit: and we are surprised that it should have been adopted by one so judicious as Stewart, and who has so often acknowledged the authority of the sacred writings.

The observations on the remaining topics of the volume, though interesting, are very miscellaneous, and far from being characterised by originality or profoundness.

The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers, in 1828, was the last publication of this accomplished scholar. As this work has not probably met the eye of many of our readers, we will endeavour to acquaint them with some of its contents. In explanation of the large space allotted to the doctrines of natural religion in these volumes, he informs us that "this part of the work contains the substance of lectures given in the University of Edinburgh in 1792—3, and for almost twenty years afterward." The peculiar dangers to which young men were at that time exposed, from "the inundation of sceptical or rather atheistical publications, which were then imported from the continent," led him thus to expand this part of his subject.

"Another circumstance," he remarks, "concurred with those which have been mentioned, in prompting me to a more full and systematical illustration of these doctrines than had been attempted by any of my predecessors. Certain divines in Scotland were pleased, soon after this critical era, to discover a disposition to set at naught the evidence of natural religion, with a professed, and I doubt not, in many cases, with a sincere view to strengthen the cause of Christianity. Some of these writers were probably not aware that they were only repeating the language of Bayle, Hume, Helvetius, and many other modern authors of the same description, who have endeavoured to cover their attacks on those essential principles on which all religion is founded, under a pretended zeal for the interest of revelation. It was not, thus, I recollected, that

Cudworth, and Barrow, and Locke, and Clarke, and Butler reasoned on the subject ; nor those enlightened writers of a late date, who have consecrated their learning and talents to the further illustration of the same argument. 'He,' says Locke, who has forcibly and concisely expressed their common sentiments, 'He that takes away reason to make way for revelation, puts out the light of both, and does much the same as if we would persuade a man to put out his eyes, the better to receive the light of an invisible star by a telescope.'

"This passage from Locke brought to my recollection the memorable words of Melancthon, so remarkably distinguished from most of our other reformers by the mildness of his temper and the liberality of his opinions : 'Wherefore our decision is this ; that those precepts which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common reason and common feelings of human nature, are to be accounted as not less divine than those contained in the tables given to Moses ; and that it could not be the intention of our Maker to supersede, by a law given on stone, that which is written with his own finger on the table of the heart.' "

We have inserted the above, chiefly for the benefit of those in our own country, who are disposed to undervalue natural religion through fear of Unitarianism.

Our active principles are divided into, 1st, our instinctive, 2d, our rational and governing principles. Under the former are included our appetites, desires and affections ; under the latter, self-love, by which is meant the desire of happiness, and the moral faculty. On reading the first part, which treats of our appetites, desires and affections, we were greatly disappointed. We did not look for any thing very acute or systematic ; but as he had been for so many years devoted to this study, and had enjoyed such advantages for observing human conduct, we had reason to hope for an accumulation of facts and practical remarks, which are most needed and most valuable in this department of mental science. Instead of this, we have little more than a mere enumeration of the desires and affections, to which he thinks all our active principles are referable on analysis.

We think that too much importance has been attached by the Scotch philosophers to analysis. This remark, however, does not apply so much to Stewart, as to some of his contemporaries. They would seem to represent it as the sole business of the metaphysician. Hence the ignorant and superficial have inquired whether any new powers have, by this means, been *discovered*, or any hitherto unknown regions of mind

explored? Analysis, when used in reference to mind, signifies the separation of a complicated process of thought, in order to determine of what principles of our nature it is the result. We do not expect to discover any new faculties; any but what have been exercised in some degree by all mankind; but we wish to acquire a more definite knowledge of these. When we have done this, when we have learned from what principles the complex operations we have examined arise, we then know what principles need culture, and what repression. Our power over our mental operations is thereby increased, as our power over matter is increased by an intimate acquaintance with the laws of attraction and gravity. Analysis, then, is to be prosecuted, not as an end, but as a means. We are next to trace the operation of those principles we have learned, in their various modifications, and from them to deduce practical rules. This is especially important in regard to our active powers, since they are the sources of all our actions, and exert so controlling an influence in the modification of the intellectual operations, and in the formation of character. A bare enumeration of the original principles to which our active powers, in the complex state they appear to us, are reducible, were it perfectly correct, would be of little practical use: yet little else has been attempted by any philosopher with whose writings we are conversant. He who shall worthily treat this subject, will forever free the science of mind from the charge of inutility, and will transmit his name to posterity by the side of Shakspeare.

But the part of the work under review which treats of our moral powers, is not liable to the charge we have brought against the foregoing. It is the best treatise on this subject which has appeared. The author, not aiming at originality, has judiciously collected whatever was valuable on this subject in preceding writers; especially has he strengthened his positions by the authority of Butler, the author of that enduring monument of thought, the analogy of religion to the constitution and course of nature.

He contends for the existence of the moral faculty as an original principle of our nature, and not resolvable into any other principle or principles more general; and answers the objections of different writers to the reality and immutability of moral distinctions, and to the universality of the moral faculty among mankind. He then proceeds to analyse the operations of this faculty, and finds them to consist of, 1 The perception of

an action as right or wrong; 2. An emotion of pleasure or of pain, varying in its degree according to the acuteness of our moral sensibility; 3. A perception of the merit or demerit of the agent.

He next summarily disposes of the question, what is the foundation of moral obligation? "It is absurd," he says, "to ask why we are bound to practise virtue? The very notion of virtue implies the notion of obligation. Every being who is conscious of the distinction of right and wrong, carries about him a law which he is bound to observe," &c. He closes this part of the work by considering "certain principles which co-operate with our moral powers in their influence on the conduct." These are, 1. A regard to character; 2. Sympathy; 3. The sense of the ridiculous; and 4. Taste. All the above topics are treated with clearness, and for the most part, with truth. In dwelling on those last mentioned, he has given us an example of the course desirable to be pursued in the study of our active powers, viz. that of explaining their mutual influence. But his remarks here are very brief.

One assertion is made by the author in the course of his remarks which we do not understand, as was probably the case with himself. He states as an inaccuracy in the philosophy of Hutcheson, "the application of the epithets virtuous and vicious to the affections of the mind. In order to think with precision on this subject, it is necessary for us always to remember, that the object of moral approbation is not affections but actions." P. 187. Again, he says, "to the strictures already offered on Hutcheson's writings, I have only to add, that he seems to consider virtue as a quality of our affections, whereas it is really a quality of our actions, or (perhaps in strict propriety) of those dispositions from which our actions immediately proceed." P. 443. By actions, he must mean either bodily actions, or mental and bodily united. But we cannot conceive it possible that he should assert that bodily actions, considered separate from the volitions which occasion them, are virtuous or vicious, and that these terms are applicable to these actions alone. If he means bodily and mental actions united, that is, volitions with their effects, then he admits all we contend for, in allowing that "in strict propriety," virtue is a quality "of those dispositions from which our actions," that is, our volitions with their effects "immediately proceed." Disposition in this case can mean nothing different from affection.

But if he does mean by actions, bodily actions, and by dis-

position, volition, and means to assert that the affections or principles which lead to volition, have no moral character, are neither virtuous nor vicious, he contradicts a truth that is self-evident, or, at most, one that is acquired by a single deduction; which is, that those principles of the mind which invariably occasion virtuous or vicious volitions, are themselves virtuous or vicious. That all mankind in all ages have made this deduction, appears from the fact, that in all languages, phrases are found expressive of virtuous and vicious dispositions, inclinations, affections, &c. That some few, under the influence of a favourite hypothesis, may have denied this, does not disprove it, any more than the fact that some have denied the first principles of knowledge, disproves the existence of such principles.

Having treated of our moral powers, the "various branches of our duty" furnish the next subject of discussion in these volumes. "The different theories" says Mr Stewart "which have been proposed concerning the nature and essence of virtue, have arisen chiefly from attempts to trace all the branches of our duty to one principle of action, such as a rational self-love, justice, or a disposition to obey the will of God." To avoid this error, he proposes, first, "to consider our duties in detail, and after having thus laid a solid foundation in the way of analysis, to attempt to rise to the general idea in which all our duties concur." He accordingly proceeds to consider the duties we owe 1, to God; 2, our fellow-creatures; and 3, ourselves.

An examination of the principles of natural religion forms a necessary introduction to the consideration of the first class of our duties. Previously to the exhibition of the argument for the existence of Deity, "the foundation of our reasoning from cause to effect" is discussed, and "the reality of our notion of power or efficiency" vindicated from the objections of Hume. The evidences of the existence, moral attributes, and government of God, and of a future state, are then set forth with clearness and force, and with a fine glow of moral eloquence peculiar to the author.

In treating of our duties he is more interesting than any ethical writer we have read, as he aims at establishing principles instead of enumerating precepts. Having considered our various duties, they are found to agree with each other in one common quality, that of being obligatory on rational and voluntary agents; and they are all enjoined by the same autho-

riety—the authority of conscience. These duties, therefore, are but different articles of one law, which is properly expressed by the word, virtue. This is the only definition he gives of virtue.

We have not attempted to give an analysis of this work, but to acquaint our readers with some of the more important subjects discussed. We would particularly recommend it to their attention, as none of the writings of Stewart will more richly repay a careful study.

In the appendix to this work, the learned author undertakes a defence of the self-determining power of the will. We cannot enter on this long controverted subject at present, but perhaps we may find an opportunity of discussing it in some future number of this work.

We have now taken a cursory survey of the labours of the late Dugald Stewart. In expressing our opinion of his talents, we need employ but few words, as it may be learned from the observations we have already made.

We do but repeat, when we say, that he was characterized by a facility in acquiring knowledge, a refinement and elevation of feeling, and sobriety and soundness of judgment, rather than by acuteness, comprehensiveness, and strength. As a metaphysician he has been overrated. This has been owing to a variety of causes. He entered on his career at a period peculiarly favourable for attracting the public attention. The writings of Hume, which had been extensively read, had occasioned perplexity and doubt on all subjects relating to mental and moral science. As this is a state of mind in which it is unpleasant to remain, many who were bewildered, as well as those whose principles had continued unshaken, rejoiced on the appearance of the sober doctrines of Reid. Beattie and other writers had contributed to render them exceedingly popular, when Stewart came forward to adorn them with his eloquence, a gift which he possessed in an eminent degree. Add to this his admirable talents for instruction, his intimate acquaintance with every department of literature, his uniform dignity, uprightness, and benevolence, and it is not surprising that his writings were received with a favour beyond their intrinsic merit.

We have dwelt on this subject, not from any sinister desire to lessen his reputation, but out of regard to the interests of mental science. It has been repeatedly asked in England, what are we to expect from the cultivation of a study which,

in the hands of *such a man as Stewart*, has produced so little?

But if we have not as high an opinion of his intellectual character as is sometimes entertained, we yield to none in our admiration of his moral worth. In this, he was far superior to his distinguished successor. Brown had greater acuteness, originality, and rapidity of thought, but he was influenced by an inordinate ambition, and often preferred novelty and ingenuousness, to soberness and truth. Though of an amiable disposition, yet he was not possessed of that warm and extended regard for the interests of humanity, which forms so noble and prominent a trait in the character of Stewart.

The same causes which we have noticed as having given undue celebrity to the writings of Stewart, have occasioned the diminished interest with which the science of mind is at present regarded in Scotland. Too high expectations were raised, a too rapid progress anticipated: these have been followed by a reaction.

All who are acquainted with this science, know that its progress must be slow, and that it can never acquire the certainty of demonstration. But let those who on this account deem it unworthy of cultivation, at least remember, that it numbers among its votaries some of the brightest ornaments of our race. We need but mention Bacon, Locke, Berkely, Butler, Leibnitz, Edwards, &c.

One word as to its prospects in our own country. They are, on the whole, encouraging. A taste for it is evidently increasing, and provision is made in most of our colleges for the study. But a spirit of rash speculation has gone abroad, which is, we fear, inconsistent with that cautious procedure requisite for the acquisition of truth in this difficult science.

There exists, too, an error in respect to the time proper for its study. It is introduced, we believe, into many academies and boarding-schools, but no benefit will result. Its successful study requires a discipline of mind, and a development of the reasoning faculty, rarely found even in the later stages of a collegiate course. Before this period it should not be studied; and, in regard to theological students, it may very properly be included in their professional course.

CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT AGE.

The object of this article is to direct the attention of thinking minds to the character of their own times. To us it seems to be the incumbent duty of intelligent men to know the character of their own age, not only because God has placed them in it, but because they may have influence in improving its aspect, and because they act under its influence. Whatever gives character to popular sentiment and action, should be carefully considered and well understood. There is a predominant influence under which men act, and by which the whole community is more or less swayed. The importance of correctly estimating this influence, will be obvious to those who consider its relation to all the concerns of human life. The prevailing spirit of the age should be well examined and carefully estimated, because it influences all the social relations, regulates the intercourse of human society, and operates on all the elements of the social state, not excepting the thoughts and feelings of men. It carries in its influence stability or caprice, happiness or misery, life or death. Its effects extend down the course of time, and form the subsequent age. All the interests of man, all the political interests of the nation, and all the religious interests of the church urge, to the consideration, due estimate, and proper direction of an influence so powerful. Nothing can excuse intelligent men from this examination for themselves, nor from exertions to secure a public sentiment, which shall combine a high intellectual character with unbending moral principle.

The customs of society are gradually introduced and perpetually changing by the operation of causes, which are not often contemplated, and which are entirely unknown to multitudes. But those causes govern the intercourse and pursuits of a community more effectively than the laws of the country, or the laws of God. For the time being, it is difficult to oppose the current of habits, or suddenly to change the prevailing customs of the age. But customs may change: and it may become the character of an age or country to change the prevailing habits, and break loose from all the established regulations of the community. Innovation, rather than improvement, may be the spirit of the times; and change, rather than reform, may mark the progress of a nation or church. The reverse may

also be the case. At one time, it is quite enough to put down all efforts for improving the social state, or the habits of the church, to raise the cry of innovation. Every prejudice is awake; the public mind is jealous; every thing new must be wrong, because the fathers had it not. At another time it is sufficient to set aside the most wholesome regulations to call them ancient. Whatever is new is popular, because it sets aside some former regulation under the name of antiquated usage. Thus men are always the slaves of custom. The habit of hearing, or telling, or doing some new thing, is as much the prevailing spirit of some times, as it is of others to resist every encroachment upon the old habits and prejudices of the fathers. It is therefore necessary to examine carefully the causes which operate to give stability and obstinacy to prejudices, whether political or religious; and what overturns the customs, opinions, doctrines and institutions of the fathers. The latter is immensely important to be understood, because habits and opinions, sanctioned by time, and hallowed by the associations of parental and filial relationships, and by lessons at the domestic fireside, are not easily swept away. The thing is, however, done. The spirit of innovation goes forth; the human mind becomes restless, and nothing satisfies; all the relations of life are broken up, or modified by the spirit of the age. The current breaks forth in various directions, and sweeps away whatever time, prejudice or philosophy may have interposed. Government and religion share the common influence, and are modified by the prevailing spirit. These include the most important interests of man, and are, therefore, made the grand objects of the influence. They must subserve the popular cause, or all their ties be dissolved.

The question now occurs, how are we to ascertain the character of the present age, and by what standard shall we estimate it? In answer, it is conceded that there is much difficulty in conducting an examination impartially, and perhaps more difficulty still in forming a proper estimate of the principles involved. But the concession of difficulty is not to be understood as a concession of impossibility. It may be very difficult, and yet not impossible. It requires care and skill to discern the true relations of facts and principles when we are so near them. It is like viewing a picture, whose blended colours soften in the distance, and from the proper station give so striking a resemblance that none would mistake its character; but approach very near it, and the eye of an artist

alone could discover the resemblance. To the unpractised eye it appears coarse daubing. It is therefore to men of thought and judicious observation the appeal is made. Those are the men who ought to know the character of their own age, and be able to discern the signs of the times. The responsibility resting on them is imperative.

Some aid in solving this question may be gained from the history of other times. The connexion between causes and effects, principles and practice, the influence of power, of intelligence and ignorance, have passed and repassed in public view, and their record is transmitted to us in the pages of history. By carefully tracing those connexions, which the experience of centuries shows to be laws of Providence and laws of mind, we may gain important aid in estimating the character of our own times. Especially may we derive advantage from the history of that age which immediately preceded our own. That has had a very important influence in forming the present. A familiar and accurate knowledge of the principal events in the last two centuries would enable us to form an enlightened estimate of what we now see and hear. By comparing the past with the present, we see what changes have taken place, and by tracing the progress of those changes, we may ascertain what has caused them, and what has given character to the age.

But the full discussion of this subject would require a view of our literature, science, arts, agriculture, commerce, internal improvements, government, morals and religion. All these are connected with the subject, and serve to develop the character of the age in which we live. But our limits will not permit so extensive an examination as the above departments would involve. Occasional reference to the facts, in some or all the departments which serve to illustrate the general character, is all that can be attempted in this article.

The present is an *intellectual* age. This is its true estimate, its highest eulogium and best character. Were its moral estimate equal to its intellectual, its rank would be like the sun in his rising glory compared to the star of evening. But the influence of moral principle and religion has comparatively little controul in forming and regulating public sentiment.

The cultivation of intellect holds a prominent place, in the calculations of respectable men, in all departments of human society. Intellectual efforts are combined with all the opera-

tions and occupations of men, in a manner and to an extent altogether unprecedented. It is not intended that all men, or even all in high stations of influence, love intellectual culture or effort. There are multitudes who feel no such emotion, and there are men of wealth and influence who feel discomfited and greatly embarrassed by the popularity given to intellectual pursuits. It disturbs their indolence, or interferes with their love of money. It is not intended that no other general character belongs to the age; but its intellectual is prominent, and exerts an influence so extensive, as properly to describe it. The facts which illustrate this character are very numerous, and the causes which have formed it are some of them important. It falls in with our present design to glance at a few of them.

We may consider the causes which have formed the intellectual character of the present age, as commencing their operation in the fourteenth century. At first they operated strongly against the darkness and superstition of the times; and those who employed their instrumentality to accomplish the object, suffered martyrdom. But the elevation of mind which they had manifested produced an effect not to expire.

The primary causes which gave the impulse were the study of the gospel, and the spirit with which it imbued the minds of such men as Wickliff, Hugo, and Jerome of Prague. Whenever men gained access to the holy scriptures, studied carefully with a desire to understand them, to imbibe their spirit and govern their conduct by them, it gave buoyancy to feelings and energy to thought. But the sixteenth century was the era of an influence united and persevering, that stimulated the human intellect, and gave a new character to a large portion of the world. The revival of religion awaked the spirit, and the revival of letters became the medium of its extension. Religion threw off its austerity, and superstition assumed its primitive simplicity, and became united with learning, from which it had been so long divorced. Religion and learning once united, authority and force could no longer bind the human intellect. In spite of papal superstition and civil despotism, the reformation advanced, and as its subjects became more numerous they became more intellectual. Arts and sciences improved, and became powerful auxiliaries in effecting the happy change then taking place in Europe. Before religious reformation was firmly established, science had begun to dawn, and the arts had received an impulse which

promised well to the world. The art of printing had been discovered and improved: the press began to exert its potent influence over mind and manners. The magnetic attraction had been applied to navigation, America had been discovered, and commerce begun to exert a stimulating influence. Every thing partook more or less of the intellectual character. The progress was continued, and the march of intellect was triumphant, until the power was acknowledged in all countries where the spirit of reformation had come. The connexion between the enterprise of that period and the intellectual character of the present age, is easily traced in the changes of government, the improvement of arts and sciences, and in the character of the church. . But we are not now about to write this history.

Governments have since been administered more by intellectual than physical power. At first, intellectual influence was combined with force; then physical power was either laid aside, held in reserve to repel invasion, or to quell insurrectionary movements against law and intellectual power. At present the administration of governments, diplomatic intercourse and military operations are managed principally by intellectual skill. The same is true of all agricultural and mechanical operations. The applications of physical power are vastly improved, putting in requisition all the efforts of mind, accomplishing in little time and with physical ease the mightiest achievements. Our country participates largely in this mental energy. Intellectual improvement is every where manifest.

The general diffusion of knowledge among all classes, is a strong fact to illustrate our share in the intellectual character of the age. The press exerts its influence in all parts of our land, at the firesides of the whole community. Thousands of pens are employed to raise our intellectual character. Vehicles of intelligence, books of all descriptions, from the little tract to the large folio; from the trifling anecdote to the grave discussion of abstruse principles, are multiplied and circulated. In a large portion of these productions there is an elevation of thought and unprecedented research. The journals of the day, instead of being mere chronicles of facts, have a literary and scientific character, and cannot be profitably read without intellectual effort.

The natural sciences are receiving increased attention, and the absorbing interest with which they are pursued in all their departments, and by multitudes, shows a prevailing taste for

mental research. Popular sentiment gives intellectual acquirements a high estimate in all the learned professions and places of trust. With our nation, it is characteristic to call into exercise the whole intellectual power, not to cherish an aristocracy of learning, but to value most highly the mental culture of all. We wish to be thought and actually to *be* an intellectual people. The various improvements for purposes of intercourse, commerce and wealth, combine multiplied applications of science and art. The inventions and enterprises every day springing up, illustrate the character of a people fond of intellectual research. Such are some of the facts which show the progress of mental culture, and develop the character of the present age: We have made this rapid sketch preparatory to some remarks on the connexion of this spirit with religion, and its influence on the church.

Without recurring in detail to the history of past ages, it will be sufficient to state that the influence of intellectual research broke the spell of superstition over half Europe, and seemed at one time to indicate the speedy and entire prostration of papal tyranny. But the division of the protestant interests into contending sects, weakened the power of their arguments, and gave the Papists an opportunity of arousing their intellectual strength to avert the progress of reform. Driven from their strong holds of authority and brutal force, they sought by new artifices and deception to secure their influence. Sophistry and specious argumentation, with less of pomp and splendour, are now employed in propagating their dogmas. These, combined with unwearied enterprise, are giving success and extension to the Romish interests in this and other countries. But there is an apparent change in the papal character; a professed accommodation to the intellectual character of the age. We are inclined to believe it is matter of policy and not principle. The great ruling passions of human nature, the love of money, desire of power, and thirst for fame, have been cherished for centuries in the Romish priesthood, under the names of self-denial, humility, and contempt of honour. It is to be expected that craft and subtlety will be associated with religious error, especially when intellectual effort is governed by those master passions of men. When vigorous mental efforts procure wealth, power and fame, the impulse is strong, and cannot be resisted. Men must be, or seem to be, wise. There is at this time an affectation of learning and intellectual research in the priesthood of the

Romish communion. But every effort is made to prevent the people from investigating the truths of religion, in the only volume where they can be found in their original purity and simplicity. Formerly the maxim was unblushingly advocated and repeated, that ignorance was the parent of devotion, and knowledge was dangerous to the interests of piety; now, in that same church, always right, unchangeably infallible, there is an affectation of knowledge, independence of thought, and freedom from all disabilities. These facts show the influence of public sentiment over the conduct of the infallible church in doctrine as well as government. The truth is, nothing can openly stand before or against the influence of a public sentiment, so powerful as that which obtains at the present day. It is, therefore, matter of policy and necessity for every religious sect to associate their peculiar interests with popular sentiment and influence as far as possible. The more effectually this is done the more certainly they expect to succeed in extending those peculiarities. All professed reliance on intellectual agency, to propagate the dogmas of the Romish faith, is homage to the character of the present age. The papal church differs widely in this country from what it is in those countries where it predominates, and differs in spirit every where from what it was some ages past. We do not suppose that the church itself has changed its radical principles of faith or government. Her antichristian principles cannot be relinquished without her becoming protestant. Her transubstantiation, her multiplied sacraments, her clerical celibacy, her withholding the Bible from the laity, her auricular confession, her doctrine of purgatory, remission of sins, works of supererogation, supplications to the saints; her claims to infallibility, and right to lord it over the conscience, must be superstitiously held, or the whole fabric will fall. If one point be yielded, the whole claim is endangered. But with all these errors in her creed, she professes to accommodate herself to the spirit of the age, and claims to be learned, candid and liberal. This is because public sentiment forces a constrained homage to intellectual freedom.

The protestant church, in all her branches, is divorced on principle, from infallible human authority and the force of bigoted intolerance. She has so long cherished intellectual inquiry and critical investigation, that she has enlightened public sentiment, and now every thing which would interrupt such investigation is extensively reprobated. But this intellectual

research has led men in different directions to the formation of multiplied sects and denominations, distinguished by their philosophy and speculation more than by any original appeal to divine authority.

It was to be expected that divisions into sects, by reason of clashing opinions, would be the result of intellectual emancipation from human dogmas and bigoted superstition. When men come to examine the documents of inspiration for themselves, they will disagree in many details of interpretation. There are many plain matters of fact, and some fundamental principles, in which it may be expected they will all agree, so long as they admit in common the *divine authority* of the documents. But when they come to their full interpretation, they will understand many things differently, because they will bring to the task different degrees of intelligence and different principles of philosophy. By far the greatest portion of those religious opinions which divide the protestant church and disturb the harmony of her intercourse, originate in philosophical speculations. Many of them are not sustained, or sought to be sustained by divine authority. The facts, therefore, of different sects and clashing opinions, are evidences of the intellectual character of the protestant church. In this view only we now contemplate them. Of their proper estimate we shall have something to say before we close.

The character of the protestant clergy is intellectually elevated, and the taste of the people demands a high degree of mental cultivation in the pulpit. The preaching of protestant theologians is generally elevated and intellectual. The people will not bear to be fed with dogmas or rant; their food must be served up in a style of mental research. There, doubtless, may be much incoherent jargon and unmeaning rant in some protestant pulpits, but the general character of what is most popular and acceptable, is well digested and intellectual. This has not always been true of the protestant clergy since the reformation. The intelligence and mental improvement of the ministry have varied at different times. If we mistake not, there was a falling off, some half a century since, in the cultivation of science and literature, almost universal in this country. In this retrograde of knowledge, the clergy participated to a great extent. During some twenty-five or thirty years previous to the last twenty, we think the intelligent observer will at once perceive the illustration of our meaning in the introduction of vast numbers to the ministry, with very

slender acquirements in scientific or theological learning. We wish not to make invidious comparisons between the protestant denominations, or we could point to facts all over the country to illustrate our meaning. But for the last fifteen or twenty years, there has been a rapid elevation of learning in the ministry. The protestant clergy have taken the lead, in the rapid improvement of literature and science. At present they are the principal instructors, directors, and patrons of science throughout the land. Our colleges, academies, high schools and seminaries, are generally directed and taught by them. This is a fact which strongly proves the intellectual character of the clergy. Our theological schools sustain an elevated character for intellectual research. Theology is studied as a science, and more learning is brought to bear on the subject, more philosophical investigation connected with it, than has been known at any former period of our history. The theological press keeps pace with the schools, or rather precedes them in the elevation of intellectual character. Theological periodicals may be taken as the index of the prevailing taste, if not of the general talent and investigation of the ministry. He who writes for the clergy, must, in this country, accommodate himself to their taste, or they will not sustain him. He must precede them somewhat in profound investigations and intellectual speculations, or they will not read. It is very obvious that periodical publications of high intellectual character have recently been multiplied, and we think they are better sustained than at any former period. More metaphysical speculations, more argumentative discussion, and more biblical literature, now issue from the press, than has been known before. By this means the spirit of theological inquiry is diffused over the land, the intellectual powers of the whole reading community are excited, and the press becomes a potent instrument in forming the character of the church.

These remarks may be sufficient to define the character which we contemplate, in its general prevalence, and in some of its more prominent features. But the estimate of its value is yet to be made.

To make a due estimate of this intellectual agency, we must consider its *influence* and its *tendency*. In this disposition to make every thing intellectual, speculation is often substituted for fact, while much of the pure gospel of Christ is obscured, suppressed, or denied. Its influence, therefore, on the

doctrines of religion, on the interpretation of the Bible, on practical godliness, and on public morals, must be examined.

In the moral estimate of the character in question, it should be repeated that its influence has wrought much and permanent good for the church and the world. It has paralyzed the arm of ecclesiastical tyranny, torn off the guise of superstition, and broken the shackles of bigotry. It has achieved for the religious, as well as the political world, a noble triumph. God has employed intellectual power to reform the worst abuses in church and state, and to dissolve the unholy alliance of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But after all, the true estimate of intellectual influence is only the instrument or medium through which truth has been discerned, and moral principle brought to bear on the best interests of mankind. Moral principle has been the great reforming agent; divested of this, intelligence would be as powerless as the philosophy of Plato, or of Aristotle, in reforming the world.

Intellectual research, guided by facts and sound moral principle, must always be effective in the promotion of truth and righteousness. This is no speculative theory; it comports with the laws of human agency, and is demonstrated by the history of our world. But there is no safety in speculative theories not founded on facts, or separated from moral principle. No community was ever reformed by abstract speculations or the mere light of reason. Wise men of this age rely more upon moral principle in reforming enterprises, than upon the refined cultivation of intellect. Both are necessarily combined in all the efforts to reform the population of our country. The Sunday school would accomplish nothing without its moral principle. Tracts, addressed to intellectual culture alone, would be powerless. The observance of the Sabbath stands more upon its moral bearings than its intellectual. The missionary enterprise could accomplish nothing with only the frigid speculations of philosophy. The temperance efforts would stop in a month, if appeals to the conscience were left out of the account. Moral principle is the life and soul of all these enterprises of improvement and reform, but intelligence is the medium of approaching the springs of action. Public sentiment must be enlightened in order to bring home to men's business and bosom the influence of moral considerations. But without deducting at all from the proper estimate of intellectual power and cultivation, it should be remembered that it

is quite possible to misapply the power, and abuse the elevation to which it has raised our country.

As a philosophical fact, the cultivation of one faculty to the neglect of all others, will produce a character disproportionate, and either positively bad, or less valuable than a less cultivated but well balanced mind. Intellectual research increases the power of abstract discrimination, and induces a speculative habit, but leaves the heart untouched. The sensibilities diminish, and the affections neither kindle into life nor rise in purity. High intellectual attainments, unconnected with moral principle, in their very best character, have an unhappy influence on the mind. They lead men to a high estimate of their own power, to adopt a wrong standard of their own character, and ultimately to place more confidence in the deductions of their own reasoning or speculation, than in a "thus saith the Lord." This is to be expected from those who accredit not the revelation of God; but it is worth an inquiry, whether much of the infidelity and atheism of our country, is not from the speculative disposition of the age. This much is fact, that when a highly cultivated intellect is not only without the guidance of moral principle, but under the government of immoral and vicious propensities, great evils must be the result. That we may not be misunderstood, we repeat that the evil springs not from the cultivation of intellect, but from the neglect or abuse of the moral faculty; from a perversion of knowledge, and the power of attaining and using it. So much for the influence of philosophy.

Now, as to the existing state of things, we think that the interests of religion and morals are suffering from speculation, separated from truth as its guide, and divorced from moral principle as its controuling agency. All attempts to reform or govern the world by intellectual philosophy, speculation, or unsanctified efforts of human reason, must fail. The Bible, the revelation of God, has been the great moral power of reform. Leave this out of the question, and all the mightiest efforts of human intellect cannot reform men or preserve social order. The ancient philosophers could not do it; the mighty advocates of reason in France could not secure a single year's repose; nor can the free thinkers of this age and country do more than their predecessors have done. They may triumph for a little season over the institutions of God, and over the influence of religious men, by a specious pretension to intelli-

gence, reason, and love of country, loudly and widely echoed through the land, but will assuredly corrupt the people, and destroy the dearest rights of freedom. A population so intellectual as this cannot be stationary. Divorce public sentiment from moral principle, and that based on the revelation of God, and we shall move backward with rapid and ruinous steps. As advocates for the Bible and the best interests of man, we could not avoid this application of our principle to the violent efforts in our country to put religion under intellectual disgrace, and elevate to popular favour the long since refuted speculations of infidelity.

But our remark that religion and morality are now suffering from the unhallowed influence of speculation, is principally intended for application to that denominated theological. Were we writing the natural history of error, we might begin with the undue confidence in speculative opinions always induced, when men form their religious theories without the Bible. When once a man has acquired as much confidence in the result of his own reasonings as in God's word, it is certain that he will go astray in his investigations. What precise form of error he will adopt, or how far he will err, it is impossible to determine. He may become a Pelagian, Unitarian, Universalist, Swedenborgian, or something different from them all, and as wide from the truth. Abstract speculations are sure to induce self-confidence and self-complacency in error.

There is in our country a fondness of abstract theories, and too much speculation substituted for practical knowledge. This has led to a great diversity of theological systems, to support which, their advocates have examined, criticised, tortured and perverted the word of God, until they seem to have believed them substantiated and irrefutable. Each theory, however, must be capable of improvement, nothing is stable that rests on speculation, and every new advocate adds or subtracts something, until the theory loses its original features and its connexion with the scriptures of truth. This has been the case in other ages, but none has been so prolific in theories as the present, both in Europe and this country. From very slight departures from the truth to the impenetrable abstractions of neology, every step is taken by some theory; some intellectualized system, receding farther and farther from the simplicity of the gospel.

There are, it is true, many errors which are the offspring

of ignorance, prejudice and vanity, having little to do with intellectual speculations. But these are not properly systems or theories, but insulated falsehoods, sometimes absurd and monstrous. They are too crude and heterogeneous to be collated and systematized.

But there is a class of theories, speculative and connected, in regular gradation. They commence with the first principle of Pelagian heresy and terminate with the last sweep of Unitarian blasphemy. The first step in this philosophy is the self-determining power of the human will, and the last is the entire sufficiency of human reason to guide men in duty and in the way to life and happiness. The first commences by bringing metaphysical philosophy to aid the revelation of God, and the last closes by setting aside the whole authority and spirit of revelation. We think this system-making, this theorising spirit may be observed in many pulpits, and in a large portion of theological publications. Instead of a plain exposition and enforcement of God's own truth, we often hear the preacher attempt to establish some speculative theory, feeding immortal minds with husks instead of nutritious food. In some of those theories there may be much of divine truth incorporated, but it suffers much from the amalgamation. Whenever philosophy is the most prominent, revelation is obscured. At best, it is the philosophy of religion, not its living practical character. It may not always be the intention of such preachers or writers, but the impression is extensively if not uniformly made, that religion is subservient to philosophy; that reason is the guide, and revelation only a convenient and valuable auxiliary. Granting, for one moment, and for the sake of argument, that the philosophy is true, still we ask why make it so prominent? Certainly the word of God is able to make us wise unto salvation. It is that word which is "sharper than a two-edged sword;" by it men are convinced, not by speculative theories. The people of God are sanctified through his truth, not the speculations of philosophy. But we deny the right of any man to place his own speculations before the word of God, and we deny the truth of the philosophy in question. Let the truth be established by divine authority, then if philosophy can serve to explain, or illustrate it, there may be an appropriate and profitable use for it; not otherwise. We doubt not there is a true philosophy of religion, and it may be satisfactory to many minds to investigate it, in connexion with that authority to which they submit

in meekness and faith. But the mischief is done by the misapplication of this truth, by giving revelation a speculative character, and urging its claims on the ground of philosophy, not divine authority. The conscience is required to approve, not because God has said it, but because reason adopts it.

The speculations to which we allude, are not controuled by divine authority, but made to modify the whole system of gospel doctrine.

And here we might sketch that train of concatenated principles which afford the easy gradation, by which so many of our theologians have passed from speculative orthodoxy, through latitudinarian schemes, to the ultimate verge of all that bears the name of Christianity. Lest we should assume, out of place, the pen of the polemic, we forbear; and content ourselves by alluding to some of the later conclusions of these speculatists, in whose estimation the character of Jesus Christ is that of a good man, but not divine, according to the legitimate course of this scheme. Since no proper satisfaction to divine justice could be made by one for another, and since it was neither necessary nor possible, there could be no necessity for a divine Saviour. Besides, philosophy knows nothing of a *trinity* of persons in the Godhead, and since no explanation can be given of such a doctrine, reason decides that it is impossible. No matter how positively the scriptures assert the doctrine of the trinity or divinity of Jesus Christ, it must be either interpolation or a metaphor.

As for the *inspiration* of the scriptures, it is admitted in the scheme that some facts and truths scattered here and there, in different parts of those writings, have been communicated by God to men; but the composition is purely human. By far the greatest part of what was originally contained in those scriptures, consisted of facts previously known, historical works, traditions, superstitious views of the people, concessions to the customs and opinions of the age, and some speculations of the writers. There is, however, a revelation from God in the book, found principally in the words uttered by Jesus Christ, which however were not fully, and in some instances not correctly recorded; at the same time it must be recollected that much of what was correctly and faithfully registered, may have suffered by time and frequent transcription. Reason and philosophy alone can guide us in ascertaining what part is revelation.

Thus, all confidence in the book of God's revelation is

unsettled. Men must be capable of judging what ought to be revealed and what is actually revealed. The result of the whole is, that reason is the guide, and entirely sufficient without any revelation from God.

The influence of these speculative hypotheses on *practical godliness* is injurious. It weakens the bond of divine authority upon the conscience, and men come habitually to feel less impressed with the sentiment of accountableness. God's sacred word is contemplated with less devout reverence, and less anxiety is cherished to know precisely the mind of the Spirit. The speculative theory is more carefully examined than the life giving word. A philosophizing disposition kindles not the heart's devotion, like summoning the whole soul before the divine word, to try the feelings and actings by its simple declarations. The whole tendency of the scheme is to produce a laxity of sentiment and moral feeling, which must be attended with a corresponding laxity of conduct.

It ought certainly to be a fact, that, with an increase of knowledge, there should be an increase of pious feeling, devout worship and cheerful service of God. The more deep and thorough a Christian's knowledge of God's word in its pure doctrines, holy precepts and precious promises, the more devout should be his worship, and the more constant his obedience. This accords with the representation given in the holy scriptures, and must be admitted. But the more superficial and speculative his knowledge, the less consistent and persevering will be his devotion and service.

The fact is certain, that, in this speculative age, there is a defection in the tone and consistency of practical religion. This is manifest from one end of the land to the other. There are some precious exceptions; but we are persuaded that among the mass of those who profess religion, there is a mournful defection. Almost every where may be seen more conformity to the world; more importance attached to fashions and etiquette; and more temporizing policy in social intercourse and commercial transactions, than was common with our pious forefathers. Christians may employ their intellect as much on subjects of religion, but there is less of the heart put in requisition. In this estimate something, doubtless, may be accredited to an impression, common in ripened years, that there is less godliness because more of the existing corruptions are seen. But after all due allowance for this impression, often somewhat erroneous, it will be readily admitted

that there is less ardent piety in most, if not all parts of the church, than there was before the refinements of speculation commenced.

How much of this defection is to be ascribed to the influence of speculations in theology, may not be easy to determine with precision, and it is not necessary here to decide. That they have had an agency is manifest; that other causes have operated is fully admitted. But so far as speculation absorbs the attention, the sense of moral obligation is weakened, which always tends to the defection of piety. Facts, in very many parts of the church, afford melancholy evidence of the influence and its results. The danger of defection increases because the disposition to speculate is advancing. It is yet due here to state, that many men of piety and christian example preserve their zeal for the spirituality of religion, who indulge in some of these philosophical hypotheses. They may be too strongly bound by the living influence of godliness, to be broken loose by the tendency of their speculative philosophy. But the same cannot be expected from their young disciples. These begin with metaphysical speculations; give them a higher place in their system of theology; and permit them to have greater influence over their feelings and conduct. There is reason to apprehend a gradual increase of the influence until it shall assume the entire controul. The history of all speculative errors shows their tendency to lower the standard of piety, and of all heretical opinions to a defection of morals.

Public morals are suffering throughout this country from the influence of speculative philosophy. This is a necessary consequence of lowering the standard of piety. When the standard of the latter is abated, the standard of the former sinks. Let it be once doubted that the Bible is the code of ethics to be universally adopted as the standard of public as well as private morals, the whole community must feel the injury. The only safety of morals is gone. All other barriers against vice and corruption are thenceforth swept away. The Sabbath, that monument of God's sovereignty, and bulwark of moral influence, finds feeble support in speculative philosophy, and all the institutions of religion become inefficient restraints. This is a matter so obvious, that we think it needless to spread out its details. Any accurate observer can fix his eye on the illustrations in those countries, and in those parts of our country, where speculative philosophy has

taken the place of revelation. It is a fact every where demonstrated, that whatever relaxes gospel influence, injures public morals. It is a fact which should pass into a maxim, and be inscribed in letters of light on every pulpit, on every enterprise, on every press, and on every legislative hall in the land.

Our limits admonish us to waive, for the present, an examination of other characteristics belonging to the present age. But in concluding this article, the question presses upon us, how is the intellectual character of this age to be preserved and improved, and how are the evils of the theological speculation to be prevented? This is a question of absorbing interest to all who love solid research and the orthodox faith, and to all who desire the prevalence of ardent piety and correct morals. In all its bearings there is much to arouse every energy of the Christian, and make him adhere more firmly to the pure word of God, as his rule of faith and manners. We cannot now reply in detail; but with reference to the last part of this question it readily occurs to say, that every good man should sedulously guard himself against indulging in speculative philosophy.

Two things must not be omitted, which are immensely important at the present time. One indispensable requisite is the cultivation of a deep, heartfelt and humble piety. This includes a constant sense of human weakness, liability to error, need of spiritual illumination, careful meditation on God's word, and earnest prayer for direction. For the ministry of reconciliation such piety is unspeakably important.

Next to this ardent, living piety, we place the attainments necessary to a thorough knowledge of the Bible; not merely its excellent translation, but the precise meaning of the text; the mind of the Spirit. These include the qualifications for scriptural interpretation. To execute this work judiciously and safely, those languages in which the word of God was originally communicated must be *extensively and well* understood. It is comparatively easy to get possession of a few philosophical speculations, and apply them to the scriptures; but to understand the original language of the Bible, the words, phrases, idioms, usage of speech, unusual senses, and all that belongs to grammatical interpretation; *hic labor, hoc opus est*. Where shall we find the men who have acquired all this? Not certainly among those who use so freely their philosophical theories. Where shall we find the men who seek to attain such

an acquaintance with the only medium through which God communicated to us his revelation? They are extremely few in this land, few in the ministry, and few among those who are preparing for this sacred office. This is a subject which should occupy more thoughts in the church, and more attention in the schools of theology. Something must be done to elevate the standard of biblical knowledge, and thereby depress the philosophizing theories. It has been said that the church needs men of active labour more than men of learning; but the truth of this is questionable, unless learning means skill in metaphysical and philosophical theories; then it is true, and the fewer of such the better. But the church in this land is greatly deficient in men of biblical learning. The mischiefs of perverted learning can never be prevented or obliterated by ignorance, however active and laborious. Sound biblical knowledge and plain gospel truth must be restored to their places, and then the work will be done.

REVIEW.

A Letter from a Blacksmith to the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland; in which the manner of Public Worship in that Church is considered; its inconveniences and defects pointed out, and methods for removing them humbly proposed. 12mo. Pp. 80. R. P. & C. Williams. Boston. 1824.

This letter was originally published in Scotland, between seventy and eighty years ago, and though purporting to be the work of a "Blacksmith," was, no doubt, written by one accustomed to literary pursuits, who wished, under the disguise of an humble mechanic, to exhibit his strictures with less pretension, and consequently with more force. The writer also presents himself before his readers as a zealous Presbyterian, an honest and devoted friend of the church of Scotland; and professes, in this character, to be earnestly desirous of her reformation as to various points in her mode of worship. His proposed reformation, however, is all of such

a character, as to leave little room for doubt, that he is not what he professes to be, but an Episcopalian at heart, under Presbyterian colours; and that his desire is not so much to *reform* as entirely to *revolutionize* the worship of the church of *Scotland*, and reduce it to an entire conformity with that of her southern sister.

The publication in this country (which has recently come to our knowledge) is made by our Episcopal neighbours, evidently for the purpose of turning into ridicule the Presbyterian mode of worship, and thus, indirectly, recommending liturgies. This is evident, from the slightest inspection of the names of those booksellers in the title page for whom the work was particularly printed, and also, from the advertisement at the close, respecting the places and rates at which it may be obtained for extensive circulation, by the dozen or hundred. Of this, however, we make no complaint. We are perfectly willing to have our worship and order, as well as our doctrines, subjected to the most rigid scrutiny, and will cordially thank any man, or body of men, who will point out to us an error, and enable us to correct it. In the exercise, then, of the same liberty which we are willing to yield to others in reference to our opinions and practices, we shall use the freedom to make such remarks on the letter under consideration, as appear to us adapted to place in a full light the subject of which it treats.

When this literary "Blacksmith" finds fault with the church of *Scotland* for neglecting the stated reading of the scriptures in her public service, we have every disposition to unite with him, and to say, that wherever such neglect exists, it ought to be corrected. But such neglect makes no part of Presbyterianism. So far as it has existed, or now exists in *Scotland*, it is contrary to the express injunction of her "Directory for the Public Worship of God"; and we rejoice to know, that while the same injunction is contained in our own "Directory," it is generally followed in those parts of the church with which we are most acquainted.

Again, when the writer enters his protest against some of the circumstances which have been allowed to attend the ancient mode of administering the *Lord's supper* in the church of *Scotland*, he may at least be heard without rebuke. Indiscretions and irregularities, we doubt not, have often been admitted on such occasions, against which all lovers of pure and undefiled religion will be ready to lift up their voice. Yet,

we have no hesitation in saying, that while we like levity, eccentricity, fanaticism, or any species of unhallowed passion, in the management of sacred things, as little as our neighbours, we had much rather see the life and power of pious affection, even though occasionally attended with some undesirable ebullitions, than the lifeless coldness of formality; freezing up every thing, not so much in that vital, and beautiful, and healthful *order* which God has appointed, as in the rigidity of spiritual death. When *Whitefield* preached, and when the power of that truth which he dispensed was made effectual to the hopeful conversion of thousands, some irregularities, no doubt, occasionally occurred, which his friends lamented, and which he himself, in the end, did not attempt to justify. Yet would not every enlightened friend of the Redeemer's kingdom unfeignedly rejoice, if scenes, such as that holy man of God was permitted to witness, even with all their accompaniments, should pervade the world? When the pious are collected, roused, and animated to peculiar feeling; and when the ignorant and impenitent are awakened, impressed, convinced of sin, and brought to the Saviour, the enlightened friend of religion will "thank God, and take courage," even though he should see something to deplore mingling itself with the apparent triumphs of the cross.

But as the greater part of this little volume is taken up with statements and reasonings intended to discredit *extemporary prayer* and to recommend *liturgies*, we shall principally attend to this general object in the sequel.

We by no means think the use of prescribed forms of prayer unlawful. There are multitudes of excellent people who think them convenient, attractive, and edifying. With these we find no fault. May they experience in the use of them more and more of that comfort and edification which they seek! We should think ourselves acting an unworthy part, if, in relation to such a point, we were capable of attempting to disturb the devotions, and ridicule the preferences of any serious Christians. Millions, we question not, through the medium of precomposed forms, have been built up in faith and holiness unto salvation. And if any serious persons find such forms better adapted to promote their spiritual benefit than *extemporary prayer*, they would not be faithful to their own souls if they should reject the use of them. Nothing, therefore, that we are about to offer, has for its object to make con-

verts to our mode of worship. We would, on no account, wound the feelings or unsettle the convictions of any pious Episcopalian who has been long accustomed to consider the use of the Book of Common Prayer as a *sine qua non* to his Christian devotion. But when the zealous advocates of liturgies go further, and undertake to judge for others as well as themselves; when they attempt to cover with ridicule every other mode of social prayer than that which *they* have thought proper to adopt; when they represent extemporary prayer as indecorous, ridiculous, and fanatical; when they pronounce those who find it for their edification, and deem it a duty to pray without a stinted form, to be acting the part of rebels and schismatics, criminally departing from God's prescribed plan, and rejecting, as some have asserted, what all sober, regular Christians, in all ages, have used, there is surely no impropriety in saying a word in our own defence. This, and this only, is the object of all that shall follow. Not to disparage the opinions or the practices of our neighbours; but simply to assign some of the reasons why we cannot unite with them; and why we are constrained to think that they have not yet adequately considered the grounds of our decision. It is no part of Christian meekness to hear our sacred things, from time to time, misrepresented and vilified, without taking the trouble, or feeling a disposition to lift a voice in their favour.

The questions which the contents of this book call upon us to discuss, are such as these—Is there any warrant in *scripture* for prescribed forms of prayer? Have we any evidence that they were at all in use in the three or four first ages after the apostles? Is *confining* ourselves to written forms, on the whole, expedient and useful? We shall endeavour to answer each of these questions with as much candour and brevity as possible.

1. Is there any warrant in scripture for the use of prescribed forms of prayer?

The writer of this little volume, indeed, very unceremoniously and confidently asserts, that the use of liturgies has been uniform in the church in all ages; that all men, all religions, and at all periods until the *fifteenth* century, (we suppose he means the *sixteenth*), have agreed as unanimously in the use of forms of prayer for public worship, as they did in the belief of a God; that God himself prescribed forms of prayer for the Jews; that the worship of the syna-

gogue was by such a form; that our Saviour prescribed a form to his disciples; nay, that it is evident our Saviour generally used a form of prayer himself, in pouring out his own heart to his Father in heaven!

These assertions may do very well for a "Blacksmith," who may be supposed to be more familiar with his anvil than either with the Bible or with ecclesiastical history; and who may be ready to adopt, without examination, and to repeat by rote what others, little less ignorant than himself, may have said in his hearing. But that they have scarcely a shadow of truth in them, every well informed person must know.

With respect to the Old Testament church, we know of no evidence that they had any forms which could with propriety be called a *liturgy*, at any period of their existence. They had psalms and other inspired writings which were either read, recited, or sung; and they had some forms of words with which they were accustomed to perform certain rites, and to bless the people. But the church of *Scotland* had all these, and more, at the date of this letter; yet our "Blacksmith" charges them with having *no liturgy*. And the Presbyterian church in the United States has, and constantly uses, all these; yet we were never considered as having a liturgy, so far as we know. With respect to forms of prayer in the Jewish synagogue, the writer before us is very positive that they were in constant use. But we know not on what grounds this assertion is made. The Old Testament scriptures do not give the least hint of the existence of such forms of prayer. Josephus and Philo are both profoundly silent respecting them. And nothing can be more evident to every candid reader, than that the *eighteen prayers*, as they are commonly called, mentioned by Vitringa, Prideaux, and others, are forgeries; that is, they carry on their face that they were not composed, as is alleged, before the advent of the Saviour, but since the dispersion, when there was neither temple nor sacrifice. We do not positively assert that there were no forms of prayer used in the ancient synagogue service; but we do say, with fearless confidence, that there is no clear evidence that there was any such thing. And we must further say, that if prescribed forms of prayer not only existed, but held so important a place in the worship of the Old Testament church, as some modern friends of liturgies are disposed to imagine, it is, indeed, passing strange that we do not find, in all the inspired writings, or in any other authentic work, the least hint or allusion respecting them.

If forms of prayer had been indispensable, or even invariably used, in social worship, in all ages, as the writer before us imagines, we might have expected Moses, and Ezra, and Nehemiah, and Solomon, above all others, to have employed them, on the great public occasions on which they were called upon to address the throne of grace as the mouth of assembled myriads. Yet, we presume, no one can peruse the prayers which they employed, without perceiving that they could not have been written before they were used; but came warm from the heart, and were afterwards committed to writing by the direction of God.

With respect to the New Testament dispensation, we apprehend that the slightest impartial inquiry will convince any one, that we have quite as little solid evidence from this, in favour of liturgies, as from the Old. Much use, indeed, in this controversy, has been made of that form of prayer which our Saviour taught his disciples, at their particular request, commonly called the *Lord's Prayer*. But we are persuaded that a candid attention to every circumstance connected with the delivery of that prayer, will convince any one that it furnishes no proof whatever of either the necessity or duty of prescribed forms of devotion. We believe that it was never designed by our Lord to be adopted as a permanent and precise *form* of prayer; but only as a *general directory*, intended to set forth the topics, or general matter of prayer; and our reasons for thinking so are the following:—This prayer, taken alone, is not, strictly speaking, adapted to the New Testament dispensation. When it was delivered, the Old Testament economy was still in force, and the setting up of the New directed to be prayed for as future. It contains no direction for asking in the name of Christ, as the express injunction of our Saviour renders now necessary. It is not delivered in the same words by the several evangelists, and of course, we cannot suppose the use of the *ipsissima verba*, to say the least, indispensably necessary. We hear no more of its use, by the inspired Apostles, or the primitive Christians, during the Apostolic age. And it was not for several centuries after that age that this form of prayer was considered as proper to be introduced into the service at every season of public worship. For these reasons we are persuaded that the Lord's Prayer was never intended to be used as a strict form; and, of course, that it affords no argument in favour of prescribed liturgies; and in this opinion we are fortified by the judgment of many distin-

guished individuals, ancient and modern. Augustine expresses the decisive opinion, that Christ, in delivering this prayer to his disciples, gave it as a *model*, rather than a *form*. He says expressly, that he did not intend to teach his disciples what *words* they should use in prayer, but what *things* they should pray for; and understands it to be meant chiefly as a directory for *secret* and *mental* prayer, where words are not necessary. —*De Magistro*, cap. 1. In this opinion Grotius agrees, as appears in his commentary on Matthew vi. 9.

Again; we would ask the most zealous friend of liturgies, whether written forms of prayer were used in *any* of the instances of social worship recorded in the apostolic history? Had Paul a written form when he kneeled down and prayed with the elders of Ephesus, on taking leave of them, to see their faces no more? Did Paul and Silas make use of a *book* when, at midnight, they “prayed and sang praises to God, in the prison at Phillippi? Had Paul a prescribed form when, at Tyre, he “kneeled down on the shore and prayed” with a large body of disciples, with their wives and children, who had kindly visited him and ministered to his wants, when he touched at that city in the course of a long voyage? Can we suppose that the body of pious people, male and female, who had assembled at the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, to pray for the liberation of the apostle Peter, made use of a form in pleading for the welfare and usefulness of that eminent minister of Christ? Is it possible to suppose that the church at Ephesus was furnished with a liturgy, when Paul, in writing to Timothy while there, thought it necessary to give him such pointed and specific directions concerning some of the topics proper to be introduced in public prayer? We have never heard of any one so unreasonable as to imagine that there could have been a written form used on any of these occasions, or, indeed, on any other recorded in the New Testament history. The primitive Christians, it is true, had psalms and hymns, and probably a uniform mode of administering sacraments and blessing the people; but so have the Presbyterian church, and, indeed, all other churches which reject prescribed forms of prayer in public worship. In short, if there be the smallest shred of evidence that a liturgy, properly so called, was ever used in any of the apostolic churches, it has never met our eye; and it would be strange, indeed, if any thing of that kind were in constant use, or even in use at all, without some trace of it, more or less distinct, appearing

in the inspired history, or, at least, in some of the epistles to the various churches.

The next question which demands our notice is, Have we any evidence that liturgies were at all in use during the first three or four centuries after the apostles?

The advocates of liturgies generally assert, without hesitation, that they *were* in constant use during the period in question. Yet they have never been able to produce evidence of such a fact. Still they abate nothing of the confidence of assertion. We are reduced, then, to what is commonly considered by logicians a hard task, viz. that of *proving a negative*. Yet even *this*, we think, in the present instance, may, without much difficulty, be done.

When the learned Bingham, in his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, and other writers of similar views, assert, and endeavour to prove, that liturgies were in use in the ages immediately succeeding that of the apostles, they endeavour to make good their assertion by such testimony at the following:—That the early Christians had evidently psalms and hymns which had been reduced to writing, which were well known among them, and which they united in singing; that they had, for the most part, a form of words, which was commonly employed in administering baptism and the sacramental supper; and that in blessing and dismissing the people, they commonly adopted the usual apostolical benediction, or some other well known form of a similar kind. These writers have not a single fact or testimony to show in support of their assertion but something of this kind. Now it is plain, that all this may be granted without in the least degree helping their argument. We have all this, as is well known, and as was before observed, in our worship; and yet we are generally considered as having no liturgy. Nay, we know of no church on earth, of regular organization, that has not psalms and hymns, and every thing just described. But the simple and only proper question here is, Had the Christian church, during the first three or four centuries after Christ, *prescribed forms*, according to which she conducted her *ordinary prayers* in public worship? If she had, it has certainly remained a secret to this time. No hint to that amount, that we have ever seen, has survived in all the remains of antiquity. But so much has survived that *speaks* a contrary language, that we cannot think it will be difficult to satisfy every impartial reader, that, during the period in ques-

tion, extemporary prayer, or in other words, prayer conducted according to the taste and ability of each officiating minister, for the time being, was the *only* method of public prayer in use in the Christian church.

If there had been in use among the early Christians forms of prayer, in conformity with which their public devotions were conducted, prayers would, of course, have been then *read*, as they are now by all who use liturgies. But any expression indicative of any such fact has never met our eye in the records of the first four or five centuries. The phrases *ἀναγιγνωσκον τὴν χάριν*, or *preces legere*, or *de scripto recitare*, &c. &c. which were so common centuries afterwards, never, so far as we know, then occur. We may, therefore, legitimately infer that the thing indicated by those phrases was neither known nor practised in those times.

But more than this; the most respectable writers who undertake to give us accounts of the worship of the early Christians, make use of language which is utterly irreconcilable with the practice of reading prayers. Justin Martyr tells us, in his second *Apology*, that as soon as the sermon was ended, the congregation all *rose up*, and offered their prayers to God. *Standing* in prayer was, beyond a doubt, the usual posture at that time; certainly the invariable posture on the first day of the week, or the Christian sabbath, on which it was accounted a sin to kneel, (kneeling being chiefly, if not entirely confined to days of fasting and humiliation.) On this account it was customary for the preacher to close his sermon with an exhortation to his hearers to stand up and pray for the divine blessing. The conclusion of Origen's sermons furnish many examples of this, of which the following is a specimen: "Wherefore, standing up, let us beg help from God, that we may be blessed in Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." And again, "Wherefore, rising up, let us pray to God, that we may be made worthy of Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and dominion, forever and ever. Amen." And again, "Standing up, let us offer sacrifices to the Father, through Christ, who is the propitiation for our sins, to whom be glory and dominion, forever and ever. Amen."—*Homil. 19, in Jerem.; Homil. 2, in Cantic.; Homil. 1, in Isaiam.*

In describing the prayers thus offered up, the following account is given by some of the earliest and most respectable writers. Justin Martyr tells us, that the president or presiding minister in the worship of the congregation, prayed

(*οὐκ ἀδυνατεῖ*) "with his utmost ability."—*Apol. 2.* Origen speaks of public prayer in the same manner. "We worship," says he, "one God, and his one Son, who is his 'Word and Image,' with supplications and honours, *according to our ability*, offering to the God of the universe prayers and praises through his only begotten Son."—24 *Contra Celsum*, lib. viii. p. 386. And again; "But the Grecian Christians in Greek, the Romans in the Latin, and every one in his own proper language, prays to God and praises him *as he is able*." *Ibid*, p. 402. The same writer, speaking of the different parts of prayer to which it was proper to attend, mentions first *doxology*, or adoration, and says, "He that prays must bless God (*κατὰ δύναμιν*) *according to his power or ability*."—*De Oratione*, sect. 22. And in the same work, in a preceding section (the tenth) he says, "But when we pray, let us not *battologise*, (i. e. use vain repetitions,) but *theologise*. But we *battologise* when we do not strictly observe ourselves, or the words of prayer which we express; when we utter those things which are filthy either to do, speak, or think; which are vile, worthy of reproof, and opposed to the purity of the Lord." Why this caution at all, if they had regular prescribed liturgies?

Tertullian, speaking on the same subject, says, "We Christians pray for all the emperors, &c. looking up to heaven, with our hands stretched out, because guiltless; with our heads uncovered, because we are not ashamed; *denique, sine monitore, quia de pectore*," i. e. "lastly, without a monitor, *because from the heart*."—*Apol. cap. 30.* We learn also from Origen, that they were accustomed to pray with *closed eyes*, which was wholly irreconcilable with reading a liturgy. "Closing" says he "the eyes of the senses, but lifting up those of the mind."—*Contra Celsum*, lib. 7, p. 362.

Every pastor or bishop at this time was considered as charged with the duty of conducting, *according to his ability*, or *taste*, the public devotions of his congregation; and hence there was great, nay, endless *diversity*, as among us, as to the *manner* in which this part of the public service was performed. Socrates Scholasticus, the ecclesiastical historian, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century, speaking of public prayer, expresses himself in the following unequivocal and strong language. "Generally, in any place whatsoever, and among all worshippers, there cannot be two found agreeing to use the same prayers."—*Hist. lib. v. cap. 21.* Surely this

could not have been alleged if there had been public, prescribed forms in use. In nearly similar language Sozomen, the contemporary of Socrates, and who wrote the ecclesiastical history of the same period, after asserting and describing the general uniformity of the public worship of Christians at that time, remarks, notwithstanding, that "It cannot be found that the same prayers, psalms, or even the same readings, were used by all at the same time."—*Hist. lib. 7. cap. 19.* Augustine, in like manner, who was contemporary with Sozomen, speaking on the same subject, says, "There is freedom to use *different words*, provided the *same things* are mentioned in prayer."—*Epistolæ*, 121. And to show that the prayer usually offered up in his day was extemporary prayer, he speaks of some presiding clergymen "who might be found using barbarisms and solecisms in their public prayers," and cautions those to whom he wrote against being offended at such expressions, inasmuch as God does not so much regard the language employed as the state of the heart.—*De Catechiz. Rudib. cap. 9.* Chrysostom tells us that, in his judgment, it required more confidence or boldness (*παρρησια*) than Moses or Elias had, to pray as they were wont to do before the Eucharist.—*De Sacerdot. Orat. 3. 46.* But what good reason can be assigned why such confidence or boldness was necessary if they had the prayer in a book lying before them, and they had nothing to do but to read it.

The general fact, that it was left to every pastor or bishop in the first ages of the church, to conduct the public devotions of his congregation as he pleased, appears evident from a great variety and abundance of testimony. The circumstances indeed which have been already stated are sufficient themselves clearly to establish the fact. But many other testimonies might be cited to prove the same thing. A single one from Augustine will suffice. That father, having occasion to show that numbers of his brethren in the ministry had many things in their public prayers, especially in the administration of the Lord's supper, which were contrary to soundness in the faith, assigns this reason for the fact. "Many light upon prayers, says he, which are composed not only by ignorant babblers, but also by heretics; and through the simplicity of their ignorance, having no proper discernment, they make use of them, supposing them to be good."—*De Baptismo contra Donat. lib. 6. cap. 25.* How could this possibly have happened, if the church at that time had been in the use of public pre-

scribed liturgies? And the remedy which Augustine and his contemporaries suggest for this evil, is quite as decisive in its import as the evil itself. The remedy was for the weaker and more illiterate pastors to consult their more wise and learned neighbouring pastors, who might discern and point out any improprieties in prayers. This whole matter will be better understood by adverting to the fact, that as early as the age of Augustine, many men had crept into sacred office, and some had even been made bishops, who were unable even to write their own names. This appears from the records of several ecclesiastical synods or councils about this time, in which bishops, when called upon to subscribe the canons of those councils, were obliged to get others to write their names for them. The following is a specimen of some of the signatures of those councils. "I, Helius, bishop of Hadrianople, have subscribed by Myro, bishop of Rome, being myself ignorant of letters." Again, "I, Caiumus, bishop of Phœnicia, have subscribed by my colleague Dionysius, because I am ignorant of letters." These examples of illiterate ecclesiastics at once illustrate and confirm the complaint of Augustine.

No wonder that such ecclesiastics were unable to conduct the public devotions of their respective congregations in a decent manner, and therefore resorted to their more capable neighbours to patch up prayers for them; and no wonder that, with their simplicity and ignorance, they were often imposed upon by corrupt compositions.

And, by the way, even when liturgies were brought into general use and fully established, there was no uniformity even among the churches of the same state or kingdom. Every bishop, in his own diocese, adopted what prayers he pleased, and even indulged his taste for variety. This fact itself, we had almost said, is decisive that liturgies were not of apostolic origin. For if any thing of this kind had been known as transmitted from inspired, or even primitive men, it would, doubtless, have been received with universal veneration. It would have been cherished with a reverence similar to that for the inspired scriptures, and held fast with devout firmness. But no such thing appears. Instead of all this, as the practice of using forms of prayer gradually crept in as piety declined, so the circumstances attending their introduction and prevalence were precisely such as might have been expected. They were adopted by each pastor who felt the need of them, or was inclined to make use of them; and, by and by, when

prelacy came in, each bishop within his own diocese took such order in reference to the subject as his character and inclination might dictate. This would lead, of course, to almost endless diversity. Accordingly, it is a notorious fact, that when the reformation commenced in England, the established Romish church in that country had no single, uniform liturgy for the whole kingdom; but there seems to have been a different liturgy for the diocese of every bishop. And when, in the second year of king Edward's reign, the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries of the kingdom were directed to digest and report one uniform plan for the public service of the church, they collated and compared the five Romish missals of the several dioceses of Sarum, York, Hereford, Bangor and Lincoln, and out of them formed a liturgy. So that the missals in use in five popish bishoprics constituted the basis of the first liturgy of king Edward, and consequently of the book of Common Prayer, as now used in Great Britain and the United States. And this, no doubt, is the fact to which the celebrated earl of Chatham referred, when, in a debate in the British house of lords, more than half a century ago, he said that the church of England presented an aspect of a singularly motley character; that she had a *popish liturgy*, *Calvanistic articles*, and an *Arminian clergy*. It is sincerely hoped that this statement will not be considered as arising from any disposition to cast odium on the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal church. It is, in many respects, a noble composition. We do not wonder that those who admire and love it are so numerous. Still its history ought to be known, and both the nature and design of the publication under review compel us, in justice to our argument, to make this statement. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the beauty and excellence of the English liturgy, it certainly bears, in some of its parts, very distinct traces of its origin, especially as it exists at this time in England. The alterations which it has undergone in this country have, it is true, divested it of most of its seriously objectionable features. Yet there are still passages even here which enable an accurate taste to discern something of "the tang of the old cask." On these we have no disposition to dwell. It has been the means of sincere and profitable devotion to millions; and that none may be disturbed in their edifying use of it, is our unfeigned desire. But to return to the early ages of the Christian church, which we are engaged in examining.

It was before stated, that we not only find no traces of any books, or prescribed forms of common prayer in the first three or four centuries of the Christian history; but that we do find a number of facts, incidentally stated, which are wholly inconsistent with their existence. Some of these facts have been already mentioned. Another very significant one is, that in the second, third, and fourth centuries, it was not considered as lawful, in any case, to commit to writing the prayers and the other parts of the service used in administering the Lord's supper. It was not thought proper that any other than communicants should be made acquainted with them; and in order to accomplish this object, committing them to writing, in any form, was solemnly prohibited. Basil, who flourished towards the close of the fourth century, tells us expressly, that the words which they used in blessing the elements were not written; and that what they said, both before and after the consecration, they had not from any writing. Now, when we consider that, of all the parts of the public service, as there are none more solemn, so there are none which have been more carefully regulated by prescribed forms than the Eucharist; we may confidently conclude, that if there were not, at the period referred to, and from the very nature of the case could not be any written forms for that ordinance, there were none for any other part of the public service.

We read of some of the early churches being supplied with copies of the sacred scriptures; but not a word of their being supplied with prayer books in any form. When the buildings in which the early Christians worshipped were seized, and an exact scrutiny made of their contents by their pagan persecutors, we read of copies of the Bible being found, and vessels for administering the communion, and other articles very minutely specified; but not a hint respecting forms or books of prayer. We meet with frequent instances of reading psalms, reading other portions of scripture, reading narratives of the sufferings of martyrs, reading epistles from other churches, or distinguished individuals; but not a syllable of reading prayers. Now all this is wonderful, if prayer books and reading prayers had been then as common as many of the zealous friends of liturgies assert, and would persuade us to believe. The very first document in the form of a prayer book that we have met with, is a *Libellus Officialis*, mentioned in the twenty-fifth canon of the Council of Toledo, Anno Domini 633. This, however, seems to have been rather a brief

“Directory for the worship of God,” than a complete liturgy. It was a document given to every presbyter at his ordination, to instruct him how to administer the sacraments, lest through ignorance of his duty in reference to those divine institutions, he should offend Christ. “Quando presbyteri in parochiis ordinantur, libellum officialem a suo sacerdote accipiant, ut ad ecclesias sibi deputatas instructi accedant, ne per ignorantiam etiam in ipsis divinis sacramentis Christum offendant.”

With respect to the alleged liturgies of St Mark, St James, and that of Alexander, all enlightened protestants, as we believe, agree that they are manifestly forgeries; and with regard to the liturgies attributed to Chrysostom and Basil, Bishop White, an English prelate, who lived in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., delivers the following opinion: “The liturgies,” says he, “fathered upon St Basil and St Chrysostom, have a known mother, (to wit, the late Roman church,) but there is (besides many other just exceptions) so great dissimilitude between the supposed fathers of the children, that they rather argue the dishonest dealings of their mother than serve as lawful witnesses of that which the adversary intended to prove by them.”—*Tracts against Fisher, the Jesuit*, p. 377.

The result, then, is that liturgies were unknown in the primitive church; that, as piety declined, the clergy began to need external aids for conducting the public devotions of their congregations; that this matter, however, continued for several centuries to be managed by each pastor for himself; that in the exercise of this individual discretion, frequent blunders occurred, through the gross ignorance of the clergy, and sometimes blunders of a very unhappy kind; and that liturgies did not finally obtain universal prevalence until the church had sunk into a state of darkness and corruption, which all protestants acknowledge to have been deplorable.

The only question which remains to be considered is, whether confining those who minister in holy things to prescribed liturgies in public worship, is, on the whole, expedient and useful? Having spent so much time in the preceding discussion, we shall answer this question with great brevity.

We are constrained, then, to answer it, in general, in the **NEGATIVE**. It is, indeed, both expedient and useful that pre-composed prayers should be repeated from memory, or recited from a book, by those who, from weakness, or want of presence of mind, need such help; that is, who cannot pray in a

connected and edifying manner without such aid. For we shall ever maintain, that it is better, far better, to read or recite a good prayer, than to utter a bad one extemporaneously. But a question worthy of very grave consideration is, whether any man who is unqualified to pray without a form, is fit to be a minister of the gospel? We think there is a life, a simplicity, and a touching and moving power in prayers poured forth from a pious and feeling heart, which cannot, ordinarily, be approached in reading written forms. We think, too, that there is so great a variety in the exigencies, sufferings, situations, hopes, and joys, of individual believers, of each particular congregation, and of the church at large, at different times, and at the same time in different places, that being *confined* to the same *precise* form of words for ages together, is by no means most conducive to the edification of the body of Christ. We cannot help believing, that the constant repetition of the same words, independent of this variety of situation and exigence, tends to produce with many, dullness, and a loss of interest. It is in our apprehension, also, no small evil, when the *gift* and the *grace* of prayer are not daily called into exercise, and thus eventually repressed. Bishop Wilkins, though a friend to the use of forms of prayer where they were needed, argues strongly against yielding ourselves entirely to such "leading strings," as he emphatically calls them, and expresses the opinion, that giving vent to the desires and affections of the heart in extempore prayer, is highly favourable to growth in grace.—*Gift of Prayer, chap. ii. p. 10, 11.* We are persuaded, further, that where religion is in a lively state in the heart of any minister, and especially when it is revived among the members of his church generally, there is a feeling of constraint on being confined to forms of prayer, which will either vent itself in extempore prayer, on particular occasions, or will lead to languor and decline under the repression.

Besides, one of the first principles of prescribed liturgies seems to be questionable. Why should men who lived three or four hundred years ago understand prayer, and be able to prescribe forms for it, better than the pious and learned divines of the present day? Why should we, of the nineteenth century, consent to bind ourselves as apprentices in prayer to men who lived at the dawn of the reformation, when we decline doing so as to *preaching*? Surely nothing but long habit could reconcile any to such principles. In consequence of

adopting such a principle, and acting upon it, the church of England is at this hour tied down to a form of prayer, over the *diction* as well as the *sentiments* of which some of her most devout sons mourn in secret. And even in the United States, persons who have no belief in the doctrine of *baptismal regeneration*, nay, who consider it as an unscriptural and pestiferous error, are yet obliged either to profess their belief in it, in solemn addresses to the Great Searcher of hearts, or to pause in the midst of elevated devotion, and refuse to adopt the sentences which evidently contain it. We are not ignorant that much is said about praying in the very language of the ancient church. In reply, we say, show us prayers found in the Bible, or formed by apostolic men, and we will venerate and adopt them; but when we are told of the duty of adopting prayers formed in the sixth, seventh, and subsequent centuries, we are just as little convinced as we should be, if told that we ought now to pray in *Latin*, because many centuries ago that language was employed in public worship by those churches whose vernacular tongue it was.

We have weighed well all the objections which the book before us, and other works in favour of liturgies, have often urged against extempore prayer, and have no hesitation in saying, that when carefully and impartially compared with the objections to liturgies, the balance is manifestly in favour of the extempore plan. It may be somewhat difficult, at first, for those who have been all their lives accustomed to forms, to unite with entire comfort in free prayer. But the difficulty, as we have had occasion to know, is soon surmounted, and, finally, almost, if not altogether vanishes. In this as in most other respects we are creatures of habit, to an extent which nothing but experience could reveal. But, in fact, if extempore prayer be made up chiefly, as it ought to be, of the thoughts and language of scripture, no pious person who loves his Bible, and is familiar with it, will have any material difficulty at all in following him who leads, and entirely uniting with him. And as to the allegation that extempore prayer is so often chargeable with improprieties both of thought and language, and is so frequently poor, jejune, and unsatisfactory, we can only say that every thing human is imperfect: that these imperfections are always most indulgently regarded by those who are most deeply pious, and who lay more stress upon thoughts than language in the worship of God; and that where there is a *tolerable* amount of piety, talents, and learning in the ministry

of any church, which it is the absolute duty of every church to maintain, the evil in question, however real, will generally be found much less than is commonly supposed. Besides, this difficulty is by no means confined to free prayer. It would be easy for us to relate a series of anecdotes respecting the use of liturgies, quite as much calculated to cover it with ridicule as any thing contained in this book, or any other book we have ever seen, is to expose to derision extemporary prayer. We could muster up, we have no doubt, quite as long and as amusing a catalogue of ludicrous improprieties as our adversaries have ever done. But on a subject so intimately connected with the feelings and rites of devotion, we forbear. We have been often assailed with such weapons; but we "will not return evil for evil." Much rather would we contribute all in our power to the comfort and edification of all our brethren in Christ, however they may differ from us in modes and forms, and however prone they may be to treat our faith or worship with reproach. There is, however, one use which we wish to make of the little s  ctarian missile before us, which we cannot but hope and pray may render it a blessing in disguise. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri.* Many of our ministers are by no means so attentive as they ought to be to the character of their public prayers. If they bestowed more thought on the devotions of the pulpit; if they were more careful to store their minds with appropriate scriptures for this part of their public duty; if they abounded more in devotional composition; and above all, if they laboured more in private, with their own hearts, to cultivate the spirit and the gift of prayer; we should find them performing this part of their ministerial service with more dignity, and in a more simple, scriptural, touching, and edifying manner. They would give less occasion to the adversary to speak reproachfully. Nay, perhaps it would not be going too far to say, that the prayers of the sanctuary would be among the most attractive, impressive, and beneficial parts of the whole public service. If those who are invested with the sacred office, as well as those who are candidates for it, could be persuaded to direct serious attention to this matter, we might soon hope, under the divine blessing, to witness the most beneficial results.

It seems to be the impression of some pious men, that all kinds of preparation for public prayer is an unjustifiable opposing or stinting of the influence of the Holy Spirit. That this is not only an error, but a mischievous error, we are deeply

persuaded. Why preparation for bearing the desires of the people to God in prayer, should be more objectionable, or less a duty, than preparation for bearing the message of God to the people in preaching, we cannot conceive. Why diligent and devout study should be considered as unfriendly to the work of the Holy Spirit in one department of the work of the sanctuary, more than another, we find no solid reason, either in the nature of things, or in the instructions of the Bible. And in this opinion it is evident, that our venerable fathers concurred with us. The following extract from our "directory for the public worship of God," is decisive as to their views, and shall close our remarks.

"It is easy to perceive, that in all the preceding directions there is a very great compass and variety; and it is committed to the judgment and fidelity of the officiating pastor to insist chiefly on such parts, or to take in more or less of the several parts, as he shall be led to by the aspect of Providence; the particular state of the congregation in which he officiates; or the disposition and exercise of his own heart at the time. But we think it necessary to observe, that, although we do not approve, as is well known, of confining ministers to set or fixed forms of prayer for public worship; yet it is the indispensable duty of every minister, previously to his entering on his office, to prepare and qualify himself for this part of his duty, as well as for preaching. He ought, by a thorough acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures; by reading the best writers on the subject; by meditation and a life of communion with God in secret, to endeavour to acquire both the spirit and the gift of prayer. Not only so, but when he is to enter on particular acts of worship, he should endeavour to compose his spirit, and to digest his thoughts for prayer, that it may be performed with dignity and propriety, as well as to the profit of those who join in it; and that he may not disgrace that important service by mean, irregular, or extravagant effusions."

REVIEW.

August Hermann Francke. Eine Denkschrift zur Saecularfeier seines Todes. Von D. Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand Guerike, *Licentiaten und Privatdocenten der Theologie bei der Universität in Halle.* Halle. 1827. 8vo. Pp. 474.

It is well observed by the author of the work before us, that in the reformation true religion came off conqueror from a contest which no other religion could possibly have survived; a contest not with foreign, but intestine foes; with dialectic subtlety; with speculative pride, with a corrupt but imposing superstition, and with spiritual wickedness in the highest places. Yet this conquest, splendid as it was, was achieved by the simple preaching of Christ crucified. The doctrine of justification by faith alone was the main-spring, the vital principle of this grand work throughout. Luther particularly seems to have been actuated, to the end of life, by an irresistible influence impelling him to preach this doctrine as a fundamental truth. His heart, his life, his writings, and we had almost said, the age in which he lived, were full of it.

The subsequent declension into formal orthodoxy, which took place in the Lutheran church, though melancholy in itself and its effects, is easily accounted for. The pernicious controversies in the church itself upon matters of mere form, and the unprofitable war which it waged against the papists, with scholastic arms, by degrees withdrew the attention of the clergy from the scriptures. The other consequences were inevitable. Preachers and people soon learned to content themselves with an adherence to the dogmas of the church, without regard to the influence of religion on the heart or life. This attachment to the form became, as usual, more bigoted in proportion as the substance was neglected. The slightest deviation from the formularies were denounced as fatal heresies. Theology assumed an aspect exclusively polemical. Exegesis was regarded as entirely secondary to scholastic dialectics. In the most celebrated universities, the only distinctions recognized in the instruction were dogmatics, homiletics and polemics. Olearius endeavoured in vain to institute a school of exegetical theology at Leipsic, and

Carpzov's Lectures on Isaiah closed with the first chapter. A clergy educated on these principles, could bring into the pulpit nothing better than the quibbles of an antiquated logic, or the angry brawls of hackneyed controversy. The Bible remained sealed to the bewildered people, their souls grew lean through the want of spiritual food, and they perished for lack of vision.

But it was not the will of God that this lamentable state of things should long continue. The first prognostic of a change was apparent in the efforts of Calixt, at Helmstadt, to place the evidences of religion on a historical, instead of a metaphysical foundation, by recalling the attention of divines to the apostolic age. It was not at this point, however, that the revolution was to take its rise. By losing its practical character, religion had declined; by resuming that character, it was to rise again. The first movement of this kind began among the laity. The total want of spiritual nourishment in the ordinances of the church, drove many devout laymen to an intercourse with God and their hearts, and to a private study of the truths of Christianity, which could not fail to quicken in some measure the putrescent mass around them. But the want of sound biblical instruction, and of mental cultivation, unhappily involved them in the snares of extravagant fanaticism. In a country like Germany, such instruments could operate no lasting or extensive change. A combination of sound judgment and ripe learning with the spirit of vital piety, was called for, to influence the people through the clergy upon the one hand, and the clergy through the people on the other. Such agents Providence eventually furnished, in the persons of Arnd, Gerhard, and Andreae. Yet even these men, valuable as were their labours, only paved the way for one who was ordained to introduce a new and happy era in the German church—Philip Jacob Spener. This celebrated character was born in Alsace, in 1635; received his education at Strasburg; travelled in France and Switzerland; and in 1663 was settled in Strasburg as a preacher. Soon afterwards he was appointed senior minister of Frankfort, and in 1686 court preacher at Dresden, and confessor to the elector of Saxony. His last removal was to Berlin, where he became provost of the church of St Nicholas in 1691, and where he died on the 5th of February 1705.

The grand object of this excellent man's labours was to divorce theology from its pernicious union with the jargon of

the schools, and again bring it home to the bosoms of men as a practical concern, by restoring the Bible to its proper rank, as the only fountain of religious truth. He urged the necessity of coming to the study of the scriptures, before the adoption of a system of opinions, and maintained that no man could truly preach the gospel, who had never experienced its transforming power. Against the prevailing style of preaching, he was warm in his denunciations, insisting that the only subjects lawful in the pulpit were the great practical doctrines of redemption and sanctification. These views he exhibited and vindicated with great force in his *Pia Desideria*, first published as a preface to Arnd's Sermons. Nor did he in his zeal for the improvement of the clergy turn his back upon the people. On the contrary, he was almost the first who strove to break the habit of dependance upon public ordinances and observances, which would naturally flow from such a state of things as then existed, and to prove the necessity of personal religion to the private christian. Such, indeed, was his zeal for the promotion of this object, that, besides his indefatigable labours as a preacher, he established what he called *collegia pietatis*, that is, conferences, meetings for religious conversation and the reading of the scriptures. His influence appears to have increased as he advanced in his career. It was greater at Dresden than at Frankfort, and at Berlin than at Dresden. With the elector of Brandenburg his opinion had such weight that he was employed to form the theological faculty in his new university at Halle. To this happy circumstance that infant institution was indebted for the advantage of beginning its operations under the salutary influence of pious teachers.

As might have been expected, Spener's efforts to revive religion, while they operated happily on many, only served to render others still more obstinate in their attachment to the letter of the truth, and more bigoted in their defence of frigid orthodoxy. This spirit was exhibited most strongly in the Saxon universities, especially at Wittenberg, where the orthodox or high church party bestowed upon Spener and his fellows in contempt the name of *pietists*, a term corresponding very nearly, both in its literal and sarcastic import, to *puritans* in English. Among those who shared with Spener the honourable ignominy of this appellation, and became his successors in the work of reformation, the greatest was Augustus Hermann Francke.

Francke was born at Lubeck in 1663, but removed with his parents not long afterwards to Gotha. He was privately instructed until thirteen years of age, when he entered the gymnasium at Gotha, and rose quickly to distinction. From the first he enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a religious education, and at the age of ten besought his mother to allow him a private chamber where he might retire for his devotions. Here, as he informs us, he was wont to pray that his course in life might be so ordered as to promote God's glory most effectually. Still, according to his own account, his ruling passion at this time, and throughout his academical career, was a thirst for literary eminence. In his sixteenth year he removed to the university of Erfurt, where he pursued the study of Hebrew, geography, philosophy, and history, for some months, and then removed to Kiel. Here he resided in the family of the distinguished theologian Christian Kortholt, and studied ethics and metaphysics as preliminary to theology. Here, too, he acquired English, a circumstance which may have had some influence upon the after course of his opinions. In 1682 he went to Hamburg for the purpose of acquiring Hebrew under the direction of the celebrated Ezra Edzardi, who counselled him to learn the first four chapters of the book of Genesis, by the help of a translation, till the sense of every word was perfectly impressed upon his mind. When this was accomplished, Ezra bade him be of good cheer, for he was now acquainted with a third part of the Hebrew language, and advised him to peruse and reperuse the Bible before entering upon minute verbal investigation. Accordingly he returned to his own home at Gotha, where he read the Hebrew scriptures seven times in one year; at the same time he learned French.

After a residence of eighteen months at home, he accepted the invitation of a student of theology at Leipsic to become his room mate and direct his Hebrew studies. At the same time he continued his professional pursuits under Olearius and others. In 1686, in conjunction with Paul Anton, who was afterwards professor of theology at Halle, he established a Philobiblical society at Leipsic. The primary design of this association was philological improvement, and its exercises consisted in reading and remarking upon passages of the Greek and Hebrew scriptures. In course of time, however, the remarks thus made assumed a character more practical, and a corresponding change took place in the objects of the institu-

tion. So popular did this society become, that a public place was soon required for their assemblies, and Alberti, the professor of theology, assumed the direction of it ex officio. In this way Francke, even before his conversion, was instrumental in promoting the same cause to which he was in after life devoted.

Having spent four years at Leipsic, Francke went to Luneburg for the purpose of pursuing exegetical studies under the pious and learned Sandhagen. This city he was wont to call his spiritual birth place, as it was here, according to his own account, that he first experienced a change of heart. We have already spoken of his early religious education. We may add, that one of the first books with which he was familiar was Arnd's *Wahres Christenthum* (True Christianity). We have also recorded his own statement, that throughout the course of his preparatory studies, the desire of learning, wealth and honour, had uncontrouled possession of his heart. Nevertheless, from the time that he turned his face more directly towards the ministry, he was conscious of the want of something to prepare him for the office. He felt that his affections were divided, or, more properly, engrossed with earthly objects; that, to use his own expressions, "his theology was in his head, not in his heart," and so strongly did the sense of this deficiency oppress him, that during his abode at Kiel, he was accustomed to pray earnestly for the removal of this undefined impediment to his success. At Leipzig he evinced his attachment to the scriptures by the part which he took in the formation of the biblical societies; but this consciousness that he still wanted something, though he knew not precisely what, still haunted him. At the same time, he admits that he had no just views of his own character, necessities and helplessness, nor even of his sinfulness in making worldly honours and emoluments the objects of his best affections.

He had now been seven years engaged in the study of theology, was perfectly familiar with the letter of the scriptures, and had gone through the routine of studies with uncommon assiduity. At this period, (while yet at Leipsic), it pleased God to give him daily more and more conviction of his own unworthiness, as well as more and more solicitude to change his situation. But although he was now impressed with a full belief of the necessity and importance of conversion, he found himself so entangled with the things of this world, that he despaired of being able to extricate himself and lift his affec-

tions higher. This exterior difficulty seemed to be removed by his change of situation when he went to Luneburg. Cut off there from the worldly society to which he was accustomed, and brought into contact with consistent and exemplary Christians, he now found that there was an obstacle more serious than mere external circumstances. He felt more than ever the necessity of a change, and the existence of some obstacle within himself to its production. While in this state of mind, he received an appointment to preach in St John's church, and finding himself no more disposed to regard the service as a mere exercise in eloquence, he felt deeply solicitous so to perform the task as to edify his hearers. He was still engrossed with these thoughts when he fell upon the text, (John xx. 31), "These are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name." While reflecting on the meaning of these words, and on the difference between imaginary and true faith, the thought occurred to him, that he was himself destitute of this important quality. It was in vain that he endeavoured to withstand the strong conviction which now fastened on his soul. It was in vain that he reverted to his books and even to the scriptures for relief. He could find it neither in God's word nor man's. In the agony of his soul, he prayed that if there was indeed a God, he would have compassion on him. While in this state of mind, he resolved, unless some change should occur, to abstain from preaching, rather than preach against his conscience. "For," to borrow his own most expressive terms, "I felt too sensibly what it was to have no God, upon whom I could lay hold; to bemoan my sins without knowing wherefore, or who it was that caused my tears to flow, or whether there was in reality a God who was offended with me!" "In such anguish," he continues, "I knelt down upon that Sunday, and called upon the God and Saviour, whom I knew not and believed not in, for deliverance from this miserable situation, if indeed there was a God and Saviour. The Lord heard me, heard me instantly. All my doubts vanished. I was assured in my own heart of the grace of God in Christ. All sorrow and uneasiness departed from me, and I was inundated as with a flood of joy. I had bent my knees in great distress and doubt; I rose again with unutterable confidence and joy. I felt as if through all my past life I had been lying in a profound sleep, and performed all my actions in a dream, and as if I had now for the

first time been awakened. I was perfectly convinced that all the world with all its pleasures could not produce in the human heart such delicious joy as I experienced, and I saw distinctly, that after such foretastes of God's grace and goodness, the world with its charms would have little power to allure me." On the Wednesday following he preached upon the text which he had chosen, with great inward satisfaction. From this hour Francke dated his conversion, and in this hour, as he himself declared in his last prayer in the garden of the orphan-house, forty years afterwards, God opened in his heart a spring from which exhaustless streams of joy and consolation had been flowing ever since.

In 1688 Francke left Luneburg for Hamburg, where he spent some months in delightful Christian intercourse, a privilege which no man knew better how to estimate. While in this city he was led, by new views of the imperfection of education, to open a private school for children, a circumstance to which he was accustomed to look back with gratitude and satisfaction. To his brief experience in this business he traced most of the improvements which he was the means of introducing into Halle. The results of this experience he has recorded in his book upon the education of children.

Deeply impressed with our Saviour's words to Peter, *when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren*, he determined to return to Leipsic. This step he seems to have taken with a full expectation of the contempt and opposition which he must encounter. After spending two months with Spener at Dresden, and gaining more insight into his opinions and designs, he commenced a course of exegetical and practical lectures in the German language on the Epistles to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Corinthians. Such was the number that attended his instructions, that the rector of the university threw open to him one of the public halls, and even there many were obliged to stand at the doors and windows.

The effect of these lectures, and of the Philobiblical societies, which were now revived with tenfold spirit, was soon evident. The practical tendency of Francke's instructions, and the unction of piety by which they were pervaded, were, by the blessing of God, made instrumental in the conversion of many souls. At the same time, his anticipations of contempt and opposition were completely realized. The unusual number, both of citizens and students, who thronged his lecture

room, excited envy, while his religious sentiments aroused the enmity of many. His lecturing in German instead of Latin was denounced as an unwarrantable departure from academic usage. He was accused of rendering the way to heaven more thorny than it ought to be; was charged with hypocrisy and pride; and branded with the odious name of pietist. A sort of inquest was held by public authority for six successive days, before which Francke and several others were arraigned; but though the whole theological faculty, the clergy, and the consistory, were against him, he was cleared. The faculty, however, issued a decree that the magistri of the university should not presume to lecture on theology, in consequence of which he was obliged to relinquish his instructions, and soon left the place for ever. In this step he was quickly followed by his friends Schade, Anton, and Thomasius.

But no sooner was this door of usefulness closed, than Providence set another open. In June 1690 he received and accepted a call to St Augustine's church in Erfurt. Here he found a kindred spirit in John Joachim Breithaupt. Both preaching the same doctrines, and inspired with the same zeal, they entered into one another's plans with ardour. Both, but particularly Francke, drew multitudes to church, not only from the city but the country, papists as well as protestants. Besides their public ministrations, they held meetings in their houses for religious conference; and Francke, in addition to his other labours, lectured daily on the Bible to the Erfurt students. These zealous operations could of course not be continued in a catholic city, without opposition on the part of the prevailing party; but unhappily the Lutherans themselves, and Francke's own colleagues in the ministry, concurred in denouncing him as an innovator, enthusiast, and pietist. He was accused of circulating pernicious books among the people, and on this charge was brought before the magistrates. When he repelled the charge indignantly, a packet was produced which had been intercepted at the post, and which, it was supposed, would confound the heretic for ever. On opening it, however, it was found to contain nothing but New Testaments. His enemies were overwhelmed with shame, and the proceedings against him, far from contracting his operations, called the attention of the public to the scriptures, and led multitudes to purchase.

He had now resided fifteen months in Erfurt, when an electoral decree unexpectedly arrived, requiring him to leave

the city within forty-eight hours, assigning as the only reason, that he was the founder of a new sect, which his highness did not choose to countenance. The citizens petitioned in favour of their pastor, but of course without effect. Francke, after lodging with the magistrates a solemn protest against these proceedings, prepared for his departure. The short space allotted for that purpose he spent chiefly with his friends in his own house, consoling and exhorting them.

The duke of Gotha, when informed of these proceedings, expostulated warmly with the elector, and invited Francke to reside in his own dominions. At the same time several other princes made efforts to secure him. The duke of Saxe-Coburg offered him a professorship, and the duke of Saxe-Weimer the rank of a court preacher. But he looked upon his course as already designated by the hand of Providence. On the very day that he was ordered to quit Erfurt he had received an invitation from the elector of Brandenburg, in compliance with which he now accepted the professorship of Greek and Oriental languages in the new university of Halle, at the same time taking charge of St George's church at Glaucha in the neighbourhood. This society he found in a deplorable condition. His predecessor not only had not preached the gospel, but had led a grossly immoral life, while the state of manners and opinion generally in the place was entirely hostile to true piety. Francke retained the charge of this church thirteen years, at first alone, and afterwards in connexion with an adjunct pastor. At the end of that period he became pastor of St Ulrich's church in Halle. Here, as in Erfurt, he preached boldly and incessantly the doctrines of grace, as clearly taught in scripture, with the same success and the same opposition. The professorship of Greek and Oriental languages he held till 1699, when he was appointed a professor of theology. This station he retained until his death.

No sooner did Francke enter on his duties as an academical instructor, than he gave himself to the great object of delivering theology from its scholastic fetters, and making it at once a scriptural and practical study. He zealously inculcated the sentiment, that the first object of the student of theology must be, to learn by experience in what Christianity consists; and then how it may be most successfully communicated to others. There has probably never been a teacher more successful in making his instructions always practical, and certainly none who could avail himself of such extensive learning, and yet

perceive so perfectly the spirit of religion. For the most part, unfortunately, ardent piety has flourished in the absence of profound acquirements, and learning has appeared to exercise a blasting influence upon the heart. But Francke, though unquestionably an accomplished scholar, and a zealous advocate of learning, had the happy art of bringing all his acquisitions into their appropriate place as handmaids of religion.

The department of theology which he selected as the field of his exertions, was that of exegesis; but besides his lectures on this subject, he delivered others upon pastoral theology. None of his official performances, however, can compare, upon the score of practical religious influence, with his *Lectiones Paræneticæ* or Exhortatory Lectures to students of theology, which have been published, and from which Dr Guerike gives copious extracts. They are full of animated personal appeals, and of excellent suggestions on the means of uniting diligent and efficacious study, with an assiduous cultivation of the heart. Many, very many, we are told, traced their first genuine impressions of religious truth to these discourses.

Besides his strict official duties as a lecturer, Francke rendered no small service to the university, by instituting private societies and schools among the students, subsidiary to the public system of instruction. Among these none was more important than the biblical societies (*collegia biblica*) in which the members exercised themselves in the study of the Greek and Hebrew scriptures, under the direction of a public teacher. Of the same description was the catechetical institute, intended to prepare the candidates, by previous practice, for the business of catechizing their parishioners, to which he justly attached great importance. Besides these, he organized, and personally watched over, private schools in pulpit eloquence, and other branches more or less connected with the subjects which he taught. In addition to all this, like most of his countrymen in similar situations, he composed and published much. His influence, direct and indirect, of course was very great, and being what he was, that influence was, of necessity, most salutary. It was seen in its effects upon the students of theology, and through them upon those with whom they came in contact. It extended to the remotest regions from which pupils came to Halle, and many a soul, to whom Francke and Halle were both utterly unknown, has owed its conversion, under Providence, to this seat of learning and this man of God.

But the work with which Francke's name is most completely and durably identified, is the foundation of the orphan-house at Halle. Of this establishment he was the sole projector, and there is probably no instance upon record more impressive of a great work, accomplished through the strength of faith, almost without means, and in the face of difficulties. In the year 1694, being deeply affected with a view of the gross ignorance in which the children of the poor were growing up, he determined to exert himself to better their condition. His first efforts were restricted to the furnishing of books, for which purpose he set up a box in his own house with this inscription, "Whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" "Every man as he purposeth in his heart, not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." About three months after he set up this box, one individual contributed four dollars, which so animated Francke, that he resolved to institute a free-school, and accordingly forthwith employed a poor student to instruct a number of poor children daily, in a room adjoining his own study. In the course of a few months some of the citizens proposed to send their own children to the same instructor, paying a small sum weekly, to which Francke consented, and the number of pupils was thus raised to sixteen. To the poor scholars, besides their gratuitous instruction, alms were given once or twice a week. In the summer of 1695 a lady at a distance wrote to Francke to obtain a private tutor for her children. Not being able to procure one at the time, he informed her that if she would send them to Halle, he would furnish them with teachers. The proposal was accepted, and a foundation laid for the royal public school, which in 1709 already numbered twenty-three teachers and seventy-two pupils. In this same summer (of 1695) above six hundred dollars were put into his hands for charitable purposes, part of which he distributed among poor students, and laid out the rest upon his school. The number of pupils soon became too large to be accommodated in the parsonage, in consequence of which he hired two apartments in a neighbour's house, and separating the poor children from the others, placed each class under its own teacher. But as he could not long fail to observe that all the good effected in the school was liable to be counteracted out of doors, he conceived the plan of educating some poor children altogether, that is lodging, feeding, gov-

erning, as well as teaching them. In this he was confirmed by the seasonable grant of an annuity of five and twenty dollars, upon the strength of which he determined to receive one orphan, but as four presented themselves at the same time, he took them all, trusting in Providence to bear him out. The same implicit confidence induced him to receive five others shortly afterwards, all of whom he placed in pious families, entrusting the direction of their education to a student of theology named Neubauer. Three individuals contributed nearly a thousand dollars to further his design, with which he not only paid the debts of his establishment, but bought and enlarged the house in which the children were instructed. His next step was to collect the orphans, twelve in number, from the private families where they were lodged into the school house, where they were accommodated with their guardian Neubauer. At the same time he received four and twenty needy students of the university as boarders without charge. In the summer of 1696, the male and female orphans were divided, and soon after the children of the citizens were formed into a separate school, and from these schools resulted in the end a regular gymnasium, which in 1709 contained two hundred and fifty-six pupils, divided into seven classes, and in 1730 numbered above five hundred.

The number of inmates now increased so rapidly, that Francke found it necessary to provide new accommodations, and accordingly he purchased a hotel just out of Halle for the purpose; but finding it not altogether suitable, he determined to enlarge it by erecting a new edifice. In pursuance of this resolution, the foundation of the present orphan-house was laid on the 24th of July (N. S.) 1698. At this time the number of the orphans was one hundred, besides whom seventy poor students were gratuitously boarded. At the time when this building was commenced, Francke was without the means of paying for it, and yet found it necessary to make regular weekly payments to the workmen. Of course, he was often in extremity, being obliged to lay out every penny of loose change, and sometimes to dispose of valuable articles, in order to provide the school with candles. At no time, however, were the children made to go without a meal, or the labourers without their hire. Each day's work upon the walls was opened with prayer, and each week closed with an exhortation to the workmen. The work thus piously conducted prosper-

ed; for within a year the house was under cover, and at Easter 1701 entirely finished.

Francke has himself given a minute and interesting statement of the almost innumerable instances in which he was delivered from apparently inextricable difficulties by interpositions of an overruling Providence. Some of these cases are so very remarkable, from the coincidence of time and place, and the exact correspondence of the supply with the emergency, that on other testimony they might seem suspicious. But coming from such a quarter, they can only be regarded as impressive proofs of the certainty with which Divine Providence sustains the few that trust implicitly in him, even in the extremest exigencies. And it deserves to be mentioned that in almost every case these providential succours were immediately preceded by importunate supplication. In process of time, the fruit of this confidence and faith was reaped in the patronage bestowed upon the institution by all classes, both at home and in foreign parts, by kings, nobles, ministers of state, professors, soldiers, citizens, domestics, widows, orphans. Frederick I., king of Prussia, took a lively interest in the establishment, contributed one hundred thousand building stones, and thirty thousand tiles to the new edifice; gave one thousand dollars twice in money, and allowed it many privileges. On the other hand, an apothecary of Leipsic supplied the institution gratis with all medicines, until it was able to supply itself. By the many benefactions, of which these are single specimens; by the unremitting zeal of Francke himself; by the ability and faithfulness of his assistants; but, above all, by the grace of God; the orphan-house grew in prosperity and influence so rapidly, that before the founder's death it had attained its present amplitude of plan, comprehending not only an asylum and a school, with a dairy, brewery, and other household offices, but also a library of eighteen thousand volumes, a museum, a laboratory, a dispensary, an infirmary, and an extensive establishment for the printing and sale of books. At the time referred to, besides one hundred and thirty-four orphans, under ten male and female guardians, it instructed (chiefly gratis) two thousand two hundred and seven children in its different schools, by means of one hundred and seventy-five teachers, maintained six poor widows, and kept open table for two hundred and fifty-five poor students and a number of the poorer children.

It was impossible that an establishment so noble should escape reproach. It was considered as a strong hold of pietism, and of course aroused the enmity of the opposing party. An orthodox professor wrote a book against it, with a title which may thus be rendered into English: "The Orphan-house at Halle, seeking support and wealth by means of the encumbered Martha, and not, as it pretends, of the best part—choosing Mary."* But the opposition was not limited to theologians. In all classes of society, this unique monument of God's grace and man's faith found some to disapprove and vilify it. To one the plan appeared absurd and rash, to another too expensive and magnificent, while a third looked upon it as an interested speculation. At the very time when Francke was praying for just enough to supply the next day's exigency, he was thought by some, and said by many, to be rolling in wealth. The men of the world were unable to conceive how an institution upon such a scale could rise so rapidly without an immense capital, so that the very smiles of Providence were the occasion of exciting envious suspicions. Those suspicions, however, were innocuous. The orphan-house has lived and prospered through the changes of a most eventful century. To borrow the idea of our author, the long procession of true servants of Christ Jesus, who have gone forth from its walls, bear witness to its character, and if they should hold their peace, the very stones might be expected to cry out.

The mention of these facts reminds us that we have attempted no detail of the vexatious controversies in which Francke was involved, from the time of his settlement at Halle till his death; and our limits warn us that we can barely touch upon the subject here. In the same year that he entered on his office, the authorities at Berlin, being anxious to secure the learned jurist Stryk, of Wittenberg, to teach at Halle, found that he was violently prejudiced against the pietists in general, and Francke in particular; so violently that he utterly refused the offered place, except upon condition of Francke's previous removal. Accordingly a number of highly honourable places, ecclesiastical and academical, were offered to Francke's choice to induce him to remove, but he refused. The finger

* The quaintness of the original is perfectly inimitable—"Das durch die geschäftige Martham, und nicht, wie vorgegeben wird, durch die das beste Theil erwählende Mariam, seinen Unterhalt und Reichthum suchende Waisenhaus in Halle."

of God he thought too manifest in bringing him to Halle to be disregarded. It was in vain that persuasions, promises, and threats of deposition were employed. He still maintained his place, and well it was for all parties that he did, for Stryk being finally prevailed upon to conquer his repugnance, was no sooner made acquainted with the hated pietist than he became his fast and zealous friend, and continued so till death. But other and more implacable opponents soon arose among the clergy of the place, by whom Francke and his colleague Breithaupt, who had followed him from Erfurt, and was now his co-professor, were regarded as heretical enthusiasts. The pulpits of the orthodox or high church party soon became the vehicles of personal abuse. The charge of heresy, so confidently urged, compelled the attention of the court, and in November 1692, a commissioner from Berlin held an inquest at Halle, the result of which was an acquittal of the pietists, and an implied condemnation of the conduct of the clergy. This disturbance was succeeded by a cessation of hostilities at Halle, but Francke found himself forced into a controversy with external foes. Orthodox Lutherans, in various quarters, who assailed him, first generally as a pietist, and afterwards as an impugnor of Luther's version, which he had been bold enough to censure in a monthly series of *biblical annotations*. No sooner was he freed from the vexation of this contest, in which he was supported by John Henry Michaelis and other learned friends, than the old dissensions with the clergy were revived. This was partly brought about by Francke himself, who delivered from the pulpit strong denunciations of false prophets, which, though free from personalities, were readily applied by the people, and the persons who were really the objects of them. This was met by intemperate retaliation on the other side, producing such disorder that another commission was sent down, which succeeded, after some time, in effecting an apparent reconciliation. Francke disavowed all personal allusions in his sermons; the clergy qualified and softened their expressions, and the whole was terminated by a pacific sermon from one of the commissioners. This truce was never broken. The two parties held their own opinions and let one another rest; and when Francke died, his funeral discourse was preached by one of his most virulent opponents, in the most laudatory terms. The only theological controversy in which Francke was afterwards engaged, was occasioned by a work of Dr Mayer's, who, alarmed at the translation of

Francke's writings into Swedish, wrote a catechism to counteract the poison. The first question—*What are the pietists?* was answered in this strain: "They are fanatics, who, under the appearance of true godliness, corrupt and persecute the Lutheran religion, and by their apparent sanctity delude poor souls, who, having eyes but seeing not, and having ears but hearing not, follow the footsteps of their leaders, and hasten with them to eternal damnation!" The last question is as follows: "In what part of the Bible has the Holy Ghost described the pietists? *Ans.* In 2 Timothy, iii. 1—9." The only other controversies in which Francke was engaged, was that relating to the orphan-house, which has been already mentioned.

In connexion with Francke's varied labours, which we have already spoken of, we may mention his zealous co-operation in Von Canstein's measures for distributing the Bible, and in the king of Denmark's missions to the East. Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, the first missionaries to Hindostan, were selected upon Francke's recommendation, and maintained a correspondence with him while he lived. He also manifested a strong interest in the conversion of the Jews, though the want of opportunity and leisure limited his personal exertions. He had, however, the satisfaction of baptizing several converted through his ministry, and preached, on the occasion, from Luke, ii. 22, 32.

The constant and laborious occupations in which Francke, as we have seen, employed himself, were only interrupted, during forty years, by occasional journeys to recruit his health. In 1713 he attended the funeral of Frederic I., as deputy from Halle, and while at Berlin, extorted from the new king this valuable testimony: "Francke is a good man; he speaks the truth to *every body*."

His last extensive journey through the different provinces of Germany, in 1717, was something like the progress of a sovereign. Multitudes thronged to hear the pietist; to see the founder of the orphan-house. The largest churches were completely filled, with multitudes of every sect and name, eager to hear him preach. In some places he was entertained at the public expense, and conducted in procession through the streets; in others his approach was apprehended as a fearful evil. In the latter case, however, he had, for the most part, only to appear, in order to be welcome. His sincerity, his lowliness, his overflowing love, disarmed suspicion and

refuted calumny. Is this pietism? men would say; then the Saviour and his followers were pietists. At Ulm, receiving no request to preach, he attended, as a hearer, on a sermon by an orthodox professor, in which he heard himself described, with every circumstance necessary to identify him but his name. The city magistrates, confounded at this incident, and dreading the displeasure of the court, where Francke was known to be in favour, could devise no better mode of making peace, than by inviting Francke to preach himself on the ensuing Sabbath. When the day arrived, an immense multitude assembled to enjoy the retaliation, which consisted in a practical discourse upon the nature of true faith. The whole city, with one voice, declared for Francke, and conspired to do him honour.

We have extended our desultory sketch so far, that we can neither go into details of his last sickness, nor descant upon his character. His constitution, naturally strong, was worn down by exertion, and after exhibiting upon his death-bed a most edifying example of faith, patience, peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost, fell asleep on the 8th of June, 1727, in the 65th year of his age. The whole city thronged to see his body and assist in its interment.

The work from which we have derived these statements was occasioned by the recurrence of the hundredth anniversary of Francke's demise, and was designed as a commemorative tribute to his character, embodying in one work the materials which had been scattered through a number of authorities. Besides the mere details, it contains just views and apposite reflections which we have not room to borrow. For ourselves, we shall only add, that if of any man it may be said, that *being dead he speaketh*, it may be said of Francke. To three classes, in our own country, he may thus be said to speak, with special point and emphasis. To the speculative scholar, who despises warmth of heart as incompatible with learning; to the pious student, who renounces mental culture as the bane of true religion; and to those of either order who believe themselves excused from active effort by their virtues or their acquisitions; the example of Augustus Hermann Francke says, in most impressive language, *Go and do likewise*.

REVIEW

Of an Article in the June number of the Christian Spectator, entitled, "Inquiries respecting the Doctrine of Imputation."

In our number for January last, we presented our readers with a condensed view of the early history of Pelagianism. In the course of that article, it fell in our way to express our belief in the doctrine of imputation, our conviction of its importance, and of its being generally received among orthodox Christians. This doctrine, our readers are aware, has long been, nominally at least, rejected by many of our New England brethren. Without much argument on the subject, it has been discarded as intrinsically absurd; and it has not unfrequently been presented as an unanswerable argument against other doctrines, that they lead to all the absurdities of this exploded dogma. We have long been convinced, that the leading objections to this doctrine, arose from an entire, and to us, an unaccountable misapprehension of its nature as held among Calvinists. We, therefore, thought it proper, and adapted to remove prejudices, to state the common views on this subject, that our brethren might see that they did not involve the absurdities which they imagined. Unfortunately, as far as the author of the article under review is concerned, our object has not been answered. The writer, who signs himself *A Protestant*, is evidently much dissatisfied with our opinions. His object, in his communication to the Spectator, is to impugn several of our statements, and to present his difficulties with regard to the doctrine itself. To our surprise, these difficulties are almost all founded on the very misapprehension which it was our object to correct. Although our readers, we think, will sympathize with us in our regret at many of the statements of this author, and feel hurt that he should have allowed himself to make the unguarded imputations contained in his piece, we are not sorry that we are called upon, by this direct appeal, to state more fully our views on this subject, and the grounds on which they rest.

Before proceeding to the doctrine of imputation and of the protestant's difficulties, there are one or two subjects on

which we would make a passing remark. This writer attributes to us great subserviency to the opinions of the fathers. Such expressions as the following clearly convey this imputation. "Can any one inform me to what age this 'orthodoxy' belongs; and where the history of it is to be found among the fathers whose authority is so much relied on by this historian?" Page 340. "Can the historian honestly say, with all his attachment to the fathers, &c." "Last of all, I would particularly request, if any writer should favour me with an answer to these inquiries, that *reasons*, and not *names*, may be given in support of his statements. If it be suggested that none but a heretic could ask such questions, I would reply, that there are minds in our country which are not satisfied that calling hard names is argument; or that the *argumentum ad invidiam* is the happiest weapon which a meek and humble Christian can use. Men are apt to suspect that such arguments would not be employed, if better ones were at hand in their stead. I only add that I am *A Protestant*." And so are we, however unworthy that gentleman may think us of the title. We would not knowingly call any man master upon earth. We profess to believe, with him, that the Bible is the religion of protestants; and that it matters little what men have taught, if the word of God does not support their doctrines. As we agree with him in these leading principles, we hope that he will agree with us in certain others. While we hold that the opinions of men are of no authority as to matters of faith, we, at the same time, believe that much respect is due to uniform opinions of the people of God; that there is a strong presumption in favour of any doctrine being taught in the Bible, if the great body of the pious readers of the Bible have from the beginning believed and loved it. We are free to confess, that it would startle us to hear, that there was no antecedent probability that the doctrines of the deity of Christ, atonement, native depravity, are really taught in the word of God, if it can be made to appear that the church, in all ages, has believed these doctrines. And we think that a man places himself in a very unenviable situation, who undertakes to prove to the men of his generation, that the great body of the good and pious before him, were utterly mistaken, and that he alone is right. Here is a phenomenon, which any man who assumes this position is bound at the outset to account for, that the Bible, a plain book, as protestants call it, should have been utterly misunderstood

for more than a thousand years, by its most careful and competent readers. It will not meet this case, to tell us, that this man or that man has held this or that absurdity; or that whole ages or communities of men, who neither read nor loved the scriptures, believed this or that heresy. This is not the question. It is simply this, is it not probable that what the vast majority of the most competent readers of a plain book, take to be its plain meaning, really is its meaning? We take it for granted, that the protestant would answer this question in the affirmative; and that, if arguing with Unitarians, he would not scruple to appeal to the fact, that the unprejudiced and pious en masse of every age have understood the Bible as teaching the divinity of Christ, as a presumptive argument in its favour. We suspect that he would go further, and that in giving the exposition of any passage he would fortify his own conclusions, by stating that he did not stand alone, but that others of the accurate and the learned had arrived at the same results. Now we think that a man who would do this, ought not to sneer at us on this very account. We know that it is easy to ring the changes, on want of independence, subserviency to the fathers, slavery to a system, and so on, but what effect does all this produce? It may excite prejudice, and lead the superficial to join in a sneer against men whom they suppose to a pitiable extent inferior to themselves; but does it convince any body? Does it weaken the legitimate force of the argument from the concurrence of the pious in any doctrine? Does it produce any favourable impression on that class of readers whose approbation a writer should value?

We say, then, that the opinion of the church is entitled to respect, if for no other reason, at least as a presumptive argument for any doctrine, in favour of which this concurrent testimony can be cited. Whether the church has, with any important uniformity, held the doctrine of imputation, is a mere question of fact, and must be decided accordingly. If it can be fairly proved, let it pass for what it is worth. It binds no man's conscience; yet the protestant himself would hardly say, that it was to him or others a matter of indifference. He greatly mistakes if he supposes that the opinion of a man who lived a thousand years ago, has any more weight with us than that of an equally pious and able man who may be still living. His telling us, therefore, that some of

the men, who are called fathers, held sundry very extravagant opinions, is really saying very little in answer to the argument from the consent of the good and great as to the plain meaning of a plain book. We are not now assuming the fact, that the church has, with perfect unanimity, gathered the doctrine of imputation from the word of God; but exhibiting the ground and nature of the respect due to the uniform opinion of God's people.

There is another point of view in which, we presume, the protestant will agree with us in thinking this opinion entitled to respect. Truth and piety are intimately related. A man's moral and religious opinions are the expression of his moral and religious feelings. Hence there are certain opinions which we view with abhorrence, because they express the greatest depravity. Now we say, and the protestant doubtless will join us in saying, that it is no very desirable thing for a man to throw himself out of communion with the great body of the pious in every age, and place himself in communion of language and opinion with the opposers of vital godliness. We think that any man, who had any proper sense of the deceitfulness of his own heart, the weakness of his understanding, and of the vital connexion between truth and piety, would hesitate long before he avowed himself opposed to the views which have for ages been found in connexion with true religion, and become the advocate of doctrines which the opposers of piety have been the foremost in defending.

These are mainly the grounds on which our respect for the opinions of the church rest, and these remarks show the extent of that respect. So far the protestant would go with us; further we have not gone. If we have cited the concurrent opinion of the church improperly; if we have supposed the great body of the people of God to have believed, what they did not believe—let the protestant set us right, and we shall be thankful. But do not let him join men, with whom he would scorn to be associated, in running over the common places of free inquiry, minds that think, &c. &c.

A word as to the argumentum ad invidiam. We are of the number of those who agree with this writer in thinking that "this is not the happiest weapon which a meek and lowly Christian can use," nay, that it is utterly unworthy of his character to use it at all. We think, too, that the charge

of having used it should not be lightly made. Unless we are mistaken as to the nature of this argument, the charge, in the present instance, is unfounded. We understand an argumentum ad invidiam to be one, which is designed, not to prove the incorrectness of any opinion, but to cast unmerited odium upon those who hold it. Such was not the design of the article to which the protestant objects. Every one knows, that within a few years, there has been more or less discussion in this country respecting sin and grace. We thought it would be useful, to present our readers with a short historical view of the various controversies which have existed in the church on these subjects. We commenced with the earliest and one of the most important ; and gave, to the best of our ability, an account of the Pelagian controversy. We called no man a Pelagian, and designed to prove no man such, and therefore made little application of the history to present discussions. So far as the modern opinions differ from the ancient, there was no ground for such application, and none such was intended. So far as they agree, it is no more an argumentum ad invidiam to exhibit the agreement, than it is to call Belsham a Socinian or Whitby an anti-Calvinist. If no man agrees with Pelagius in confining morality to acts of choice ; in maintaining that men are not morally depraved, before they voluntarily violate a known law ; and that God cannot prevent sin in a moral system, then is no man affected by the exhibition of the Pelagian system. But if there are those who assume this ground, and proclaim it, it does them no injustice to say that they do so. So long, however, as these brethren hold to a moral certainty that all men will sin the moment they become moral agents ; that the first sin leads to entire moral depravity ; and that an immediate influence of the Spirit is necessary in conversion, they differ from that system in these important points. Wherein they agree and wherein they differ, should be known in justice to them, as well as for the benefit of others. How far the assumption of the fundamental principles of a system has a tendency to lead to its thorough adoption, every man must judge for himself. For ourselves, we fear the worst. Because, we think consistency requires an advance, and because history informs us, that when men have taken the first step, they or their followers soon take the second. Now, we ask, what is there

invidious in this history of opinions, or in this expression of apprehension? apprehension of what? of injury to the cause of vital piety. Is there any sin in expressing this apprehension, when conscientiously entertained? Suppose we had gone further than we did, and exhibited, what we supposed our readers capable of observing, the exact points of agreement and disagreement between the two systems, would there have been the least injustice in such a proceeding? We think not, and therefore think the charge of using the argumentum ad invidiam out of place. Let us now request our author to review his own piece, and ask himself, what is its whole spirit and tendency, (we do not say design). Is it not to cast on us the odium of being opposed to free investigation, of "calling hard names for argument," of being held in bondage to a system, of relying on *names* instead of *reasons*; in short, of being anti-protestants? Would not a little reflection have prevented his casting this stone?

There is a sensitiveness about *some* of our New England brethren, that has often surprised us. If any one in this quarter ventures to question the tendency of their opinions, or express apprehension as to their results, all of love and catholicism that there is within them, is shocked at the suggestion, and we are borne down with the cry, "you are breaking the bonds of charity," "you argue ad invidiam," &c.; and yet these same brethren can find it in their hearts to say, that we are setting "in motion all the enemies of religion;"* that our doctrines (though known to be held by a decided majority of evangelical christendom) are exploded absurdities;† that we believe in physical depravity and physical regeneration; and teach, "that God first creates a wrong essence, and then creates a right one; first plunges into the fire and then pulls out again;"‡ (a misrepresentation as gross as the language is irreverent.) They do all this, without appearing to dream that there is aught in it to justify complaint, or to trouble the waters of peace. However, let this pass. We love peace, and shall try to promote it. Our

* Prof. Stuart's Examination of the Review of the A. E. Society, p. 98.

† Review of Harvey and Taylor on Human Depravity in the Christian Spectator.

‡ Fitch's Inquiry and Reply, p. 89.

readers will soon see that we need our full share of self-command and forbearance.

The Protestant quotes, on p. 339, the following passage from our former article. "Now we confess ourselves to be of the number of those who believe, whatever reproach it may bring upon us from a certain quarter, that if the doctrine of imputation be given up, the whole doctrine of original sin must be abandoned. And if this doctrine be relinquished, then the whole doctrine of redemption must fall; and what may then be left of christianity, they may contend for that will; but for ourselves, we shall be of opinion, that what remains will not be worth a serious struggle." He then proceeds, "Here then permit me to inquire, have men no sins of *their own* from which they need to be redeemed? Or is it true, as the historian's position seems plainly to imply, that the whole object of Christ's death was, to redeem men from a sin which is *not their own*? And is this sin, then, which (to use the writer's own words) is not 'strictly and properly *theirs*, for those not yet born could not perform an act;' (p. 90.) is this sin so much greater than all the sins that men have themselves committed, in their own persons, that the death of Christ, or the redemption wrought by him, is not even to be named as having respect to these transgressions, and nothing of christianity is left, unless you assume the position, that redeeming blood is designed simply to expiate *original* sin? Can any one inform me to what age this 'orthodoxy' belongs; and where the history of it is to be found among the fathers, whose authority is so much relied on by this historian?" Again; on p. 341, he quotes Rom. iv. 15, as an argument against imputation, "Where no law is, there is no transgression," and then inquires, "But how can this be, where there is not only *original* sin prior to all knowledge of law, but original sin so great as to absorb the whole of the redemption of Christ; so that the redemption is annulled, if we consider it as expiating the guilt of actual violations of known law, and there is nothing left in the gospel worth contending for."

We must now be permitted to take our turn as interrogators. We seriously, then, put it to that gentleman's conscience to say, whether he really believes that the conductors of this work, or our historian, which is the same thing, actually hold that "the whole object of Christ's death was,

to redeem men from a sin which is not their own," and has no reference to "actual violations of known law?" If he does, we can only express our astonishment at the readiness, with which he can believe his brethren capable of holding and advancing the most monstrous opinions, in the face of their open and repeated declarations of adherence to a confession, which notoriously teaches the very reverse. We cannot, however, think, that the writer, whoever he may be, seriously entertains this idea. Our complaint is, that he should have been so heedless as to seize on the first impression which an isolated passage made on his mind, and without stopping to inquire whether he apprehended its meaning aright, or whether his interpretation was at all consistent with the known opinions of the conductors of this work, should at once proceed to hold up and denounce this first and false impression as the "orthodoxy" of the Biblical Repository. The gentleman, on the slightest reflection, will perceive, that just so far as confidence is reposed in his discrimination and judgment, the readers of the Spectator will be led to believe that we hold, "that redeeming blood is designed simply to expiate original sin," "that the redemption is annulled if we consider it as expiating the guilt of actual violations of known law, and there is nothing left in the gospel worth contending for." He must know, too, that those who adopt this idea, on the faith of his assertion, must be filled with astonishment and contempt for men who, they suppose, hold this opinion; and moreover, that the Spectator will go into many hands, where a correction from us of this marvellous misapprehension can never come. He may hence judge how serious an injury may be done, in one inconsiderate moment, by ascribing, on utterly insufficient grounds, obnoxious opinions to his brethren. Let us now see what reason the gentleman has for this wonderful statement. We had ventured to agree with the Christian Spectator, No. 2, p. 349, that the doctrine of original sin could not be consistently held, if that of imputation were abandoned. And we had made bold to say, with president Edwards,*

* "It will follow, says Edwards, on our author's principles, (that is, on the denial of original sin, and the assertion of sufficient power to do our duty,) not only with respect to infants, but even *adult* persons, that redemption is needless, and Christ is dead in vain."—*On Original Sin*, vol. ii. p. 515.

that the rejection of the doctrine of original sin rendered redemption unnecessary. Why? Because actual sins need no redemption, as the author most amazingly supposes? No. But because, as Edwards supposed, and as we suppose, the salvation of men could have been effected without it, by merely preserving pure and unfallen children from sinning, and thus needing a Saviour. Had our author attempted to show that God could not do this; or that these doctrines are not thus intimately related, we should not have had a word to object as to the propriety of such a course, whatever we might have thought of his arguments. But that a paragraph, which expresses nothing more than he might find in any and every Calvinistic book he ever condescended to look into, should be so interpreted, as to make us teach an almost unheard of doctrine, is indeed passing strange. Why has he not discovered, and long ago denounced this palpable absurdity of Calvinism? for surely we have said nothing new upon the subject. We hope, indeed, that the readers of the *Spectator* will have discrimination enough to see, what that gentleman's rapidity of mind prevented his discovering, that the paragraph in question contains nothing but a common and very harmless opinion, which the majority of them, we trust, have heard from the nursery and pulpit from their earliest years. We shall not be expected to say much in reply to the "inquiry," "to what age this orthodoxy (making the death of Christ refer only to original sin) belongs?" As it is the poles apart from any doctrine which we have ever believed or taught, we feel no special interest in the investigation. We must, therefore, leave to the discoverer of the heresy the task of tracing its history. Our present concern is with the doctrine of imputation.

It has struck us as somewhat surprising, that while the protestant represents us as teaching a doctrine involving the greatest absurdities, the editors of the *Spectator* regard the matter in a very different light. They think we have renounced the old doctrine, and are now teaching one which is substantially their own. They say,

"We have inserted the above communication (the protestant's) at the particular request of a respected correspondent, whose familiarity with the subject entitles his inquiries to a serious consideration. We cannot but think, however, that the question respecting

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the imputation of Adams's sin to his descendants, has become, in this country at least, chiefly a dispute about words. The historian, if we understand his statements, has abandoned the ground of Edwards and other standard writers, on this subject. He states, unequivocally, that Adam's 'first act of transgression,' was 'not *strictly* and *properly* that of his descendants, (for those not yet born could not perform an act) but interpretatively or by imputation.' P. 90. Now Edwards affirms the direct contrary. 'The sin of the apostacy is not theirs, merely because God imputes it to them, but it is *truly* and *properly* theirs, and on *that* ground God imputes it to them.'—*Orig. Sin*, p. 4, chap. 3. Stapfer too lays down the doctrine of imputation in the same way." Again; "We are glad likewise to see him proceed one step farther. He not only denies that we had any share in the *act*, but even in the guilt of Adam's first sin, in the ordinary acceptation of that term. He tells us, 'that the ill-desert of one man cannot be transferred to another;' that 'imputation does not imply a transfer of moral acts or *moral character*, but the opposite of *REMISSION*.' To impute, according to this explanation of the term, is simply to *hold* the descendants of Adam *SUBJECT* to the '*consequences*' of his fall, though not sharing in the act nor its criminality." "Now in this statement, all who bear the name of Calvinists will unite; and they all regard it as exhibiting a cardinal doctrine of the gospel. And we cannot but think that most of the disputes on this subject, result simply from a diversity in the use of terms."—Pp. 342, 343.

We presume the protestant will consider these remarks of the editors as reflecting rather severely on his want of discrimination. Certain it is, that one or the other must be under a great mistake. For if our statement is substantially one in which "all who bear the name of Calvinists will unite," and which "they all regard as exhibiting a cardinal doctrine of the gospel," then it is very strange that the protestant should hold us up as teaching so many absurdities, and so unceremoniously sneer at our orthodoxy. In this difference between the editors and their correspondent, we very naturally take sides with the former, and wish to be considered as teaching nothing but plain common Calvinistic doctrine. There is a question at issue, however, between the editors and ourselves. Have we abandoned the old doctrine, as they affirm, or have they been labouring under a misapprehension of its nature? Here, then, we have a question of fact, and with the protestant's permission, we shall appeal to names for its decision.

We would say in the out-set, that the views which we

have expressed, are those which we have always entertained, and which we have always understood our brethren, who believe the doctrine of imputation, to hold. If there is any departure, therefore, in them from the opinions of "standard writers on the subject," it is a departure of long standing, and widely extended. We are persuaded, however, that the Spectator is mistaken as to this point, and that the view which we have presented of imputation, is that held by Calvinists and the Reformed churches generally.

As we are not prepared to adopt the Spectator's exposition of our opinions, we proceed to state how we hold the doctrine in question. In imputation, there is, first, an ascription of something to those concerned; and secondly, a determination to deal with them accordingly. Sometimes one, and sometimes the other idea predominates. Thus, in common life, to impute good or bad motives to a man, is to ascribe such motives to him. Here the first idea alone is retained. But when Shimei prayed David, "Let not my lord impute iniquity unto me," he prayed that the king would not lay his sin to his charge, and punish him for it. Where the second predominates. Hence, not to impute, is to remit. "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity," that is, blessed is the man whose iniquity is pardoned. To impute sin, therefore, "is to lay it to the charge of any, and to deal with them according to its desert."—*Owen*. If the thing imputed be antecedently ours, then there is merely a recognizing it as such, and treating us accordingly. If it be not ours, there is necessarily an ascription of it to us, on some ground or other, and a determination to deal with us according to the merit of the thing imputed. When Paul begged Philemon to impute to him the debt or offence of Onesimus, he begged him to regard him as the debtor or offender, and exact of him whatever compensation he required. When our sins are said to be imputed to Christ, it is meant, that he is treated as a sinner on account of our sins. And when Adam's sin is said to be imputed to his posterity, it is intended, that his sin is laid to their charge and they are punished for it, or are treated as sinners on that account. In all such cases there must be some ground for this imputation; that is, for this laying the conduct of one to the charge of another, and dealing with him accordingly. In the case of Paul it was the voluntary assumption of the

responsibility of Onesimus ; so it was in the case of Christ. The ground of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, is the union between them, which is two-fold, a natural union, as between a father and his children, and the union of representation, which is the main idea here insisted upon. A relation admitted on all hands. The Spectator affirms it, when he says, "that Adam was not on trial for himself alone," but for his posterity also, as is clearly implied in the sentence.

What we deny, therefore, is, first, that this doctrine involves any mysterious union with Adam, any confusion of our identity with his, so that his act was personally and properly our act ; and secondly, that the moral turpitude of that sin was transferred from him to us ; we deny the possibility of any such transfer. These are the two ideas which the Spectator and others consider as necessarily involved in the doctrine of imputation, and for rejecting which, they represent us as having abandoned the old doctrine on the subject. We proceed now to show that they are mistaken on this point.

In proof of this we would remark in the first place, on a fact that has always struck us as rather singular, which is, that while those, who hold the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, do, at the same time, hold the imputation of our sins to Christ, and of Christ's righteousness to us, we seldom or never hear, (from Calvinists at least,) the same objections to the idea of imputation in the two latter cases, as in the first. Is there any one who has the hardihood to charge the whole Calvinistic world (who taught or teach the doctrine of imputation) with believing, that Christ personally and properly committed the sins which are said to be imputed to him ? or that the moral turpitude of these sins was transferred to him ? Now, we ask, why is this ? Why, if the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, supposes that they were the personal actors of his transgression, the imputation of our sins to Christ does not make him the agent of our acts ? Why, since at every turn we are asked if we have ever repented of Adam's sin, is it not demanded of us, if Christ ever repented of our sins ? We have never been so unhappy, as to have our hearts torn by being told that we believe and teach, that the blessed Saviour was morally a sinner ; that our "moral character" was transfer-

red to him. If this is imputation, if this "transfer of moral character" is included in it, we have not words to express our deep abhorrence of the doctrine. We would hold no communion with the man who taught it. And if this is what our brethren mean to charge us with, then is the golden cord of charity forever broken; for what fellowship can there be between parties, where one accuses the other of blasphemy? We do not harbour the idea, however, that our brethren can seriously make such a charge. Nor can they imagine, that when we speak of the imputed righteousness of Christ, we are so insane as to mean that we personally performed the acts of his perfect obedience, and in person died upon the cross. Neither can they suppose that we mean to assert, that his moral excellence was transferred to us.* They never ask us whether we feel self-approbation and complacency for what Christ did; why then ask us if we feel remorse and self-reproach for what Adam did? We say then, that the fact, that Calvinists speak in the same terms of the imputation of our sins to Christ, and of his righteousness to us, that they use of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and illustrate the one by the other, is an a priori argument, we should hope, of conclusive force to prove, that they do not consider either the idea of personal identification, or transfer of moral character as included in the doctrine of imputation.

There is another presumptive argument as to this point, drawn from the common technicalities of theology. What is meant by calling Adam a public person, a representative, a federal head, as is so constantly done by those who teach the doctrine of imputation? Are not these terms intended to express the nature of the union between Adam and his posterity? A union of representation is not a union of identity. If Adam and his race were one and the same, he was not their representative, for a thing cannot represent itself. The two ideas are inconsistent. Where the one is asserted, the other is denied. They therefore who affirm that we sinned in Adam as a representative, do thereby deny

* We know there have been some pitiable instances, in which such ideas have been advanced, by certain Antinomians; but we are not speaking of the *intemperata* of the human head and heart, but of a common doctrine of a large and pious portion of the christian world.

that we sinned in him personally. When our formularies say that Adam was "a public person" or representative, and that we "sinned in him," it is to make them affirm and deny the same thing in the same breath, to quote them as teaching that we were personally one with him and personally acted in him. With the same propriety it might be asserted that Alexander of Russia personally signed the treaty with the Turks, because he did it in his minister.

The same terms are used in reference to Christ, who is called the head, representative and substitute of his people, and they all express the nature of the relation which is the ground of imputation, and are absolutely inconsistent with the idea of personal identity and consequent transfer of moral character. When the Spectator, therefore, congratulates us on having rejected a philosophy which confounds all notions of personal identity, he does so under a wrong impression. The fact is, there is no philosophy about it. We do not mean to say, that no man has ever philosophized on this subject, or that there have not been men, who taught a mysterious union of the race with Adam. What we mean to deny is, that such speculations enter at all into the essence of the doctrine of imputation, or are necessary to it. In every doctrine there are certain ideas, which constitute its formal nature, and make it what it is; so that if they are rejected, the doctrine is rejected. It would be the most unreasonable thing in the world, to require of a man who undertakes to defend any doctrine, to make good all the explanations of it which have ever been given, and to justify all the modes of expression ever employed respecting it. What a task would this impose on the advocate of the doctrine of the trinity, of the deity of Christ, or of any other doctrine. This is a task which we would never undertake, and have not now undertaken. Our business is, to make it appear, that the notions of personal oneness, community in action, transfer of moral character, are no part of the doctrine of imputation; not that none of the schoolmen or scholastic divines ever held any of these ideas. For what have they not held? We know, that it is often asserted, that Augustine and his followers held the personal unity of Adam and his race. Döderlein, Knapp, and Bretschneider all assert it, and assert it, one after the other, on the same grounds. But we would remark, in the first place, that we are not pre-

pared to believe this; first, because the passages, which these writers produce in proof of their assertion, do not make it out. The same forms of expression occur in the Bible, and in the writings of men who expressly reject this idea, and even the doctrine of imputation itself. Dr. Hopkins uses as strong language on the connexion of Adam and his posterity, as we have ever seen quoted from Augustine. And, secondly, because, there are modes of expression adopted by Augustine on this subject, in explanation of the ground of imputation, inconsistent with this idea. Turretin quotes and explains Augustine thus: "*Quicumque*, inquit August. ep. 106, *ex illo multi in seipsis futuri erunt, in illo uno, unus homo erant*, unitate non specifica, vel numerica, sed partim *unitate originis*, quia omnes ex uno sunt sanguine, partim *unitate representationis*, quia unus omnium personam representabat ex ordine Dei."—Tom. 1, p. 679. According to this, Augustine taught that we were one in Adam, because he was our common father and common representative, in which there is no mysticism. Let it be admitted, however, that Augustine did give this explanation of the ground of imputation. Do we reject the doctrine because we reject the reason which he gives to justify and explain it? It might, with as much propriety be said, that every man rejects the doctrine of the trinity, who does not adopt every title of Athanasius's exposition of it. It is therefore no special concern of ours, what Augustine held on this point. What we affirm is, that this idea is not essential to the doctrine, and is not embraced by the great body of its defenders. Any man, who holds that there is such an ascription of the sin of Adam to his posterity, as to be the ground of their bearing the punishment of that sin, holds the doctrine of imputation; whether he undertakes to justify this imputation, merely on the ground that we are the children of Adam, or on the principle of representation, or of *scientia media*; or whether he chooses to philosophize on the nature of unity, until he confounds all notions of personal identity, as president Edwards appears to have done.

As it is in vain to make quotations, before we have fixed the meaning of the terms which are constantly recurring in them, we must notice the allegation of the Spectator, as to our incorrect use of certain words, before we proceed to bring any more direct testimony to the fact, that the views

which we have given of the doctrine of imputation are those commonly entertained among Calvinists on the subject. The words *guilt* and *punishment* are those particularly referred to. The former we had defined to be, liability, or exposedness to punishment. We did not mean to say that the word never included the idea of moral turpitude or criminality. We were speaking of its theological usage. It is very possible that a word may have one sense in common life, and another, somewhat modified, in particular sciences. A legal or theological sense of a term may, hence, often be distinguished from its ordinary acceptation. It is, therefore, not much to the purpose, when the question relates to the correct theological use of a word, to quote Dr. Webster's Dictionary, as an authority on the subject. We must appeal to usage. Grotius, who, we presume, will be regarded as a competent witness, in his treatise *De Satisfactione Christi*, uses the word constantly in the sense which we have given it. Thus in the phrase, "De auferendo reatu per remissionis impetrationem apud Deum."—*Opera Theol.* vol. iii. p. 333. On p. 336, "Sanguis pecudum tollebat reatum temporalem, non autem reatum spirituale." A little after, "Hinc *κατάγειν* est eum reatum tollere, sive efficere remissionem." In all these cases guilt is that which is removed by pardon, i. e. exposure to punishment. Turretin, "Reatus theologice dicitur obligatio ad poenam ex peccato." Tom. i. p. 654. Owen, "Guilt in Scripture is the respect of sin unto the sanction of the law, whereby the sinner becomes obnoxious unto punishment."—*On Justification*, p. 280. On the same page: In sin there is, "its formal nature as it is a transgression of the law; and the stain or the filth that it brings upon the soul; but the guilt of it is nothing but its respect unto punishment from the sanction of the law." Again, "He (Christ) was alienae culpa reus. Perfectly innocent in himself; but took our guilt upon him, or our obnoxiousness unto punishment for sin." Edwards says, "From this it will follow, that guilt, or exposedness to punishment, &c."—Vol. ii. p. 543. Ridgeley, vol. ii. p. 119, "Guilt is an obligation or liableness to suffer punishment for sin committed." If there is any thing fixed in theological language, it is this sense of the word guilt. And if there is any thing in which Calvinists are agreed, it is in saying, that when they affirm "that the guilt of Adam's sin

has come upon us," they mean, exposure to punishment on account of that sin. It would be easy to multiply quotations, but enough has been produced to convince the Spectator, that our sense of the word is not so "peculiar" as he imagined.

"The word punishment, too," he says, "has a peculiar sense, in the vocabulary of the historian."—P. 344. Here again he appeals to Dr Webster, and here again we must dissent; not so much from the doctor's definition, as from the Spectator's exposition of it. The Dr says, that punishment is "any pain or suffering inflicted on a person for a crime or offence." To this we have no special objection. But that the crime or offence must necessarily belong personally to the individual punished, as the Spectator seems to take for granted, we are very far from admitting; for this is the very turning point in the whole discussion respecting imputation. Punishment, according to our views, is any evil inflicted on a person, in the execution of a judicial sentence, on account of sin. That the word is used in this sense, for evils thus inflicted on one person for the offence of another, cannot be denied. It would be easy to fill a volume with examples of this usage, from writers ancient and modern, sacred and profane. We quote a few instances from theologians, as this is a theological discussion. Grotius, (p. 313), in answering the objection of Socinus, that it is unjust that our sins should be punished in Christ, says, "Sed ut omnis hîc error dematur, notandum est, esse quidem essentielle poenæ, ut infligatur ob peccatum, sed non item essentielle ei esse, ut infligatur ipsi qui peccavit." On the same page, "Puniri alios ob aliorum delicta non audet negare Socinus." If he uses the word once, he does, we presume, a hundred times in this sense, in this single treatise. Owen says, "There can be no punishment but with respect to the guilt of sin personally committed or imputed."—P. 287. Storr and other modern and moderate theologians, use the word in this sense perpetually. Storr says, "Iedes, durch einen richterlichen Ausspruch um der Sünden willen verhängte Leiden, Strafe heisst," that is, "Every evil judicially inflicted on account of sin, is punishment."—*Zweck des Todes Jesu*, p. 585. No one has ever denied that in its most strict and rigid application, punishment has reference to personal guilt; but this does not alter the case, for usage, the

only law in such matters, has sanctioned its application in the manner in which we have used it, and that too among the most accurate of theological writers.

Having fixed the sense in which these terms are used by the writers to whom we shall refer, we will now proceed to establish our position, that the doctrine of imputation, as taught by standard Calvinistic authors, does not involve, either the idea of a personal oneness with Adam, so that his act is strictly and properly our act, or that of the transfer of moral character.

Our first testimony is from Knapp, whom we quote, not as a Calvinist, but as a historian. In his *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, section 76, he says, "However various the opinions of theologians are respecting imputation, when they come to explain themselves distinctly on the subject, yet the majority agree in general as to this point, that the expression, God imputes the sin of our first parents to their descendants, amounts to this, God punishes the descendants on account of the sin of their first parents." This testimony is no otherwise valuable, than as the opinion of an impartial man, as to the substance of the doctrine. That there are various views, explanations and modes of defending this doctrine, no one ever dreamed of denying, and it would stand alone, in this respect, if there were not.

Turretin (*Quæst.* ix. p. 678), thus explains his views of this subject. "Imputation is either of something foreign to us, or properly ours. Sometimes that is imputed to us which is personally ours, in which sense God imputes to sinners their transgressions, whom he punishes for crimes properly their own; and in reference to what is good, the zeal of Phineas is said to be imputed to him for righteousness.—*Ps.* cvi. 31. Sometimes that is imputed which is without us, and not performed by ourselves; thus the righteousness of Christ is said to be imputed to us, and our sins are imputed to him, although he has neither sin in himself nor we righteousness. Here we speak of the latter kind of imputation, not of the former, because we are treating of a sin committed by Adam, not by us." (*Quia agitur de peccato ab Adamo commissio, non a nobis.*) We have here precisely the two ideas excluded from the doctrine which we have rejected, and which the Spectator seems to think essential to it. For Turretin says, that in this case the thing imputed, is something without us,

(extra nos, nec a nobis præstitum,) and secondly, the moral turpitude of the act is not transferred, for it is analogous, he tells us, to the imputation of Christ's righteousness to us, and our sins to him, licet nec ipse peccatum in se habeat, nec nos justitiam. That there must be some ground for this imputation is self-evident, and this can only be some relation or union in which the parties stand to each other. This union, however, according to Turretin, is nothing mysterious, nothing which involves a confusion of identity. The union which is to serve as the ground of imputation, he says, may be threefold, "1. Natural, as between a father and his children; 2. Moral and political, as between a king and his subjects; 3. Voluntary, as among friends, and between the guilty and his substitute." The bond between Adam and his posterity is twofold, "1. Natural, as he is the father, and we are his children. 2. Political and forensic, as he was the prince, and representative head of the whole human race. The foundation, therefore, of imputation is not only the natural connexion which exists between us and Adam, since, in that case, all his sins might be imputed to us, but mainly the moral and federal, in virtue of which God entered into covenant with him as our head."

All the arguments which Turretin urges in support of his doctrine, prove that he viewed the subject as we have represented it. He appeals, in the first instance, to *Rom. v. 12—21*. The scope of the passage he takes to be, the illustration of the method of justification, by comparing it to the manner in which men were brought under condemnation. As Adam was made the head of the whole race, so that the guilt of his sin comes on all to condemnation, so Christ is made the head of his people, and his obedience comes on all of them to justification. On page 681, he says, "We are constituted sinners in Adam in the same way (eadem ratione) in which we are constituted righteous in Christ: but in Christ we are constituted righteous by the imputation of righteousness. Therefore we are made sinners in Adam by the imputation of his sin, otherwise the comparison is destroyed." Another of his arguments is derived from the native depravity of men, which, he says, is a great evil, and cannot be reconciled with the divine character, unless we suppose that men are born in this state of corruption as a punishment. ^A this evil has the nature of punishment, it necessarily supposes some antecedent sin, on account of which it is inflicted

ted, for there is no punishment but on account of sin. "It cannot, however, be a sin properly and personally ours, because we were not yet in existence. Therefore, it is the sin of Adam imputed to us." *Non potest autem esse PECCATUM NOSTRUM PROPRIUM ET PERSONALE, QUIA NONDUM FUIMUS ACTU.* Almost the very form of expression quoted from us by the Spectator to prove that we have abandoned the old doctrine of imputation.

In order to evince his sense of the importance of the doctrine, he remarks on its connexion with that of the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, and says that all the objections urged against the one, bear against the other; so that if the one be rejected the other cannot stand. We shall give in his own words a passage from page 689, which appears to us very decisive as to the point in hand. "*Voluntas ergo Adami potest dici singularis actus proprietate, universalis representationis jure, singularis quia ab uno ex individuis humanis profecta est, universalis quia individuum illud universum genus humanum repræsentabat. Sic justitia Christi est actus unius, et bene tamen dicitur omnium fidelium per divinam imputationem; ut quod unus fecit, omnes censeantur fecisse, si unus mortuus est, omnes sunt mortui.*"—2 Cor. v. 15. Is it possible to assert in clearer language, that the act of Adam was personally his own and only his, and that it is only on the principle of representation that it can be said to be ours?

These quotations from Turretin we think abundantly sufficient to establish our assertion, that the doctrine under consideration neither involves any confusion of personal identity, nor any transfer of the moral turpitude of Adam's sin to his posterity. As Turretin is universally regarded as having adhered strictly to the common Calvinistic system, and on the mere question of fact, as to what that system is, is second to no man in authority, we might here rest our cause. But we deem this a matter of much practical importance, and worthy of being clearly established. Misconceptions on this subject have been, and still are, the means of alienating brethren. They are the ground of many hard thoughts, and of much disrespectful language. It is not easy to feel cordially united to men whom we consider as teaching mischievous absurdities; nor is it, on the other hand, adapted to call forth brotherly love to have oneself held up to the

public as inculcating opinions which shock every principle of common sense, and contradict the plainest moral judgments of men. We hope, therefore, to be heard patiently, while we attempt still further to prove that our doctrine is such as has been so often stated.

We refer in the next place to the testimony of Tuckney, not only because he was a man of great accuracy and learning, but also because he stands in an intimate relation to our church. He was a member of the Westminster assembly of divines, and of the committee which drafted our confession of faith.* He is said also to have drawn up a large portion of the larger catechism. He is, therefore, a peculiarly competent witness as to the sense in which our formularies mean to teach the doctrine of imputation. In his *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, read, as royal professor, in the university of Cambridge, and published in 1679, there is a long and learned discourse on the imputation of Christ's righteousness. In the explanation and defence of this doctrine, he enters into an accurate investigation of the whole subject of imputation. This discourse abounds in the minute scholastic distinctions of the day, which it is not necessary for our purpose to detail. It will be sufficient to show that his view of the subject is the same as that which we have presented. In reference to the two passages, *2 Cor. v. 21*, and *Rom. v. 18*, he says, "We have a most beautiful twofold analogy. We are made *the righteousness of God* in Christ in the same way that he *was made sin* for us. That is, by imputation. This analogy the former passage exhibits. But the other, (*Rom. v. 18*) presents one equally beautiful. We are accounted righteous through Christ, in the same manner that we are accounted guilty through Adam. The latter is by imputation, therefore also the former."—P. 234. The same idea is repeatedly and variously presented. As, therefore, he so clearly states, that in all these cases imputation is of the same nature, if we can show (if indeed it needs showing) that he does not teach that our sins are so imputed to Christ, as to make him morally a sinner, or his righteousness to us, as to make us morally righteous, we shall have proved that he does not teach such an imputation of Adam's sin to

* Reid's *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of the Divines of the Westminster Assembly*, vol. ii. p. 187.

his posterity as involves a transfer of its moral character. The cardinal Bellarmin, it seems, in arguing against the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, urged the same objection which we are now considering, maintaining that if Christ's righteousness is imputed to us, then are we really inherently righteous in the sight of God. To this Tuckney replies, "Who of us has ever been so much beside himself, as to pretend that he was inherently righteous, in the sense of Bellarmin, so that he should think himself pure and immaculate?"—P. 226. The same sentiment is still more strongly expressed on page 220. "We are not so foolish or blasphemous as to say, or even think, that the imputed righteousness of Christ renders us formally and subjectively righteous." And adds, we might as well be made wise and just with the wisdom and integrity of another. "The righteousness of Christ belongs properly to himself, and is as inseparable and incommunicable as any other attribute of a thing, or its essence itself." Bellarmin, however, as so often happens in controversies of this nature, admits the very thing he is contending against. Tuckney quotes him as confessing, "*Christum nobis justitiam factum quoniam satisfecit Patri pro nobis, et eam satisfactionem ita nobis donat et communicat cum nos justificat, ut nostra satisfactio et justitia dici possit, atque hoc modo non esse absurdum si quis diceret nobis imputari Christi justitiam et merita cum nobis donentur et applicentur ac si nos ipsi Deo satisfecissemus.*" On which our author remarks, that neither Luther nor Calvin could more appropriately describe justification by imputed righteousness.

To the other objection of Bellarmin, (which proceeds upon the same erroneous supposition, that imputation conveys the moral character of the thing imputed,) that Christ must be regarded as morally a sinner, if our sins were imputed to him, Tuckney replies, "Although we truly say that our sins are imputed to Christ, yet who of us was ever so BLASPHEMOUS as to say, that they were so imputed as if he had actually committed them, or that he was inherently and properly a sinner, as to the stain and pollution of sin." Bellarmin admitted that our sins were imputed to Christ, quoad debitum satisfaciendi, and his righteousness to us, quoad satisfactionem, and the protestants replied, this was all they contended for.

We do not know how it could be more pointedly or variously denied, that the transfer of moral character is included in this doctrine. The testimony of Tuckney is the more valuable, as he not only clearly expresses his own opinion, but utterly denies that any of his fellow Calvinists ever understood or taught the doctrine in this manner.

The same views are presented by Owen, who carried matters as far as most Calvinists are wont to do. In his work on justification, this subject naturally presents itself, and is discussed at length. A few quotations will suffice for our purpose. The imputation of that unto us which is not antecedently our own, he says, may be various. "Only it must be observed, that no imputation of this kind is to account them, unto whom any thing is imputed, *to have done the things themselves that are imputed to them.* That were not to impute, but to err in judgment, and indeed to overthrow the whole nature of gracious imputation. But it is to make that to be ours by imputation, which was not ours before, unto all the ends and purposes whereunto it would have served if it had been our own without any such imputation. It is therefore a manifest mistake of their own, which some make the ground of a charge on the doctrine of imputation. For they say, if our sins were imputed unto Christ, then must he be esteemed to have done what we have done amiss, and so be the greatest sinner that ever was: and on the other side, if his righteousness be imputed unto us, then are we esteemed to have done what he did, and so stand in no need of pardon. *But this is contrary unto the nature of imputation,* which proceeds on no such judgment, but, on the contrary, that we ourselves have done nothing of what is imputed unto us; nor Christ any thing of what was imputed unto him."—P. 236.

Again, on the same page, "Things that are not our own originally, personally, inherently, may yet be imputed unto us, *ex justitia*, by the rule of righteousness. And this may be done upon a double relation unto those whose they are, 1, federal; 2, natural. Things done by one may be imputed unto others, *propter relationem federalem*, because of a covenant relation between them. So the sin of Adam was, and is imputed unto all his posterity, as we shall afterwards more fully declare. And the ground hereof is, that we

stood in the same covenant with him, who was our head and representative."

Here then it is asserted, that the sin of Adam is not ours, "originally, personally, inherently," and that the ground of imputation is not a mystic oneness of person, but the relation of representation.

On page 242 he says, "This imputation (of Christ's righteousness) is not the transmission or transfusion of the righteousness of another into them that are to be justified, that they should become perfectly and inherently righteous thereby. For it is impossible that the righteousness of one should be transfused into another, to become his subjectively and inherently." Neither is it possible, according to Owen, that the unrighteousness of one should be transfused into another. For these two cases are analogous, as he over and over asserts; thus, p. 307, "As we are made guilty by Adam's actual sin, which is not inherent in us, but only imputed to us; so are we made righteous by the righteousness of Christ, which is not inherent in us, but only imputed to us." On page 468 he says, "Nothing is intended by the imputation of sin unto any, but the rendering them justly obnoxious unto the punishment due unto that sin. As the not imputing of sin is the freeing of men from being subject or liable unto punishment."

It would be easy to multiply quotations to almost any extent on this subject, from the highest authorities, but we hope that enough has been said to convince our readers, that the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin includes neither the idea of any mysterious union of the human race with him, so that his sin is strictly and properly theirs, nor that of a transfer of moral character. This we are persuaded is the common Calvinistic doctrine.

It is proper to state, however, that there is another theory on this subject. About the middle of the seventeenth century Placæus, professor in the French protestant school at Saumur, rejected the doctrine of imputation, and taught that original sin consisted solely in the inherent native depravity of men. In consequence of his writings, a national synod was called in 1644-5, in which this doctrine was condemned. The decree of the synod, as given by Turretin and De Moor, is in these words: "Cum relatum esset ad synodum, scripta quædam alia typis evulgata, alia manu exarata pro-

diisse, quæ totam rationem peccati originalis sola corruptione hæreditaria in omnibus hominibus inhærente definiunt, et primi peccati Adami imputationem negant: Damnavit Synodus doctrinam ejusmodi, quatenus peccati originalis naturam ad corruptionem hæreditariam posterorum Adæ ita restringit, ut imputationem excludat primi illius peccati, quo lapsus est Adam: Adeoque censuris omnibus ecclesiasticis subjiciendos censuit, Pastores, Professores, et quoscunque alios, qui in hujus quaestionis disceptatione a communi sententia recesserint ecclesiarum Protestantium, quæ omnes hactenus et corruptionem illam, et imputationem hanc in omnes Adami posteros descendantem agnoverunt, &c."—*Tur.* p. 677.

In order to evade the force of this decision, Placæus proposed the distinction between mediate and immediate imputation. According to the latter, (which is the common view,) the sin of Adam is imputed to all his posterity, as the ground of punishment antecedently to inherent corruption, which in fact results from the penal withholding of divine influences; but according to the former, the imputation is subsequent to the view of inherent depravity, and is founded upon it, as the ground of our being associated with Adam in his punishment. This distinction, which Turretin says was excogitated ad fucum faciendum, merely retains the name, while the doctrine of imputation is really rejected. "For if the sin of Adam is only said to be imputed to us mediately, because we are rendered guilty in the sight of God, and obnoxious to punishment, on account of the inherent corruption which we derive from Adam, there is properly no imputation of Adam's sin, but only of inherent corruption."—*P.* 677.

Our readers may find a long account of the controversy which arose on this question in De Moor's Commentary on Mark's Compend, vol. iii. p. 262, et seq. One of the most interesting works which appeared at this time, was the tract by the celebrated Rivet, intended to prove that all the protestant churches and leading divines held the doctrine of imputation as it was presented by the national synod of France in opposition to Placæus. In a commendation of this work the professors of theology at Leyden, express their grief, that among other doctrines recently agitated in France, that of the imputation of Adam's sin had been called in question, "Cum tamen eo negato, nec justa esse possit origi-

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nalis naturae humanae corruptio, et facilis inde via sit ad negationem imputationis justitiae secundi Adami." While they rejoiced in the unanimous decision of the French synod, they deeply regretted that any should disregard it, and endeavour to disseminate a doctrine "contrarium communi omnium ferme Christianorum consensui, solis Pelagii et Socini discipulis exceptis." They recommend strongly the work of their colleague Rivet, who, they say, had endeavoured, "Synodi nationalis decretum tueri, dogma vere Catholicum stabilire, bene sentientes in veritate confirmare, aberrantes in viam reducere auctoritatibus gravibus, et *universali totius orbis Christianorum consensu.*"—*Opera Riveti*, tom. 3, p. 223, or *De Moor*, tom. 3, p. 274.

Instead of writing an article, we should be obliged to write a volume, if we were to take up and fully discuss all the subjects, relevant and irrelevant, presented in the protestant's inquiries. We have followed our own judgment in the selection of topics, and touched on those points which we thought most likely to be interesting and useful. We feel, therefore, perfectly authorised to dismiss, at least for the present, the history of this doctrine. Turretin, the French synod, the professors of Leyden, the Augsburg Confession, assert as strongly as we have done, its general prevalence among orthodox christians. The second article of the Augsburg Confession runs thus: "Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae, omnes homines naturali modo propagati nascentes habeant peccatum originis. Intelligimus autem peccatum originis, quod sic vocant Sancti Patres, et omnes orthodoxi et piè eruditi in Ecclesia videlicet reatum, quo nascentes propter Adae lapsum rei sunt iræ Dei et mortis aeternae, et ipsam corruptionem humanae naturae propagatam ab Adamo." These quotations will at least satisfy our readers, that we have not been more rash in our assertions than many others before us, and is as much, we think, as the protestant's inquiry on this point calls for. Our principal concern is with the editors of the *Spectator*, who have presented the most interesting subject of investigation. We revert, therefore, to their statement, that Edwards, Stapfer and "other standard writers on the subject," taught the doctrine of imputation differently from what we have done. That this is not correct, as relates to the great body of the Reformed Theologians, we have, we think, sufficiently prov-

ed. How the case stands with Edwards and Stapfer we shall now proceed to inquire.

As Edwards appears to have borrowed, in some measure, his views on this subject from Stapfer, we shall begin with the latter. We must, in the outset, dissent from the remark of the Spectator, that Stapfer is to be regarded as a "standard writer" on the doctrine of imputation. So far from it, the synod of Berne refused to sanction his views on the subject, as inconsistent with the doctrines of the reformed churches*. And in his work, as now printed, he apologizes for his statements on this point, and endeavours to make it appear, that they do not involve a departure from the common doctrine, (Theol. Pol. vol. 4. p. 562.) with how much success the reader may judge. On page 156, in answer to the common objection that imputation is inconsistent with justice, he says, in substance, no one could accuse God of injustice, if in virtue of a divine constitution, had Adam remained holy, his posterity had been holy also; and therefore no one should complain, if in virtue of the same constitution, they are born in the image of their unholy progenitor. And then says expressly, this is the whole amount of imputation, "*Peccati autem primi imputatio in nulla alia re consistit quam quod posterius ejus et eodem loco habentur et similes sunt parenti.*" And plainer still a little afterwards, "*dum Adamo similem dare sobolem, et peccatum ejus imputare unum idemque.*" This, as we understand it, is precisely Dr Hopkin's doctrine; that in virtue of a divine constitution the posterity of Adam were to have the same moral character that he had. This too is the Spectator's doctrine; he says, "that Adam was not on trial for himself alone, but by a divine constitution, all his descendants were to have, in their natural state, the same character and state with their progenitor."—P. 348. And yet these brethren denounce, in no very measured terms, the old doctrine of imputation: It is rather singular, therefore, that they should quote Stapfer as a "standard writer" on that doctrine, who asserts their

* This statement is made confidently, although from memory. In the first copy of his work which fell into our hands, this fact is stated, and our impression of its correctness is confirmed, by the nature of his opinions as now presented, and his apology for them.

own view nearly totidem verbis. As to the passage which the Spectator produces to prove that he held the old doctrine as they understand it, (that is, as including personal union and transfer of character,) it amounts to very little. The passage is this: "God in imputing this sin (Adam's) *finds* this whole moral person (the human race) **ALREADY** a sinner, and *not* merely constitutes it such." He says, indeed, that Adam and his race form one moral person, and so would Turretin and Tuckney, and so would we, and yet one and all deny that there was any personal union. The very epithet *moral*, shows that no such idea is intended. When lawyers call a corporation of a hundred men a legal person, we do not hear that philosophy is called in to explain how this can be. And there is no need of her aid to explain how Adam and his race are one, in the sense of common Calvinists. But he says, God finds "this whole moral person **ALREADY** a sinner?" yes, he denies antecedent and immediate imputation, and teaches, that it is from the view and on the ground of inherent hereditary depravity imputation takes place. This is mediate imputation, "*quæ hæreditariæ corruptionis in nos ab Adamo derivatæ intuitum consequitur, eaque mediante fit;*" and which Turretin says, is no imputation at all, "*nomen imputationis retinendo, rem ipsam de facto tollit.*" Though we do not believe that Stapfer held either of the ideas which the Spectator attributes to him, identity or transfer, it is of little account to us what his views on these points were, as we think it clear that he rejected the doctrine of imputation, as held by the Reformed generally. He appeals indeed to Vitringa and Lampe to bear out his statements. How it was with the former we do not pretend to say, but as to Lampe, the very passage which Stapfer quotes contradicts his theory. Lampe says, "*Gott hätte die Nackkommen Adams nicht in Sünden lassen geböhren werden, wenn seine Schuld nicht auf seine Nachkommen wäre übergegangen,*" i. e. "God would not have permitted the descendants of Adam to be born in sin, if his guilt had not come upon them." Here the guilt of Adam (exposure to punishment on account of his sin) is represented as antecedent to corruption and assumed to justify it, and not consequent on the view of it. This is the old doctrine. That this is the fact, is plain from the quotations which we have already made. "Imputation being denied," say the

Leyden divines, "inherent corruption cannot be just." So Turretin and Calvinists generally argue; of course imputation is antecedent to corruption. The Spectator must have seen, that Stapfer's statement was inconsistent with the old doctrine, had he recollected, how often it is objected to that doctrine "that sin cannot be the punishment of sin."*

We are inclined to think that president Edwards agreed with Stapfer in his views of this subject; because he quotes from him with approbation the very passage which we have just produced; and because his own statements amount to very much the same thing. In vol. 2, p. 544, he says, "The first being of an evil disposition in a child of Adam, whereby he is disposed to approve the sin of his first father, so far as to imply a full and perfect consent of heart to it, I think, is not to be looked upon as a consequence of the imputation of that first sin, any more than the full consent of Adam's own heart in the act of sinning; which was not consequent on the imputation, but rather prior to it in the order of nature. Indeed the derivation of the evil disposition to Adam's posterity, or rather, the co-existence of the evil disposition implied in Adam's first rebellion, in the root and branches, is a consequence of the union that the wise Author of the world has established between Adam and his posterity; but not properly a consequence of the imputation of his sin; nay, it is rather antecedent to it, as it was in Adam himself. The first depravity of heart, and the imputation of that sin, are both the consequence of that established union; but yet in such order, that the evil disposition is first, and the charge of guilt consequent, as it was in the case of Adam himself." We think that Edwards here clearly asserts the doctrine of mediate imputation; that is, that the charge of the guilt of Adam's sin is consequent on depravity of heart. According to the common doctrine, however, imputation is antecedent to this depravity, and is assumed to account for it, that is, to reconcile its existence with God's justice. The doctrine of Edwards is precisely that which was so formally rejected when presented by Placcæus. Turretin in the very state-

* We do not teach, however, "that sin is the punishment of sin." The punishment we suffer for Adam's sin is abandonment on the part of God, the withholding of divine influences; corruption is consequent on this abandonment.

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ment of the question says, "It is not inquired whether the sin of Adam may be said to be imputed to us, because, on account of original sin inherent in us, (depravity of heart), we deserve to be viewed as in the same place with him, as though we had actually committed his sin," p. 678, "but the question is, whether his sin is imputed to his posterity, with an imputation, not mediate and consequent, but immediate and antecedent." It is of the latter he says, "*nos cum orthodoxis affirmamus.*" The imputation consequent on depravity of heart is precisely that which the old Calvinists declared was no imputation at all of Adam's sin, and which they almost with one voice rejected. It is on the ground of this theory that Edwards says, as Stapfer had done, that "the sin of the apostasy is not theirs, (mankind's) merely because God imputes it to them; but it is truly and properly theirs, and on that ground God imputes it to them."—P. 559. That is, imputation, instead of being antecedent, is consequent, and founded on the view of inherent depravity. When the Spectator, therefore, quotes this sentence as contradicting our statement, we readily admit the fact. It not only contradicts us, however, but is, as we have shown, utterly inconsistent with the doctrine of imputation as taught in the Reformed churches. To say, either that the sin of Adam is imputed to us, because it is inherent in us, (or is truly and properly ours), or that it becomes thus inherent, or thus ours, by being imputed, is, as Owen, Turretin, Rivet and others over and over affirm, to overthrow the whole nature of imputation. It might with as much justice be asserted, that the righteousness of Christ is first inherently and subjectively ours, and on that ground is imputed to us; or that our sins were subjectively the sins of Christ, and on that ground were imputed to him. Turretin, in so many words, asserts the very reverse of what Edwards maintains. The latter says, "the sin is truly and properly ours;" the former, "*non potest esse peccatum nostrum proprium et personale.*"

The fact is, that Edward's whole discourse on this subject was intended more to vindicate the doctrine of native depravity than that of imputation. It is for this purpose that he enters into his long and ingenious, though unsatisfactory argument on the nature of unity, and the divinely constituted oneness of Adam and his race. He hoped, in this way, the more readily to account for the existence of moral corrup-

tion, and this he makes the ground of imputation. We are surely, therefore, not to be burdened with the defence of Edward's theory on this subject, which, we think, we have abundantly shown is not the doctrine commonly received among Calvinists, but utterly inconsistent with it. As he had rejected all of imputation but the name, it is no matter of surprise that his followers soon discarded the term itself, and contented themselves with expressing the substance of his doctrine in much fewer words, viz. that God, agreeably to a general constitution, determined that Adam's posterity should be like himself; born in his moral image, whether that was good or bad. This is Stapfer's doctrine, almost in so many words; and Edwards quotes and adopts his language.

We are bound in candour, however, to state that we are not able to reconcile the view here given of Edward's doctrine, with several passages which occur in his work on Original Sin. Thus, in page 540, he says, "I desire it may be noted, that I do not suppose the natural depravity of the posterity of Adam is owing to the course of nature only: it is also owing to the just judgment of God." And in the same paragraph, "God, in righteous judgment, continued to absent himself from Adam after he became a rebel; and withheld from him now those influences of the Holy Spirit which he before had. And just thus I suppose it to be with every natural branch of mankind: all are looked upon as sinning in and with their common root; and God righteously withholds special influences and spiritual communications from all, for this sin." But how is this? If these special influences are withheld "for this sin," and as a "righteous judgment," then assuredly the sin for which this righteous judgment is inflicted, must be considered as already theirs, and not first imputed after the existence of the depravity resulting from these influences being withheld. According to Edwards, depravity results from withholding special divine influences, and according to this passage, the withholding these influences is a just judgment for Adam's sin; then of course this sin is punished before the depravity exists, but it cannot be punished before it is imputed, the imputation, therefore, according to this passage, is antecedent to the depravity. But according to the other passage quoted above, the depravity is first and the imputation subsequent. We are unable to reconcile these two statements. The one teaches immediate

and antecedent imputation, which is the old doctrine; the other mediate and consequent, which the old writers considered as a virtual denial of that doctrine. However this reconciliation is to be effected, we have said enough to show that neither Stapfer nor Edwards can be considered "standard writers on this subject," and that old Calvinists are under no obligations to defend their statements.

We hope our readers are now convinced that we have made good our position, that neither the personal identity of Adam and his posterity, community in act, nor transfer of moral character form any part of the doctrine of imputation as taught by standard Calvinistic writers.

We have left ourselves very little room to notice the protestant's difficulties. As they are almost all founded upon misapprehension, they are already answered by the mere statement of the doctrine. On page 340 he has the following sentences: "The writer in question holds, that the sin of Adam was imputed to all his posterity, to their guilt, condemnation and ruin, without any act on their part.—P. 90. Of course, then, from the moment they began to exist, that moment they were involved in this imputation. This he does most expressly affirm, by adopting, on page 94, the statement of "ancient commentators," that David "contracted pollution in his conception." Here are two great mistakes. First, the writer does not discriminate between imputation and inherent depravity. He grounds his assertion, that we teach that all men are involved in the imputation of Adam's sin from the first moment of their existence, because we said that David was conceived in sin; as though these two things were one and the same. He should have remembered that Dr Dwight, and a multitude of others, hold one of these doctrines and reject the other. The Spectator, who understands the subject better, says, that we teach that "native depravity is a punishment inflicted on us for the sin of Adam." We hardly teach, however, that the punishment is the thing punished. This confusion of the imputation of Adam's sin and inherent depravity runs through this writer's whole piece, and vitiates all his arguments. The second mistake here is, that imputation makes the thing imputed subjectively our's; which is a contradiction in terms, or as Owen says, is "to overthrow that which is affirmed." "To be alienae culpae reus, makes no

man a sinner." The same mistake is the ground of his inquiry, how Paul could say of Jacob and Esau, before their birth, that they had done neither good nor evil, if the doctrine of imputation is correct? This doctrine does not affirm that they had done either good or evil. When it is affirmed that the sin of Adam is imputed to them, it is thereby said that *they* did not commit it, and that it is not subjectively theirs.

Most of the other difficulties of the protestant are founded on the principle that "*a knowledge of law and duty is necessary, in order that sin should exist.*" Supposing we should admit this, what has it to do with imputation? There have been men who adopted this principle and built their theology upon it, who still hold this doctrine. The whole difficulty results from the protestant not discriminating between two very different things, the imputation of Adam's sin, and native depravity. All his queries founded on this principle, go to show that children cannot be morally depraved before they are moral agents, but have nothing to do with imputation. This is not the time or place to answer these inquiries, but we would ask in our turn, how Adam could be holy before he voluntarily obeyed the law, as the protestant, perhaps, still holds, if a child may not be unholy, before he voluntarily transgresses it?

The true question appears to have glimmered for a moment on the protestant, when he asked: "Is it a scripture doctrine that the guilt of others is imputed to men as their own?" What does this mean? Does he intend to ask whether the (moral) guilt of one man is ever transferred or transfused into others? We apprehend, not. The question, here, must be tantamount to this: Is the sin of one man ever punished in another? for he asks, how is this imputation of guilt to be reconciled with Ezek. xviii. 20? "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son, &c." The protestant will hardly maintain that the Israelites, to whose murmurs the prophet gave this reply, believed that the sins of their fathers were infused into them, their "moral character" transferred to them. Their complaint was: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge," that is, our fathers sinned and we are punished for it. To be punished for the sin of another, then, is, according to the protestant's doctrine, for this once at least, to have the guilt of that sin

imputed. This is our doctrine too. Now, does the gentleman mean to ask whether it is a scripture doctrine that one man ever bears the iniquity of another? If he does, it is easily answered. God says of himself that he is a jealous God, "visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon their children," a solemn and often repeated declaration.—*Ex.* xx. 25. xxxiv. 37. *Num.* xiv. 18. Job says from his observation of divine providence, "How oft is the candle of the wicked put out? God layeth up his iniquity for his children."—xx. 19. Jeremiah says "Thou recompensest the iniquities of the fathers into the bosoms of their children after them."—xxxii. 18. *Lament.* v. 7, he says, "Our fathers sinned and are not; and we have borne their iniquities." Surely the gentleman's question is answered in the only sense it can possibly bear in the connexion in which it stands. If it be said, that these expressions are to be taken in a general and popular sense, and not as affirming the doctrine of imputation; very well—then why quote them on the subject? The one form affirms precisely what the other, in a given case, denies. As to the question, how the assertion that one man ever bears the iniquities of another, (*i. e.* the doctrine of imputation) is to be reconciled with Ezekiel, it is no special concern of ours. That is, it is as much obligatory on the protestant as on us, to say, how two passages, one of which affirms and another denies the same thing, are to be brought into harmony. One thing, however, is certain, that Ezekiel cannot be so construed as to assert, that no man ever has, nor ever shall bear the iniquity of another; for this would make him contradict positively what is more than once asserted in the word of God. The context, it is presumed, will show the meaning of the prophet, and the extent to which his declaration is to be carried. The Jews complained that they had been driven into exile, not for their own sins, but for those of their fathers. The prophet tells them they had no need to look further than to themselves, but should repent and turn unto God; and assures them, that they should have no more any occasion to use that proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge;" but that the principle on which God would administer his government towards them, would be, that every man should bear his own burden. Is any thing more asserted in this passage, than a general purpose of God as to his deal-

ings with his people? And is there any thing inconsistent, in this general declaration, with those other passages in which one man is said, under peculiar circumstances, to bear the iniquity of another? And can such a passage, containing nothing more than a general principle, from which, even as it regards temporal affairs, there are many solemn departures recorded in the word of God, be brought up in contradiction to others solemn declarations, in which God declares he would act upon a different principle? This passage asserts nothing in opposition to any doctrine of ours. We admit, in its full force, that it is a general principle in the divine government, that every man shall bear his own burden; but we do not admit that because this is the case, there can be no such connexion between one man and another, that one may not justly bear the iniquity of the other. A declaration, therefore, which, at most, has reference only to the private and personal sins of individuals, bound together by no other tie than consanguinity, and which, even there, is only true as a general principle, can never with any propriety be made the ground of an argument, in reference to cases entirely dissimilar. The protestant, however, may be much better qualified than we are, to reconcile the declaration of Ezekiel with those quoted from Moses and Jeremiah, and with the obvious departures from the principle it contains, recorded in the word of God and observed in his providence, and it is surely as much his concern to do this as ours.

The concession which the gentleman has here unintentionally made, is, however, important. According to him, for one man to bear the iniquity of another, is to have his guilt imputed to him. This is our doctrine, and the doctrine of the Reformed churches. This is what is meant by imputation, and nothing more nor less. That this is the case is evident, not only from the numerous quotations already made, but also from the fact that Calvinists constantly appeal to those passages in which Christ is said to have borne our sins, as teaching this doctrine. He is said to bear our iniquities, precisely in the sense in which in Ezekiel it is declared that "the son shall not bear the iniquities of the father." If, therefore, as the protestant thinks, the passage in Ezekiel denies the doctrine, the other passages must assert it, in reference to Christ. Now let it be remembered, that these

Calvinists affirm, that we bear the sin of Adam, in the same sense (*eadem ratione, eodem modo*) in which Christ bore our sins, and what becomes of all his objections?

Our wonder is, that when the protestant had caught the glimpse of the doctrine, which is betrayed in this paragraph, he should in the very next, entirely lose sight of it, and ask, "Whether the first principles of moral consciousness do not decide, that sin, in its proper sense, is the result of what we have done ourselves; not of what was done for us without our knowledge or consent? I ask, in what part of the Bible are we called upon to repent of Adam's sin? And finally, whether the historian would honestly say, with all his attachment to the opinions of the fathers, that he has ever so appropriated Adam's sin to himself, as truly to recognize it as his own, and to repent of it as such?"—P. 342. That is, imputed sin becomes personal sin. The old mistake. Just before, to impute the sin of one man to another, was not to render that sin personally his, but merely to cause the one "to bear the iniquity" of the other, in the Hebrew sense of that phrase. He never could have imagined, that when Ezekiel declared "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," he meant to say, that the son shall not have his father's sin made personally and subjectively his; when he quoted the prophet, therefore, he must have seen that to impute sin, meant to cause those to whom it is imputed to bear the punishment of it. We regret that our author did not arrive at this idea sooner, and that he did not retain it longer, as it would have saved him the trouble of asking all these questions, and us the trouble of answering them.

We have frequently been asked, by young men, if we have ever repented of Adam's sin, and have uniformly, to their obvious discomfort, answered in the negative. Knowing the sense in which the question was put, it would have confirmed their misconceptions to have answered otherwise. We have never so appropriated that sin as to recognize it as properly and personally our own, or as the ground of personal remorse. We have always considered this question as unreasonable as it would be to ask us, if we have ever felt self approbation and complacency for the imputed righteousness of Christ. That there is a very just and proper sense in which we should repent of the sin of Adam, we readily admit; and are perfectly aware that old writers insist much

upon the duty. Not however on the principle that his sin is personally ours, or that its moral turpitude is transferred from him to us; but on the principle that a child is humbled and grieved at the misconduct of a father; or that we are called upon to repent of the sins of our rulers, or of our nation, or of our church, (as was the case with the Corinthians);* not as personally guilty of their sins, but in virtue of the relation in which we stand to them. It is just and proper, too, that we should recognize the justice of that constitution by which we bear the sin of our first father, remembering "that he was not on trial for himself alone," but also for us, and consequently, that we fell when he fell, and should, therefore, bow before God as members of an apostate and condemned race.

We have now gone over those inquiries of the protestant which we consider it important to notice, and answered them to the best of our ability. If there is any thing in our reply adapted to disturb christian harmony and brotherhood, we shall deeply regret it. Some apology, however, will be found in the fact, that we have been held up by the protestant to the contempt and reprobation of the public for doctrines which we never held, and which we never, even in appearance, advanced. As this has been done ignorantly, we feel no manner of unkindness towards the writer, whoever he may be, although we think he was bound to understand what our doctrines were, before he thus unqualifiedly denounced them. There is not here a mere misapprehension of our meaning, which might be as much attributable to our want of perspicuity, as to his want of discrimination; but there is an entire misapprehension of the whole doctrine of imputation, as held by common Calvinists. We are aware that some excuse for this is to be found in the manner in which president Edwards has presented the subject. But a man who undertakes to write on any doctrine, and especially severely to censure his brethren, ought to extend his views beyond one solitary writer, who, as in the case before us, may prove to be no fair representative of its advocates.

Our main object has been attained, if we have succeeded

* This is one of the cases to which old writers refer for illustration. See Goodwin's works, vol. 3, p. 372.

nalis naturae humanae corruptio, et facilis inde via sit ad negationem imputationis justitiae secundi Adami." While they rejoiced in the unanimous decision of the French synod, they deeply regretted that any should disregard it, and endeavour to disseminate a doctrine "contrarium communi omnium ferme Christianorum consensui, solis Pelagii et Socini discipulis exceptis." They recommend strongly the work of their colleague Rivet, who, they say, had endeavoured, "Synodi nationalis decretum tueri, dogma vere Catholicum stabilire, bene sentientes in veritate confirmare, aberrantes in viam reducere auctoritatibus gravibus, et *universali totius orbis Christianorum consensu*."—*Opera Riveti*, tom. 3, p. 223, or *De Moor*, tom. 3, p. 274.

Instead of writing an article, we should be obliged to write a volume, if we were to take up and fully discuss all the subjects, relevant and irrelevant, presented in the protestant's inquiries. We have followed our own judgment in the selection of topics, and touched on those points which we thought most likely to be interesting and useful. We feel, therefore, perfectly authorised to dismiss, at least for the present, the history of this doctrine. Turretin, the French synod, the professors of Leyden, the Augsburg Confession, assert as strongly as we have done, its general prevalence among orthodox christians. The second article of the Augsburg Confession runs thus: "Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae, omnes homines naturali modo propagati nascentes habeant peccatum originis. Intelligimus autem peccatum originis, quod sic vocant Sancti Patres, et omnes orthodoxi et piè eruditi in Ecclesia videlicet reatum, quo nascentes propter Adae lapsum rei sunt iræ Dei et mortis aeternae, et ipsam corruptionem humanae naturae propagatam ab Adamo." These quotations will at least satisfy our readers, that we have not been more rash in our assertions than many others before us, and is as much, we think, as the protestant's inquiry on this point calls for. Our principal concern is with the editors of the *Spectator*, who have presented the most interesting subject of investigation. We revert, therefore, to their statement, that Edwards, Stapfer and "other standard writers on the subject," taught the doctrine of imputation differently from what we have done. That this is not correct, as relates to the great body of the Reformed Theologians, we have, we think, sufficiently prov-

ed. How the case stands with Edwards and Stapfer we shall now proceed to inquire.

As Edwards appears to have borrowed, in some measure, his views on this subject from Stapfer, we shall begin with the latter. We must, in the outset, dissent from the remark of the Spectator, that Stapfer is to be regarded as a "standard writer" on the doctrine of imputation. So far from it, the synod of Berne refused to sanction his views on the subject, as inconsistent with the doctrines of the reformed churches*. And in his work, as now printed, he apologizes for his statements on this point, and endeavours to make it appear, that they do not involve a departure from the common doctrine, (Theol. Pol. vol. 4. p. 562.) with how much success the reader may judge. On page 156, in answer to the common objection that imputation is inconsistent with justice, he says, in substance, no one could accuse God of injustice, if in virtue of a divine constitution, had Adam remained holy, his posterity had been holy also; and therefore no one should complain, if in virtue of the same constitution, they are born in the image of their unholy progenitor. And then says expressly, this is the whole amount of imputation, "*Peccati autem primi imputatio in nulla alia re consistit quam quod posterius ejus et eodem loco habentur et similes sunt parenti.*" And plainer still a little afterwards, "*dum Adamo similem dare sobolem, et peccatum ejus imputare unum idemque.*" This, as we understand it, is precisely Dr Hopkin's doctrine; that in virtue of a divine constitution the posterity of Adam were to have the same moral character that he had. This too is the Spectator's doctrine; he says, "that Adam was not on trial for himself alone, but by a divine constitution, all his descendants were to have, in their natural state, the same character and state with their progenitor."—P. 348. And yet these brethren denounce, in no very measured terms, the old doctrine of imputation: It is rather singular, therefore, that they should quote Stapfer as a "standard writer" on that doctrine, who asserts their

* This statement is made confidently, although from memory. In the first copy of his work which fell into our hands, this fact is stated, and our impression of its correctness is confirmed, by the nature of his opinions as now presented, and his apology for them.

The question then is, is this evil of the nature of punishment? If it is, then the doctrine of imputation is admitted; if not, it is denied. The Spectator thinks this a mere dispute about words. We think very differently. A principle is involved in the decision of this question, which affects very deeply our views, not only of the nature of our relation to Adam, and of original sin, but also of the doctrines of atonement and justification: the most vital doctrines of the Christian system. The distinction, on which so much stress is laid by many who deny the doctrine of imputation, between mere natural consequences and penal evils, though it may be correct in itself, is not applicable to the case before us. An evil does not cease to be penal, because it is a natural consequence. Almost all the punishment of sin, is the natural consequence of sin: it is according to the established course of nature, (*i. e.* the will of God, the moral governor of the world,) that excess produces suffering, and the suffering, under the divine government, is the punishment of the excess. Sin produces, and is punished by remorse. The fire that "is not quenched," and "the worm that never dies," may, for what we know, be the natural effect of sin. It matters not, therefore, whether mortality in Adam and his descendants be a natural consequence of eating the forbidden fruit (from its poisonous nature,) which is a very popular theory, or whether death is a direct and positive infliction. Nor would it alter the case if native depravity was a natural result, as many suppose, of the same forbidden fruit, by giving undue excitability and power to the lower passions; because these effects result from the appointment of God, who is the author of the course of nature, and were designed by him to be the punishment of sin. We think the position of Storr is perfectly correct, that the consequences of punishment are themselves punishment, in so far as they were taken into view by the judge in passing sentence, and came within the scope of his design.—*Zweck des Todes Jesu*, p. 585.

But, admitting the correctness of this distinction, we do not see how it is applicable to the present case, that is, how Dr Dwight, and those who think with him, would make it appear, that the moral corruption of the whole human race, was the *natural* consequence of Adam's sin; much less how the Spectator can make it out, that "the universality and

When divines, "inherent corruption cannot be just." So Turretin and Calvinists generally argue; of course imputation is antecedent to corruption. The Spectator must have seen, that Stapfer's statement was inconsistent with the old doctrine, had he recollected, how often it is objected to that doctrine "that sin cannot be the punishment of sin."* We are inclined to think that president Edwards agreed with Stapfer in his views of this subject; because he quotes him with approbation the very passage which we have just produced; and because his own statements amount to very much the same thing. In vol. 2, p. 544, he says, "The first being of an evil disposition in a child of Adam, whereby he is disposed to approve the sin of his first father, so far as it implies a full and perfect consent of heart to it, I think, is not to be looked upon as a consequence of the imputation of his first sin, any more than the full consent of Adam's own heart in the act of sinning; which was not consequent on the imputation, but rather prior to it in the order of nature. Indeed the derivation of the evil disposition to Adam's posterity, or rather, the co-existence of the evil disposition implied in Adam's first rebellion, in the root and branches, is a consequence of the union that the wise Author of the world has established between Adam and his posterity; but not properly a consequence of the imputation of his sin; nay, it is rather antecedent to it, as it was in Adam himself. The first depravity of heart, and the imputation of that sin, are both the consequence of that established union; but yet in such order, that the evil disposition is first, and the charge of guilt consequent, as it was in the case of Adam himself." We think that Edwards here clearly asserts the doctrine of mediate imputation; that is, that the charge of the guilt of Adam's sin is consequent on depravity of heart. According to the common doctrine, however, imputation is antecedent to this depravity, and is assumed to account for it, that is, to reconcile its existence with God's justice. The doctrine of Edwards is precisely that which was so formally rejected and rejected by Placaeus. Turretin in the very state-

teach, however, "that sin is the punishment of sin." The punishment for Adam's sin is abandonment on the part of God, the withholding of his influences; corruption is consequent on this abandonment.

own view nearly totidem verbis. As to the passage which the Spectator produces to prove that he held the old doctrine as they understand it, (that is, as including personal union and transfer of character,) it amounts to very little. The passage is this: "God in imputing this sin (Adam's) *finds* this whole moral person (the human race) **ALREADY** a sinner, and *not* merely constitutes it such." He says, indeed, that Adam and his race form one moral person, and so would Turretin and Tuckney, and so would we, and yet one and all deny that there was any personal union. The very epithet *moral*, shows that no such idea is intended. When lawyers call a corporation of a hundred men a legal person, we do not hear that philosophy is called in to explain how this can be. And there is no need of her aid to explain how Adam and his race are one, in the sense of common Calvinists. But he says, God finds "this whole moral person **ALREADY** a sinner?" yes, he denies antecedent and immediate imputation, and teaches, that it is from the view and on the ground of inherent hereditary depravity imputation takes place. This is mediate imputation, "*quæ hæreditariæ corruptionis in nos ab Adamo derivatæ intuitum consequitur, eaque mediante fit;*" and which Turretin says, is no imputation at all, "*nomen imputationis retinendo, rem ipsam de facto tollit.*" Though we do not believe that Stapfer held either of the ideas which the Spectator attributes to him, identity or transfer, it is of little account to us what his views on these points were, as we think it clear that he rejected the doctrine of imputation, as held by the Reformed generally. He appeals indeed to Vitringa and Lampe to bear out his statements. How it was with the former we do not pretend to say, but as to Lampe, the very passage which Stapfer quotes contradicts his theory. Lampe says, "*Gott hätte die Nackkommen Adams nicht in Sünden lassen geboren werden, wenn seine Schuld nicht auf seine Nachkommen wäre übergegangen,*" i. e. "God would not have permitted the descendants of Adam to be born in sin, if his guilt had not come upon them." Here the guilt of Adam (exposure to punishment on account of his sin) is represented as antecedent to corruption and assumed to justify it, and not consequent on the view of it. This is the old doctrine. That this is the fact, is plain from the quotations which we have already made. "Imputation being denied," say the

Leyden divines, "inherent corruption cannot be just." So Turretin and Calvinists generally argue; of course imputation is antecedent to corruption. The Spectator must have seen, that Stapfer's statement was inconsistent with the old doctrine, had he recollected, how often it is objected to that doctrine "that sin cannot be the punishment of sin."*

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* We do not teach, however, "that sin is the punishment of sin." The punishment we suffer for Adam's sin is abandonment on the part of God, the withholding of divine influences; corruption is consequent on this abandonment.

against his own doctrine of evil consequences; and, secondly, because we think it militates with facts in the providence of God, and if valid, is valid against the divine administration.

We have other reasons, however, for the opinion which we ventured to express that the Spectator's principle was anti-scriptural. It contradicts the positive assertions of scripture, as we understand them. We can only refer to two instances of this kind. In the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, from the twelfth verse to the twenty-first, we consider the apostle as not only asserting, but arguing on the principle that one man may bear the iniquity of another. His object is to illustrate the method of justification. As we have been condemned for a sin which is not our own, so are we justified for a righteousness which is not our own. That we have been thus brought under condemnation, he proves from the universality of death, the penalty of the law. This penalty was not incurred by the violation of the law of Moses, because it was inflicted long before that law was given; neither is it incurred, in all cases, by the actual violations of a law which threatens death, because it comes on those who have never actually violated any such law; therefore it is for the one offence of one man that the condemnatory sentence, (the *κρίμα* *ἢ* *κατακρίμα*,) has passed on all men. The disobedience of one man is no more simply the occasion of all men being sinners, than the obedience of one is merely the occasion of all becoming righteous. But the disobedience of the one is the ground of our being treated as sinners; and the obedience of the other is the ground of our being treated as righteous. This view of the passage, as to its main feature, is adopted by every class of commentators. Knapp, in his *Theology*, quoted above, sect. 76, in speaking of the doctrine of imputation, says, "That in the Mosaic history of the fall, although the word is not used, the doctrine is involved in the account." In the writings of the Jews, in the paraphrases of the Old Testament, in the Talmuds and rabbinical works, the sentence, "the descendants of Adam suffer the punishment of death on account of his first sin" frequently occurs, in so many words. This doctrine of imputation was very common among them, he says, in the times of the apostles. "Paul teaches it plainly, *Rom. v. 12—14*, and there brings it into connexion with the

christian doctrines. He uses, respecting it, precisely the same expressions which we find in the writings of the Rabbins." On the following page, in reference to the passage in *Rom.* v. 12—14, he says, that the doctrine of imputation is here more clearly advanced than in any other portion of the New Testament. "The modern philosophers and theologians," he remarks, "found here much that was inconsistent with their philosophical systems. They, therefore, explained and refined so long on the passage, that they at length forced out a sense from which imputation was excluded; as even Doederlein has done in his system of theology. They did not consider, however, that Paul uses precisely the same modes of expressions which were current among the Jews of that age respecting imputation; and that his cotemporary readers could not have understood them otherwise than as teaching that doctrine; and that Paul in another passage, *Heb.* vii. 9, 10, reasons in the same manner. Paul shows, in substance, that all men are regarded and punished by God as sinners, and that the ground of this lies in the act of *one* man; as, on the other hand, deliverance from punishment depends on one man, Jesus Christ." He immediately afterwards, says, that, unless force is done to the apostle's words, it must be acknowledged, that he argues to prove that the ground on which men are subject to death, is not their personal sinfulness, but "the imputation of Adam's sin."*

Zachariæ, of Goettingen, understands the apostle in the same manner. In his *Biblische Theologie*, vol. ii. p. 394, 395, he says, "Imputation with Paul is the actual infliction on a person of the punishment of sin; consequently the sin of Adam is imputed to all men, if there is any punishment inflicted on them on account of that sin. His whole reasoning, *Rom.* v. 13, 14, brings this idea with it. Sin is not imputed according to a law, so long as that law is not yet given; yet punishment was inflicted long before the time of Moses. His conclusion, therefore, is, where God punishes

* Knapp does not himself admit the doctrine of imputation, at least, not without much qualification. He does not deny the apostle's plain assertion of the doctrine, however, but gets over it by saying, that he is not to be interpreted strictly, but as speaking in a general and popular sense.

sin, there he imputes it; and where there is no punishment of a sin, there it is not imputed." "If God, therefore, allows the punishment which Adam incurred to come on all his descendants, he imputes his sin to them all. And in this sense Paul maintains that the sin of Adam is imputed to all, because the punishment of the one offence of Adam has come upon all." On page 386 he gives the sense of *Rom. v. 18*, thus, "The judicial sentence of God, condemning all men to death, has passed on all men, on account of the one offence of Adam." This is precisely our doctrine. It matters not, as far as the principle is concerned, how the *ἀνατίθηται* in this passage is explained.

Whitby has the same view. He insists upon rendering it, "in whom," because, he says, "It is not true that death came upon all men, *for that*, or *because*, all have sinned. For the apostle directly here asserts the contrary, viz. That the death and condemnation to it which befel all men, was for the sin of Adam only." "Therefore the apostle doth expressly teach us that this death, this condemnation to it, came not upon us for the sin of all, but only for the sin of one, *i. e.* of that one Adam, *in whom all men die.*—1 *Cor. xv. 22.*"

We refer to these authors merely to make it appear, that even in the opinion of the most liberalized writers, the plain sense of Scripture contradicts the principle of the Spectator, that one man can never be punished for the sin of another. This sense, we are persuaded, cannot be gotten rid of, without adopting a principle of interpretation which would enable us to explain away any doctrine of the word of God. The older Calvinists, as we have seen, considered the denial of imputation, or in other words, the assumption of the principle of the Spectator, as leading to the denial of original sin or native depravity. They were, therefore, alarmed when some of their French brethren rejected the former doctrine, though they at that time continued to hold the latter. Their apprehensions were not unfounded. Those who made this first departure from the faith of their fathers, very soon gave up the other doctrine, and before long relapsed into that state from which, after so long a declension, they are now struggling to rise. Without any intention of either casting unmerited odium on any of our brethren, or of exciting unnecessary apprehensions, we would seriously ask, if there is

no evidence of a similar tendency in the opinions of some brethren in this country. The doctrine of imputation has long been rejected by many, both within and without the bounds of our own ecclesiastical connexion, who still hold, with Dr Dwight, to native depravity, or that men are born "contaminated in their moral nature." How this can be just, or consistent with the divine perfections, if not a penal infliction, it is difficult to perceive. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that some of the most distinguished theologians of this school, now deny that there is any such contamination of nature; or that men are morally depraved before they are moral agents, and have knowingly and voluntarily violated the laws of God. These gentlemen, however, still maintain that it is certain that the first moral act in every case will be sinful. But this seems very hard: that men should be brought up to their probation, under "a divine constitution" which secures the certainty of their sinning. How this is to be reconciled with God's justice and goodness any better than the doctrine of Dr Dwight, we are unable to discover; and therefore apprehend that it will not long be retained. The further step must, we apprehend, be taken, of denying any such constitution, and any such dire certainty of sinning. And then the universality of sin will be left to be explained by imitation and circumstances. This, as it appears to us, is the natural tendency of these opinions; this has been their actual course in other countries, and to a certain extent, also, among ourselves. If our brethren will call this arguing *ad invidiam*, we are sorry for it. They do not hesitate, however, to say, that our opinions make God the author of sin, destroy the sinner's responsibility, weaken the influence of the gospel, and thus ruin the souls of men.

But if the Spectator's principle, that one man can never suffer the punishment of the sins of another is correct, what becomes of the doctrine of atonement? According to the scriptural view of this subject, Christ saves us by bearing the punishment of our sins. This, as we understand, is admitted. That is, it is admitted that this is the scriptural mode of representing this subject. Our brethren do not deny that the phrase "to bear the iniquity of any one," means to bear the punishment of that iniquity, as in the passage in Ezekiel, "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," and in

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a multitude of similar cases. Where, therefore, the Bible says, that "Christ bore our sins" it means, that he bore the punishment of our sins; or rather, as Grotius says, it cannot mean any thing else. "*Peccata ferre patiundo, atque ita ut inde liberentur alii, aliud indicare non potest, quam poenae alienae susceptionem.*"—P. 300. And not only the scriptures but even the Greek and Latin authors who use this phrase, he says, "*semper imputationem includunt.*" This, however, on the Spectator's principle, must be explained away; and the ground be assumed, that the scriptures mean to teach us only the fact that Christ's death saves us, but not that it does so by being a punishment of our sins. But if this ground be taken, what shall we have to say to the Socinians who admit the fact as fully as we do? They say, it is by the moral impression it produces on us; our brethren say, it is by the moral impression it produces on the intelligent universe. If we desert the Bible representation, have they not as much right to their theory as we have to ours? This is a subject we cannot now enter upon. Our object is, to show that this is no dispute about words; that the denial of the doctrine of imputation not only renders that of original sin untenable; but involves, either the rejection or serious modification of those of atonement and justification.

Select List of Recent Publications.

BIBLICAL.

Course of Hebrew Study ; consisting of Extracts in Prose, adapted to the use of Beginners. By Moses Stuart. Vol. II. Andover. Flagg and Gould. 8vo.

The New Testament in the Common Version, conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text. Boston. Gray and Bowen. 12mo. Pp. 491.

An Attempt to Ascertain the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, and of St Paul's Epistles. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford, 1830.

A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, for the use of English readers. By William Carpenter. The second edition, illustrated with Maps and Plates. 8vo. London, 1830.

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Geography of the Bible ; compiled for the American Sunday School Union. By J. W. and J. A. Alexander. Stereotype. Philadelphia. 12mo. Pp. 180.

THEOLOGY.

BUCK'S THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY. *New Edition.*

A Theological Dictionary, containing Definitions of all Religious Terms ; a Comprehensive View of every article in the System of Divinity ; an Impartial Account of all the Principal Denominations which have subsisted in the Reli-

gious World from the Birth of Christ to the present day : together with an accurate statement of the most remarkable transactions and events recorded in Ecclesiastical History. By the Rev. Charles Buck. New American, from the latest London edition. Revised and improved by the addition of many new articles, and the whole adapted to the present state of Theological Science and of the Religious World. By the Rev. George Bush, A.M. With an Appendix, containing a late Account of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and of the Associated Methodists. Philadelphia : James Kay, Jun. & Co. Library Street. Pittsburgh : John J. Kay & Co. No. 95 Market Street.

The true Plan of a Living Temple ; or Man considered in his proper relation to the ordinary occupations and pursuits of Life. By the author of the Morning and Evening Sacrifice. 3 vols, 12mo. London.

Practical Theology, comprising Discourses on the Liturgy and Principles of the United Church of England and Ireland; Critical and other Tracts, and a Speech delivered in the House of Peers in 1824. By the Rev. John Jebb, D.D. F.R.S., Bishop of Limerick, Ardferd and Aghadoe. 2 vols, 8vo. London, 1830.

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Lectures in Defence of Divine Revelation. By David Pickering. Providence. Samuel W. Wheeler. 12mo. Pp. 216.

The Theology of the Cambridge Divinity School. By F. W. J. Greenwood. Boston. Gray and Bowen. 12mo.

Reasons for Unitarian Belief; plainly stated in Nine Lectures. By Luther Hamilton. Boston. L. C. Bowles. 12mo. Pp. 139.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By the Rev. H. H. Milman. In 3 vols. New York. J. and J. Harper. 18mo.

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ERRATA IN THE NO. FOR APRIL.

On page 273, line 10, for "eminent or imminent," read "emanant or immanent."
On the same page, line 22, for "imminent" read "immanent."

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THE
BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND THEOLOGICAL
REVIEW.

FOR OCTOBER 1830.

THE DOCTRINE OF ORIGINAL SIN AS HELD BY
THE CHURCH, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE
REFORMATION.

Although, as has been shown in a former article, the Pelagian doctrines respecting original sin were condemned by councils and popes, yet the heresy was not soon extinguished; but was in whole or in part adopted by many learned and ingenious men. To many, the opinions of Augustine appeared harsh, and hardly reconcilable with moral agency and human accountableness. They, therefore, endeavoured to strike out a middle course between the rigid doctrines of Augustine and the unscriptural opinions of Pelagius. This led to the adoption of an intermediate system, which obtained the denomination of semi-Pelagianism; and as these views seem to have been generally received about Marseilles, in the south of France, the abettors of this theory were very commonly called *Massilienses*. Augustine entered also into this controversy, and carried on a correspondence on the subject with Prosper and Hilary, two learned men of that region; the former of whom ardently opposed the semi-Pelagians, while the latter was inclined to favour them. By degrees, however, the public attention was called off from this subject. The darkness and confusion produced by the incursion of the northern bar-

barians took away all opportunity and disposition to discuss those abstruse matters. Ages of ignorance succeeded, which have emphatically been called "the dark ages." Superstition advanced, indeed, with rapid strides, but doctrinal investigation was neglected; or degenerated into mere logomachies, or useless thorny disputations.

We shall therefore pass over this long dark period with this slight notice, and will proceed to take a survey of the period antecedent to the reformation; and endeavour to ascertain the opinions of some of those acute and metaphysical men, denominated *schoolmen*. It has become customary for almost all classes of modern writers to treat the scholastic theology with sovereign contempt; and this often without any adequate knowledge of the system which they condemn. It is true, these ingenious men often exhausted their energies and lost their labour by a vain attempt to fathom an abyss: but it would surprise some modern metaphysicians and theologians to learn how exactly they themselves are running in the track, and pursuing the very footsteps of these despised schoolmen.

Our first object, therefore, will be to lay before the reader a brief abstract of the discussions of the *angelical* doctor, St Thomas Aquinas, on the subject of original sin. The subject is treated in the eighty-second question of his second book.

On this subject he starts four queries. 1. "Whether original sin is a *habit*? 2. Whether original sin is *one*, in man? 3. Whether it consists in concupiscence? 4. Whether it exists in an equal degree in all?"

This author, in his vast work, entitled *SUMMA THEOLOGIE*, invariably commences his discussion by briefly stating some arguments on each side of the question.

On the first question proposed above, he brings forward the following objections to the affirmative. 1. "Original sin consists in the privation of original righteousness, as is declared by Anselm; but a privation is not a habit, therefore original sin is not a habit." 2. "Actual sin is more deserving of blame than original sin, because it possesses more of a voluntary nature; but a mere habit of actual sin is not chargeable with guilt; for if it were, then a man would be guilty of sin all the time he was asleep. Original sin therefore is not a habit." 3. "Besides, in evil, the act always precedes the habit; for no evil habit is ever infused, but always acquired: but no act precedes original sin; therefore original sin is not a habit."

"But, on the other hand, Augustine declares that infants are

the subjects of concupiscence; but they are not so in regard to the act; therefore original sin in them must be a habit."

The conclusion which he draws from a view of both sides of the question, is the following: "Original sin is a habit, but not in the same way as knowledge is a habit; but it is a certain inordinate condition of nature, and a debility consequent on the privation of original righteousness," which proposition he proceeds to explain as follows: "The word habit is taken in a two-fold sense; in the first, it signifies a power by which one is inclined to act; in this sense, knowledge and virtue are called habits: but in the other sense, habit is a disposition or state of nature composed of many particulars, according to which nature is in a condition favourable or unfavourable for any given exercise. Now, according to the first sense of the word, original sin is not a habit, but according to the second it is; just as we speak of health as a good habit or state of the body; and sickness as the contrary. Original sin may, therefore, be described to be "a certain inordinate condition or disposition proceeding from the loss of harmony in the exercise of the moral powers, in which harmony original righteousness consisted: just as sickness is a certain disordered state of the body and its functions, arising from the loss of that equal temperament in which health consists. On account of this analogy, original sin is often called "a disease of the mind." And as in bodily sickness, there is not a mere privation of that regular state and action in which health consists, but also an inordinate disposition, so also, original sin includes both a privation of original righteousness, and a disorder of the faculties of the mind: it is not, therefore, merely a privation, but is also a corrupt habit."

"Again, as actual sin consists in the irregularity of our moral exercises, and original sin in the inordinate disposition of our nature, original sin may have the true nature and ill-desert of sin; but such an inordinate condition of the soul has not the nature of an act, but of a habit; therefore, original and actual sin are distinct, although both are connected with ill-desert."

But in regard to the third objection, stated above, in which it was alleged, that in evil, acts must precede the habit, as there can be no infusion of evil habits, "I would observe," says he, "that it has already been stated, that original sin does not consist in that kind of a habit in which there is a power inclining us to act; for although from original sin there does follow an

inclination to inordinate action, yet not directly, but indirectly; namely, by the removal of original righteousness, by which these inordinate motions were restrained, and every thing preserved in its regular condition: just as in the case of bodily sickness there follows indirectly an inclination to irregular bodily motions. Original sin, therefore, ought not to be considered 'an infused habit,' nor a habit acquired by repeated acts, but an innate disposition derived from the voluntary transgression of the first man."

The above will serve as a specimen of the manner in which this subject was discussed in the thirteenth century. It is not to our purpose to take any notice of the author's answers to the other questions stated above.

It is now time to bring distinctly into view the opinions of the reformers on the subject of original sin. And here it may be observed in the general, that while these distinguished and holy men appealed to the Bible for the proof of their doctrines, and would agree to submit to no other judge in matters of faith, yet they were all much in the habit of studying the writings of Augustine, whose views of doctrine appeared to them to be remarkably accordant with the sacred scriptures. From a knowledge of this fact, it might readily be inferred that the reformers agreed with the father before-mentioned, in his views of original sin. There is no occasion, however, to have recourse to reasoning on this point: the confessions, catechisms, and treatises of these men, are as explicit as we could wish them to be; and although they fell into deplorable divisions about other matters, yet in regard to doctrine, it is remarkable, they were all of one mind. This unanimity is not a conclusion merely inferred from their writings; but at the famous conference between Luther and Zuingle, and their respective friends and adherents at Marpurg, where they were unable to come to any agreement respecting the eucharist, it was ascertained by a particular comparison of ideas on all the important doctrines of religion, that no difference of opinion existed among them on these points. And that this conference, from which the friends of peace had expected so much, might not be altogether without fruit, a paper, or confession, consisting of fourteen articles, was prepared and signed by all the theologians present. The fourth of these articles related to original sin, and was in the following words: "Quarto, credimus, quod peccatum originale sit nobis innatum, et ab Adamo in nos propagatum. Et quod sit tale peccatum, quod omnes

homines damnationi obnoxios faciat. Ita, quidem, ut nisi Jesum Christum nobis sua morte et vita subvenisset, omnes homines propter originale peccatum damnati fuissent, nec in regnum dei, et ad æternam felicitatem pervenire potuissent."

These doctrinal articles were subscribed by Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentius, Agricola, Ecolampadius, Zuingle, Bucer and Hedio.

It is true, however, that Zuingle fell, for a while, under some suspicion of error, in regard to the doctrine of original sin; because he maintained that infants, the offspring of believing parents, would not finally perish for want of baptism: and it has been alleged, that in some of his writings he spake of original sin rather as our disease and curse than as our sin. On this account Rhegius addressed an admonitory letter to him, to which Zuingle replied explicitly and fully, so as to give full satisfaction to Rhegius and to others; and now, A.D. 1529, at Marpurg, he and his followers were as ready to subscribe this doctrine as Luther himself. After the breach was found to be irreconcilable on the subject of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the Lutherans indulged great bitterness of spirit towards this noble reformer, and often spoke of him and his adherents as *pelagianising*: although, in fact, they were as orthodox on this point as the Lutherans themselves.

As it appears that no diversity of opinion existed among the reformed on this subject, it will be sufficient, in addition to what has been said already, merely to exhibit the words of the famous confession of Augsburg, sometimes called the Augustan confession. "Peccatum originis habet privationem originalis justitiæ, et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animæ; unde non est privatio, sed quidam habitus corruptus." "Original sin consists in the want of original righteousness, and in an inordinate disposition of the faculties of the soul: so that it is not merely a privation, but a certain corrupt habit."

The perfect agreement of all the reformers on the subject of the imputation of the first sin of Adam to all his posterity, must be well known to all who are conversant with their writings. Their opinions on this subject have, however, been collected by the very learned Andrew Rivet, in his work on Original Sin, which is contained in the third volume of the folio edition of his works. It will be unnecessary, therefore, at present to exhibit their testimony on this point.

The far famed council of Trent formed several canons on

the subject of original sin, but they were expressed in the most ambiguous terms. Their object was, in general terms, to recognize the ancient doctrine of the church on this point, but not to censure any of their own doctors, who differed exceedingly from one another in their views of the subject. That this was indeed the motive which actuated them, is explicitly declared by one of their most learned members, Andradius, who became also the principal defender of the canons and proceedings of that body. He informs us that the decrees of the council on this subject were not intended to condemn even the opinions which had been published by Albert Pighius, who confined original sin entirely to the imputation of the sin of Adam, and asserted that there was no such thing as inherent, hereditary depravity; for, he says, it was their purpose to leave all men at liberty to form what opinions they pleased respecting the nature of original sin.

Andradius himself, in treating this subject, makes a free use of this liberty, and discourses in the following manner: "Man, in his original creation, received a constitution, in which were implanted a number of appetites, desires, and affections, between which, considered in themselves, there was not a perfect concord, for the flesh naturally lusted against the mind, and *vice versa*: but over these purely natural affections there was superinduced a moral character, called 'original righteousness,' by which all the irregular tendencies of the nature of man were restrained within proper bounds, and the exercise of the whole rendered harmonious." "The propension of these natural inclinations," he says, "is not in itself sinful, but when original righteousness is removed, then it becomes sinful by its disorder and extravagance. The very essence of original sin therefore consists in the absence of original righteousness, from which defect all sinful concupiscence proceeds. These natural inclinations, therefore, called 'concupiscence,' are not evil *per se*, but only by irregularity and excess; therefore, when the mind is renewed by the Holy Spirit, and they are again restrained within their proper limits, they cease to be sinful." But as all sin supposes the transgression of a law, Andradius asks, "whether the loss of original righteousness is repugnant to any law;" and answers, "that there is, indeed, no express law to which it is opposed," but says, "it is contrary to the general law of our nature, which requires every thing essential to our moral perfection." But here our ingenious author falls into a difficulty,

for he lays it down as a principle, "that all sin is the act of an intelligent and voluntary agent in violation of the law of God;" but the loss of original righteousness was owing to the personal fault of Adam, who was the only voluntary agent concerned in the transaction. His answer is subtle, though unsatisfactory; but it is borrowed from Augustine. "As all men were then included in Adam, so our wills were included in his will, and thus original sin may be said to be voluntary in us." But, whereas, there was but an obscure exercise of our will in the commission of the first sin, he maintains, and it is accordant with the common opinion of popish theologians, "that of all sins, original sin is the least;" but as this is directly contrary to the declaration of the fathers, they say, that the reason why it had been called *great* by them was, on account of its wide diffusion and universal propagation.

It is very evident, therefore, from the explicit declarations of this great defender of the council of Trent, how much they obscured and misrepresented this fundamental doctrine of scripture; and, accordingly, he finds great fault with a writer of his own church, who had taught, that from the soul infected with original sin no good thing could naturally proceed; asserting, that human nature was not so entirely depraved, but that from it by proper discipline, some good thing might proceed without the aid of grace; and this good he does not confine to external acts, but extends to spiritual exercises; therefore, according to him, the seeds of genuine piety must exist in our corrupt nature, previous to regeneration.

Chemnicus, from whose *EXAMEN* the preceding account is taken, gives his own views and those of his brethren on this subject; an abstract of which we will here insert, and which may be considered as expressive of the opinions of all the reformers, as this defence of their opinions met with universal approbation.

He utterly denies the truth of the principle asserted by An-dradius, that in the original constitution of man, there existed a tendency to disorder, which was only restrained by the superadded gift of righteousness; and maintains, that man in his state of original integrity possessed perfectly the image of God, which consisted in a conformity to his law; so that with his whole heart and mind, with all the faculties of the soul, and all the appetites and members of the body, there was perfect strength, and no tendency to excess or evil. The law of God, which required him to love his Creator with all his soul

and mind and strength, was fully written in his heart, to which there was a perfect conformity in every thought and desire. There existed, therefore, in man thus pure and holy, nothing of that struggling of carnal appetites and desires against spiritual exercises which is now experienced by the regenerate, and which is called concupiscence. Now the law of God requires a complete conformity to its precepts in our acts, and in the whole frame and state of our minds, and where this is not found, condemns us as sinners. Experience, as well as the word of God, teaches, that man's mind in its unrenewed condition, instead of being illumined with the rays of truth, is replete with horrible darkness; that his will is turned in aversion from God, and indulges enmity towards him; that the affections are perverse; and that in all the powers, there is a horrible *avafia* and depravation, so far as relates to spiritual things. Then, this able polemic goes on to adduce the texts of scripture which bear on this point, which we shall at present omit; and only remark, that no modern author has insisted more strenuously on the depth of original sin, and the total depravity of the human heart in all ages and in all persons. As to the seat of depravity, he says that the scriptures refer it to the mind, the will, and the heart; it has infested all our faculties, and commences with our very being.

"Nor," says he, "need we fear, as does Andradius, lest we should exaggerate the evil and extent of our innate corruption; for if we attend to the language of scripture, we shall be convinced that the depth of the disease exceeds all conception; as says David, "who can understand his errors?" And Jeremiah, "the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it?" The papists acknowledge that original sin exists, but pretend, that it is not safe to define what it is; and allege, that the ancient church never defined it. But let the impartial reader only compare the awful descriptions of this evil in the word of God, with the frigid, mitigating discourses of the papists, and their absurd philosophising respecting *puris naturalibus*, and he will be convinced that their doctrine is not that of the Bible. And as to the pretence of Andradius, that the council of Trent did not think proper to give any definition of original sin, we oppose to it the explicit testimony of the Holy Spirit, repeatedly given in the scriptures, in which the nature of this fountain of all iniquity is clearly exhibited. And in regard to the fathers, they certainly call it *the vice of our nature, pollution, inbred*

corruption, &c. And he concludes his proofs of the doctrine of, original sin with the following weighty sentence: "Et quando Domini os loquitur omnis caro debet silere, cœlum et terra auscultare: Andradius vero mavult cum concilio Tridentino opinari, quam cum scriptura, credere."

The doctrine of total depravity, derived as an inheritance from our first father, is not inculcated more strongly by any writer than by Luther, in his work, entitled "*DE SERVO ARBITRIO*," written against the celebrated Erasmus. It was our first purpose to have given an abridgment of this treatise of the great reformer; but Luther's style and manner are so peculiar, that his writings do not bear to be abridged without much loss; and having met with a treatise on the subject of original sin, by a celebrated professor of the Lutheran church, D. G. Sohnnius, who lived and wrote in the sixteenth century, we have concluded to lay before our readers an abstract of this discourse, from which may be learned what views were entertained on this subject, in the age immediately after that of Luther and Calvin. This theologian received the first part of his education at Marburg, but when he was only fifteen years of age his residence was transferred to Wittenberg, A. D. 1589, where his progress in learning was astonishing. At first his extraordinary talents were most assiduously devoted to the study of the civil law: but, in the twenty-first year of his age, he seems to have been led, by a remarkable divine influence on his mind, to relinquish the profession which he had chosen, and devote himself to theology, which he pursued with unremitting ardour, at Marburg, for two years; when his proficiency was so remarkable, that although no more than twenty-three years of age, he was made theological professor, and continued in this office to give instructions to candidates for the ministry with extraordinary diligence and conspicuous success for ten years. But differing in opinion with some of his older brethren, respecting the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body, which he strenuously opposed, and also in some other points of theology; for the sake of a good conscience he resigned his office at Marburg; but after a very short interval, such was his celebrity, he received two invitations, the one from prince Casimir to become professor of theology at Heidelberg, and the other to a similar station at Herborn. He accepted the first, and was inaugurated July 18, 1584. In this situation he conducted himself with consummate wisdom and incessant diligence, in promoting the cause of truth, and

by giving his aid and influence to every enterprize for the benefit of learning and religion; and A.D. 1588, he was chosen one of the ecclesiastical counsellors and senators, but without any interference with his office as professor. But this extraordinary young man soon finished his work upon earth. While in the midst of his useful labours, and when the influence of his peaceful and pious example had become extensive, he was unexpectedly taken out of the world by a pleurisy, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His theological writings, in Latin, were published soon after his decease, including something like a system of theology; and are remarkable for profound research and accurate discrimination; as we think will be acknowledged by all who impartially peruse the following translation, or rather abstract, of his treatise on original sin. But our object in bringing forward this work is not so much for the sake of its explanations and arguments, in all of which we do not concur, as to furnish the inquisitive reader, with a full view of the opinions of protestants on this point, in the period immediately succeeding the reformation. And no one acquainted with ecclesiastical history will suppose that the doctrines here inculcated were peculiar to this author: the very same are found in the works of every protestant writer of credit in that age.

The first part of the treatise of Sohnnius, in which he discusses the nature of sin and its various distinctions, we omit, as not being now to our purpose: we shall therefore commence with his answer to the objections urged in his day against the doctrine of original sin, from which it will clearly be understood what opinions were then commonly entertained on this subject.

“ Having given some account of the nature and divisions of sin, our next object will be to refute some of those errors which relate to original sin. The first question then is, whether there is any such thing; and this inquiry is the more necessary, because many of the papists so extenuate original sin, that they will scarcely admit that it partakes of the nature of sin. And the Anabaptists have gone to the impudent length of asserting, that original sin is a mere figment of Augustine. In opposition to this error of the Anabaptists and of some of the Romanists, we assert, that their doctrine is not countenanced by scripture, and therefore cannot be true. They appeal, indeed, to Ezek. xviii. 20, where it is said, “ The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; but the soul that

sinneth, it shall die." From which they infer, that the posterity of Adam cannot be guilty in consequence of his fall. To which it may be replied, that Ezekiel is not speaking of the sin of our first father and federal head, which was the sin of the whole species, but of the sins of individuals of the Jewish nation. In this sense, it is true that the son shall not bear the punishment of his father's sin, unless by imitation he is led to do the same; but the sin of Adam was not the sin of an individual, but of the whole race, for he represented the whole species. The first man stood in a situation, in regard to his posterity, which no other man ever did, and his first sin was theirs, in a sense in which no other of his sins could be; for his after sins were personal, and he alone was answerable for them; but his first sin was public, and that which brought death upon all his posterity. The gifts with which Adam was endowed, if they had been retained, would have been for the benefit of all his posterity, but being lost, they were not only forfeited for himself but for them. For as Levi paid tithes while in the loins of his progenitor Abraham, so the whole human race were included in Adam, to stand or fall with him. Hence Paul, in Rom. v. says, that Adam was a type of Christ; so that "*as by* the disobedience of the first Adam many were constituted sinners, by the obedience of the second Adam many were constituted righteous." In this passage it is clearly signified, that the integrity which was given to our first father would have been available for our benefit if he had stood firmly in innocence: but that it was also committed to him to forfeit and lose all blessings for his posterity as well as for himself, if he should prove disobedient. This was the event, and accordingly the precious deposit with which he was intrusted for the whole human race, was lost. Now, this being the state of the case, it is manifest that no son bears the sins of any other father as he does those of Adam; but the soul that sinneth, in the common administration of God's government, dies: but surely this general principle in relation to sin and punishment, does not in the least affect our condition as fallen in the fall of our federal head and representative. The son does not bear, commonly, the sins of his other progenitors, with which he has nothing to do, but he does and must bear the first sin of Adam, which was his own; for though not guilty of the act in his own person, he did commit it by his representative.

2. Another argument brought against the doctrine of original

sin is, that what is not voluntary cannot be sinful, because nothing can have the nature of sin which does not proceed from the exercise of understanding and choice; but what is called original sin, especially in infants, is not voluntary, therefore it cannot possess the nature of sin.

The maxim on which this argument rests is acknowledged in courts of justice, among men; but it ought not to be transferred to the church, so as to affect the doctrine of original sin, which she has always held and believed. Moreover, this maxim has relation altogether to actual sins, but not to original sin: and it is repugnant to the declaration of Paul, Rom. vii. *What I will that I do not, but what I hate that I do.* And Gal. v. *The spirit lusteth against the flesh, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.* Augustine, in his *Retractions*, lib. i. c. 13, declares, "that this political maxim ought to have no place in relation to this point." And in his book against Julian, he says, "*Frustra putas ideo in parvulis nullum esse delictum, quia sine voluntate, quæ in illis nulla est, esse non potest.*" That is, "In vain do you pretend that there can be no sin in infants, because they are not, and cannot be the subjects of voluntary exercise." The maxim is true enough in regard to our own proper acts, but can by no means be admitted in relation to the contagion of original sin; which, however, had its origin in the voluntary act of the first man."

3. A third argument against original sin is, that all sin consists in acts, but infants are capable of no acts, therefore they cannot be the subjects of sin; for, *to sin* is an active verb, and signifies to do something actively; original sin, therefore, cannot exist.

To which it may be answered, that in the Hebrew language, the words which signify "to sin," express not only acts, but habits; not only positive actions, but defects and inherent pravity, which is born with us.

4. It is again argued, that that which is the property of an individual cannot be propagated through a whole race, but the sin of our first parents was the property of those individuals, and cannot be communicated to their posterity.

It is true that the qualities or properties of individuals are not universally propagated through the whole species, except such as are of the nature of *adversaries* or imperfections; for these are constantly propagated through the whole race. For example, that corruption of human nature which is the cause of

death, whatever it may be, is universally propagated; for all the descendants of Adam are mortal: so also original sin is *adversus naturam*, or a natural impotency, or a defect, or a depraved inclination, or *avaritia*,—a disorder of the affections of the mind. Besides the proposition on which the argument is founded is only true of separable qualities, but does not apply at all to such as are inseparable, and which perpetually inhere in the subject; so that they cannot even in thought be severed from it. We do in fact witness many evils which are propagated from both parents. Moreover, the proposition stated above is only true of those qualities which are only found in some individuals, but not to those which are common to the whole species; but original sin is not a quality of a few individuals, but of the whole race; for Adam was the representative of the whole race, and forfeited that *depositum* with which he was entrusted, as the head of the whole family.

5. It is again alleged, that punishments are not sins, but those defects and irregular inclinations which belong to human nature are the punishment of the sin of the first man, and cannot be of the nature of sin.

Here again there is an application of a political maxim to a subject to which it does not belong; for it is a fact clearly established in the divine government, that the privation of the divine image and favour, is both a sin and a punishment, but in different respects. In respect to God inflicting it, it is a punishment; for he in just judgment may deprive his creatures of his grace; but in respect to man, this privation is a sin, which by his own fault he has brought upon himself, and admitted into his own soul.

6. It is again objected, that nature being from God must be good, therefore, there can be no such thing as original sin, or a vitiated nature.

To which it may be replied, that nature was good before the fall, and before sin entered to corrupt it; and nature still, so far as it is the work of God, is good; that is, the substance of the soul, the faculties, and the natural principles of rational action, are good; but nature, as it is depraved, is not the work of God, but something added to his work; namely *avaritia*, or disorder and corruption in the faculties which God created in a state of order and integrity. God is the creator and preserver of the faculties, but not of the sin.

7. The Anabaptists argue, that Adam having been received into favour, was in a state of grace when his children were

procreated; and, therefore, upon the principle that every thing begets its like, he could not propagate offspring infected with original sin.

Answer. There is more in the conclusion than in the premises; for the procreation of offspring is not according to grace, but according to nature; so that whatever the nature of man is since the fall, that only can be propagated. Adam obtained freedom from guilt, not from nature but from grace; but grace cannot be propagated. Man, therefore, cannot propagate any thing but that corrupt nature derived from the fall.

Moreover, the regenerate are not perfectly delivered from the evil nature of sin, which still dwells in them and renders imperfect all that they do. So far as the regenerate act from nature, they act sinfully: all the good which is in them is from the spirit of God, to whom they are indebted for every good thought; it is evident, therefore, that grace, for every motion of which we are dependent on another agent, cannot be propagated: but sin, consisting in a defect or disorder of our nature, and having its origin and proper seat in our own nature, may be propagated. "In me, that is, in my flesh," says Paul, "there dwelleth no good thing." "That which is born of the flesh is flesh." And we never hear of a man being regenerated by a natural birth from pious parents; but the regenerate are "born of the Spirit—born of God." They further allege, indeed, that men cannot propagate what they do not possess; and therefore, the regenerate cannot communicate original sin to their offspring, for the guilt of all their sins is removed by a full pardon. To which we reply, as before, that though it is true that a man cannot propagate what he has not, yet as far as nature prevails, all men are sinful, and it is that which properly belongs to our nature which is capable of being propagated; therefore, when a sinful nature is communicated to posterity, it is the communication of what a man does possess; for neither remission of sins nor the infusion of grace do in the least affect the laws by which the propagation of the human species is regulated, for reasons already stated.

8. But the opposers of the doctrine of original sin even appeal to scripture for support to their opinion. They allege, Rom. xi. 6, and 1 Cor. vii. 14, as texts which declare in favour of the children of the saints being born free from original sin. In the former, Paul asserts, "That if the root be holy, so are the branches." But they are deceived by the mere sound of a word; for "holiness" in this place, does not refer to internal

moral qualities, but to external consecration: whatever is devoted solemnly to the service of God, or has a relation to his worship, is called *holy*. Thus, the tabernacle, the altar, the ark, the sacrifices, the priests, and even Jerusalem itself, were holy. The whole nation of Israel, as being in covenant with God, are continually spoken of as "a holy people;" and as the promises of God's covenant with Abraham have respect to his posterity even to the end of the world; so, in a certain sense, these branches which are now broken off, are holy, as they stand in a peculiar relation to God, which other people do not. And in the latter passage, the children of believers are called "holy" on account of their relation to the christian church, as being connected with the visible church by baptism; or as being capable of such connexion, in consequence of their relation to parents who are members of the church. For God makes the same promise to each believer, which he formerly made to Abraham, *I will be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee*. But this text by no means signifies that the children of believers are born in a state free from all pollution.

9. It is again objected, that the phrase "original sin," never occurs in scripture, and never should have been introduced into the church.

Answer. Many words are conveniently used in theology which are not found in scripture; and this must be the case where the truth is denied and error introduced: and appropriate words and phrases, expressing a clear and definite meaning, save us the necessity of much circumlocution. Now the truth is, that the scriptures use various words to express what is usually denominated "sin," without entering into the distinction between original and actual sin; but the idea conveyed by the phrase "original sin" can be logically inferred from numerous passages of scripture, as we shall show presently. When the Pelagians denied the doctrine of original sin, which the church had before held without dispute, the orthodox fathers invented this name for the sake of avoiding all ambiguity, and that the matter in dispute might be clearly and distinctly exhibited: for the Pelagians strenuously maintained that all sins were actual, or consisted in acts; but the orthodox maintained, that besides the acts of sin, there existed a corruption of nature,—an inherent moral disorder in the faculties, which for convenience, they denominated "original sin."

Having shown that the doctrine of those who oppose original sin, is not contained in scripture, nor can be proved from

it; we now proceed to demonstrate, that it is absolutely repugnant to the testimony of God, in his word; and therefore is a false doctrine which should be exterminated from the church.

The first testimony which we adduce is from Genesis v. 5, "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually;" and Gen. viii. 21, "For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The objection to this testimony is, "that this is only spoken of adults, and only shows that there is in man a proneness to go astray: but nothing is here said respecting a hereditary corruption of the human heart." But is it not evident that if all the thoughts and imaginations of the heart are constantly evil from youth upwards, that the nature of man must be corrupt? What stronger evidence could there be of a corruption of nature, than the fact that all men sin and do nothing else but sin, from the moment that they are capable of actual transgression? An effect so universal can never be accounted for by imitation, for children begin to sin before they have much opportunity of imitating the sins of others, and even when the examples before them are pious and good. If from the fruits of holiness we may infer that the tree is good, then certainly on the same principle, from a production of bad fruit it is fairly concluded that the nature is evil. "A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; but an evil man, out of the evil treasure of his heart, that which is evil." "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Our next testimony we take from Rom. iii. 10. "There is none righteous, no not one." Now, if man's nature be not corrupt, how can it be accounted for, on any rational principles, that all men, without the exception of one, should be unrighteous? To this proof, indeed, Albert Pighius excepts, that it relates to the Jewish nation, and not to the whole race of man. But this is contrary to the express design of the apostle in this passage, which was to prove that both Jews and Gentiles were all under sin and wrath, and all stood in absolute need of salvation by faith in Christ. And in the preceding verse he explicitly declares that he had "proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin." And his general conclusion is, "That all the world may become guilty before God." Indeed, if the nation of the Jews only was referred to in this passage, yet it might be fairly inferred, that all other nations were in the same corrupt condition; for why should it be supposed that

universal depravity should be confined to this one people? And history confirms the sentence of the apostle, for it represents other nations as wicked as the Jews. The apostle must, therefore, be considered as describing the moral condition, not of one nation, or one age, but of human nature in all countries and at all times; so far as it is not restored by Christ.

A third testimony for original sin is found in Rom. vii. where Paul, in strong language, describes the power and depth of indwelling sin, as experienced by himself, now in his renewed state. He calls it "a law of sin and death;" as working in him "all manner of concupiscence;" as, "deceiving him." And he speaks of it as an abiding principle—"sin that dwelleth in me." As an evil ever present with him in all his exertions to do good; "as a law in his members warring against the law of his mind;" so that he exclaimed, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The Pelagians, it is true, will not agree that Paul is here speaking in his own person, but pretend that he personates a Jew under conviction of the duty which the law requires, but sensible of his inability to comply with the demands of the law. But that the apostle is here giving us his own experience, is evident from all the circumstances of the case; which opinion is not only held by Augustine in his controversy with Julian, but was maintained by the fathers who preceded him; particularly Cyprian and Hilary.

Other testimonies not less direct and conclusive are, Job. xv. 14, "What is man that he should be clean? and he which is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?"

Psalms li. 5, "Behold I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me."

John iii. 3, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh."

Rom. v. 12, "As by one man sin entered into the world,—and so death passed upon all men, because that all have sinned." On this text it is worthy of remark, that it is not only asserted that the punishment of death hath passed upon all men, but the reason is added, namely, "because all have sinned:" so that the fault and punishment, the guilt and pollution, are by the apostle joined together.

Rom. v. 19, "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners."

Rom. viii. 7, "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be."

Ephes. ii. 3, "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others."

And as infants die, as universal experience teaches, it is evident that they must be chargeable with sin; for Paul clearly represents sin as the cause of death—of the death of all men. "And the wages of sin is death."

It would be tedious to enumerate all the objections which Pelagians and others make to the interpretation of these texts. The specimen given above may be taken as an evidence, that they never can succeed in proving that their doctrine is consonant with the testimony of God in the Holy Scriptures.

Hitherto we have disputed with those of the papists and anabaptists, who deny the existence of original sin altogether; but now we come to consider the opinion of those who acknowledge original sin, but insist that it is not any thing inherent in man at his birth, but only the guilt of another's sin imputed. This opinion is maintained by some of the papists, who think that original sin is nothing else than the debt of punishment contracted from the sin of Adam; but that nothing of the pollution of sin is propagated by natural generation. A.D. 1542, Pighius, after the conference which was held at Worms, expressed his opinion in writing as follows, "Original sin does not consist in any defect, nor in any vice, nor depravation of nature; not in any corrupt quality, nor inherent vicious habit in us; but solely in our subjection to the punishment of the first sin; that is, in *contracted guilt*, without any thing of depravity in our nature."

It is a sufficient refutation of this doctrine that it is nowhere found in scripture, and nothing should be received as an article of faith which cannot be proved from this source. Its abettors do indeed endeavour to establish it by an appeal to the Bible, but they are obliged to beg the very point in dispute, as will soon be made to appear.

Pighius, the chief advocate for this opinion, brings forward Rom. v. 12, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin." Rom. v. 15, "By the offence of one, many are dead." Rom. v. 16, "For the judgment was by one to condemnation." Rom. v. 17, "For by one man's offence death reigned by one." Rom. v. 18, "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation." In all these texts, says Pighius, the apostle attributes condemnation to the sin of Adam, and nothing else. To which it may be replied, that when the apostle declares that "sin had entered

the world," he does not mean, merely, that Adam had become a sinner, but that it had come upon all his descendants; that is, upon all men in the world; for he does not say in this place that *guilt* had entered, but that *sin* had entered into the world. And this is not left to be inferred, but is expressly asserted in the same verse; "*in whom* all have sinned;" or, "*for that* all have sinned." Moreover, when he declares that all are subject to death and condemnation by the sin of one, it is a just inference that they are all partakers of his sin, and are born in a state of moral pollution. In the 19th verse it is said "By the disobedience of one many are constituted sinners;" now to be constituted sinners, includes the idea not only of being made subject to the penalty, but partaking of the nature of sin; for they who are entirely free from the stain of sin, cannot with propriety be called "sinners." Again, the apostle in this chapter teaches, that "while we were yet sinners Christ died for us, to deliver us from death and reconcile us to God; certainly he died for none but sinners: but if infants are not sinners, then Christ did not die for them, nor do they belong to him as their Saviour; which is most absurd.

"But," says Pighius, "infants being neither endued with the knowledge of the law, nor with freedom of will, are not moral agents, and are therefore incapable of obedience or disobedience; they cannot, therefore be the subjects of sin, and cannot be bound to endure the penalty of the law on any other account than for the sin of another."

Answer. Although infants have not the exercise of free-will, and are not moral agents, yet they possess a nature not conformable to the law of God: they are not such as the law demands that human beings should be, but are depraved; "children of wrath," and guilty on account of their own personal depravity: for the authorised definition of sin is *avopula*, that is, whatever is repugnant to the law of God.

But they insist further, "that God being the author of nature, if that be depraved, he must be the author of sin."

To which we reply in the words of Augustine: "Both are propagated together, nature and the depravity of nature; one of which is good, the other evil: the first is derived from the bounty of our Creator, the latter must be attributed to our original condemnation. The first has for its cause the good pleasure of God, the latter the perverse will of the first man: *that* exhibits God as the former of the creature, *this* as the punisher of disobedience. Finally, the same Christ for the

creation of our nature, is the maker of man; but for the healing of the disease of this nature, became man."

Again, this doctrine may be refuted by express testimonies from scripture; and ought therefore to be rejected as unsound. Gen. v. 3, "Adam begat Seth in his own image." Job, xiv. 4, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?—not one." Psalm, li. 5, "For I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Rom. v. 19, "By the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners." Ephes. ii. 2, "And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others;" that is, we were born subject to condemnation, because born in a corrupt state. From all which passages, it appears that original sin does not consist merely in guilt, or liableness to punishment; but in a moral depravation of the whole nature; and that it is not contracted by imitation, but by generation. Paul often speaks of that which we call "original sin" under the general name of "sin." In Rom. vi. 8, he speaks of the "old man" being crucified; of the "body of sin" being destroyed; and in chap. vii. he speaks of being "sold under sin," of no good thing dwelling in his flesh; of evil being present with him when he would do good; and of being led captive by "the law of sin" in his members.

Another cogent proof of the heterodoxy of this doctrine may be derived from the baptism of infants, which certainly supposes that they are conceived and born in sin.

It is also worthy of observation that spiritual regeneration is, in scripture, continually put in contrast with "the flesh," and with our fleshly birth. But where is the propriety of this, if the flesh is naturally free from stain?

And finally, the catholic church has ever held an opinion contrary to the one which is now opposed. Augustine, in his second book against Pelagius and Celestius, expresses most explicitly what we maintain: "Whosoever," says he, "contends that human nature, in any age, does not need the second Adam as a physician, on the ground that it has not been vitiated in the first Adam, does not fall into an error which may be held without injury to the rule of faith; but by that very rule by which we are constituted christians, is convicted of being an enemy to the grace of God."

It is again disputed, whether concupiscence, or that disease of our nature which renders us prone to sin, is itself of the nature of sin. This the papists deny; we affirm.

They allege, that whatever exists in us necessarily, and is

not from ourselves, but from another, cannot be of the nature of sin; but this is the fact in regard to concupiscence, *ergo*, &c.

Answer. In a merely political judgment this may be correct, but not in that which is divine. And if the principle here asserted was sound, it would prove too much: it would prove that even the *acts* of concupiscence are not sinful: for there is a sort of necessity for these, supposing the principle of concupiscence to exist in the soul.

It is next objected, that that which is wholly the work of God, as is the whole nature of man, cannot be corrupt, and therefore whatever belongs to this nature as it comes from the hand of God, cannot be otherwise than free from sin.

If there were any force in this argument, it would prove that there could be no such thing as sin in the universe, for all creatures are not only dependent on God for existence at first, but for continuance in being every moment; and if the power of God could not, consistently with its purity, be exerted to bring into existence the children of a corrupt parent, in a state of moral corruption, neither could it be to continue their being, which equally requires the exertion of omnipotence. But the truth is, so far as human nature or human actions are the effect of divine power, the work is good: the essential faculties of the mind and members of the body are good, and the entity of every human act is good; but the evil of our nature is received by natural generation, and is the consequence of the fall of our first parent, and the sinfulness of our acts must not be ascribed to God, "in whom we live and move," but to the perversity of our own wills.

But they allege, that God inflicts this depravity on the race of men, and therefore it cannot partake of the nature of sin, without making God its author.

To which it may be replied, that God inflicts it, as it is a punishment, but not as it is sin; that is, he withdraws all divine influence, and all the gifts of innocence with which the creature was originally endued, in just judgment. Does not God in just displeasure for obstinate continuance in sin, often send blindness of mind as a judgment: in the same manner, he can inflict that pravity of nature which we bring into the world with us as a punishment for the sin of our first parents: that is, he withholds all those gifts and all that influence which are necessary to a state of moral purity. The texts of scripture which might be adduced to establish the doctrine

which has been advanced, have already been cited, and need not now be repeated. But Albert Pighius asserts, that the divine law only prohibits vicious acts, not the latent qualities of the mind: the command says, "Thou shalt not covet," but it does not say thou shalt not have a disease which may induce you to covet. It is true, the act only is mentioned in this prohibition, but the disposition is doubtless included: as in the sixth commandment, it is only said, "thou shalt not kill;" and in the seventh, "thou shalt not commit adultery;" but we know from high authority, that in the one case, the law is violated by sinful anger, and in the other, by a wanton desire; so in the eighth commandment the act of theft only is forbidden expressly, but we know that to covet our neighbour's goods, is sin; and in like manner, although the tenth commandment only prohibits expressly the act of concupiscence; yet undoubtedly the disease, or corrupt disposition from which the act proceeds, is included by implication in the prohibition. And this will appear very clearly by considering the preceptive part of the law: this requires that we should love God with all our heart and mind and strength; and of course, whatever in us that is opposed to a compliance with this command is forbidden, but such an obstacle is this disease of concupiscence, therefore this being forbidden by the holy law of God, is sinful. Infants, therefore, are children of wrath, because they have in them a disease of irregular propensity, although it has not yet been exerted.

Pighius still urges the objection, already refuted in another form, that no law can prohibit equitably, what it is impossible for the creature to avoid; but the infant can no more avoid being born with a proneness to irregular indulgence, than it could avoid coming into the world with the sense of touch or taste; he concludes, therefore, that concupiscence is not prohibited in the tenth commandment.

Now we answer, as before, that if it is true, that nothing is forbidden which cannot be avoided; then, sinful acts are not forbidden, for with a nature labouring under the disease of concupiscence, sinful acts cannot be avoided; and so the argument is not sound, since it proves too much; nay, the renewed themselves cannot avoid sin in this life, as Paul abundantly teaches in the 7th of Romans; therefore, God does prohibit what we cannot avoid, and does command what we cannot perform.

The author then proceeds to refute the opinion of the Flac-

cians, that original sin corrupted the substance of the soul; an opinion industriously propagated by Flaccius Illyricus, one of the most learned of the reformers; and which was embraced and pertinaciously maintained in several places in Germany. But as this error is not now maintained by any with whom we are acquainted, we do not think it necessary to exhibit the elaborate and conclusive arguments by which Sohnnius refutes it.

As we stated before, our object in giving an abstract of this treatise, is not so much to defend the doctrine of hereditary depravity, as to give a correct view of the state of opinion on this subject at the time of the reformation and afterwards. And it cannot fail to occur to the intelligent reader, that none of the objections now made to this doctrine are new, or supported by any new arguments. The whole ground of controversy now occupied by the various discordant opinions, has been gone over before. And the result will probably be as before, that while those who adhere strictly to evangelical doctrine will continue to maintain the old doctrine, its opposers will deviate further and further from orthodoxy. There has never yet been an instance in the history of the church of the rejection of any doctrines of the gospel, where the opposers of the truth have been contented to stop at the first step of departure from sound doctrine. If they who first adopt and propagate an error are sometimes restrained by habit, and by a lurking respect for the opinions of the wise and good, as also by a fear of incurring the censure of heresy, from going the full length which their principles require; yet those who follow them in their error will not be kept back by such considerations. Indeed, the principles of self-defence require, that men who undertake to defend their opinions by argument, should endeavour to be consistent with themselves: and thus it commonly happens, that what was originally a single error, soon draws after it the whole system of which it is a part. On this account it is incumbent on the friends of truth to oppose error in its commencement, and to endeavour to point out the consequences likely to result from its adoption; and to us it appears that nothing is better calculated to show what will be the effect of a particular error, than to trace its former progress by the lights of ecclesiastical history.

REVIEW OF LUTHER'S LETTERS, BY DE
WETTE.

Dr Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken, vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt, kritisch und historisch bearbeitet von Dr Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Professor der Theologie zu Basel.

Erster Theil. Luthers Briefe bis zu seinem Aufenthalt auf Wartburg. Nebst Luthers Bildniss. Berlin, 1825. Pp. xxviii. 605, 8vo. 1825.

Zweiter Theil. Luthers Briefe von seinem Aufenthalt auf Wartburg bis zu seiner Verheurathung. Berlin, 1826. Pp. 680.

The extraordinary fame of the great reformer has given a value to every production of his pen, in the estimation of the protestant world. In addition to the voluminous works which he prepared for the public, and which were so diligently studied by our fathers, his familiar letters have been sought out and collected; notes of his ordinary discourse have been offered in print; the remnants of his rudest draughts, *adversaria*, and heads of arguments, and even notes, quittances and household memoranda, have been rescued from oblivion, and set forth in volumes.

No name in the history of the reformation holds so high a rank as that of Luther. When Calvin, or Zuingle, or Beza, or even Melancthon, are named with praise by their respective admirers, there is immediately manifested a reluctance, on the part of many, to accord to them the unmingled applause which all sects and schools of reformed Christians unite in bestowing on Luther. And yet, strange as the assertion may appear to some, and long and sedulously as the character of this wonderful man has been examined, we venture to maintain that few men have been more misunderstood. There are, indeed, certain prominent traits which strike at once the apprehension of the most unobservant, and in which all the various and discordant representations agree; as in the many portraits of his

countenance there are notable features common to all, by which it may be recognised.

None, it is supposed, would dissent from the statement that the leader of the reformation was a man of stern integrity, of sincere piety, of ardent zeal, of undaunted firmness, of profound learning, and of indefatigable and laborious perseverance. Yet these are attributes which were not withheld from many of his contemporaries, and they are compatible with many and great faults, which indeed it is too common to blend with these in the picture. The point of view from which the character of Martin Luther has been surveyed, has confined the observation of men too narrowly to his public acts. He has been regarded as a bold and decided innovator, braving the storms of ecclesiastical wrath, and shaking to its foundation a corrupt but mighty hierarchy. The spectacle presented by such a character, standing in such relation to the church, is interesting and sublime; but its very splendour may and does tend to withdraw the mind from those characteristics which mark him out as a man, a Christian, a friend, a scholar, and a minister of Jesus Christ. Every man is in reality what he is found to be in these more ordinary relations. It is here only that we can profitably look upon him as an example, for here we behold him arrayed in the common garb of humanity, compassed with frailties and temptations; and thus trace those principles in their simpler manifestations, which resulted in such amazing effects when applied to the singular circumstances in which he was placed.

It is not enough that we set before us the commanding figure of the eminent divine, when he stood before princes and councils, and defied the malice of the court and the church. We must follow him to his university, his dwelling, his cloister, his closet; we must inspect, in secret, the workings of a heart swelling with vast designs and oppressed with anxious cares; we must mingle with the circle of friends in which his inmost fears and sentiments were breathed forth. The volumes before us enable us in some good measure to do this, and we believe that no one can rise from their perusal without acknowledging that he has acquired new and more satisfactory views of the character of the man, and has been relieved of many painful doubts and difficulties with regard to his conduct and motives. It must not be expected, however, that by any abstract or analysis of this correspondence, we should be able to communicate to the reader the correct and

vivid impression which arises from the examination of the letters themselves. The reason for the vagueness and inaccuracy of the ordinary estimates of Luther's character, must ever be the very reason why a second-hand representation must fail to be satisfactory. From a minute description by a man of discrimination and eloquence, we may gather some outlines of the peculiarities of one whom we desire to know; but how far does this fall short of that which we acquire by an hour's conversation with the subject himself? Our sole object in the extracts and remarks which follow, is to attract notice to this invaluable collection of documents, constituting at once the most authentic and the most complete biography of the venerated reformer.

The character of Luther is an interesting study to the theologian and the lover of truth, when viewed with regard to the gradual development of those opinions and feelings which led to consequences so momentous. It is known by all our readers that his entrance into the monastic order took place in the year 1505. Corrupt as were the motives by which multitudes were influenced in attaching themselves to conventual institutions, we have every reason to believe that the views of Luther were sincere and conscientious, and that it was from a hearty desire to consecrate himself to God that he united himself to the Augustinian monks of Erfurt. He had already acquired an admiration for the great patron of the order, as we learn from a desire which he expressed to exchange his name of Martin for that of Augustine. In the year 1507 he was admitted to the priesthood, and we are persuaded that it will gratify many readers to give a translation of a letter in which he invites an intimate friend to attend the solemnity of his ordination, especially as it is the earliest production of his pen which is extant.

“To John Brown, Vicar in Eisenach.

“I should fear, most courteous friend, to vex your kindness with my importunate letters and solicitations, if I did not call to mind the sincere affection of your benevolent and ardent heart towards me, which I have proved by so many arguments and favours. I have not, therefore, hesitated to address to you this epistle, confiding in the intimacy of mutual love, that it will find acceptance with you, and that you will not be inexorable.

“Since then, God, who is holy and glorious in all his works, has vouchsafed so greatly to exalt me, a miserable and in every respect unworthy sinner, and of his merc and most free mercy to call me to

his sublime ministry; in order that I may be grateful for the magnitude of the divine mercy, (however little mere dust can do,) I am bound entirely to fulfil the office entrusted to me.

"For this cause, agreeably to the decree of my fathers, it is determined, under favour of God's grace, to solemnize this ordinance upon the fourth Sunday from this time, which we usually call *Cantate*. This day is set for dedicating my first fruits to God, to suit the convenience of my father. To this I invite you, humbly, yet perhaps too boldly; not, I am sure, because I deem it proper, on the ground of any obligations laid on you by me (there are none such) to incommode you with the toil of such a journey, or that you should attend upon the poverty of my low estate, but because I learned your kindness and easy forbearance towards me, on a former day, and abundantly at other times. Be pleased, therefore, dearest father, master, brother, (for one is the title due to your age and care, the other of merit, and the third of pious regard), if by any means your time, church affairs, or domestic business will permit, to attend, and assist by your grateful presence and your prayers, that our sacrifice may be acceptable in the sight of God. You will have for a fellow-traveller my kinsman Conrad, formerly sacristan of St. Nicholas', and whomsoever else you may desire, provided he also is willing, and free from domestic cares. Observe, lastly, that you are to come directly to our monastery, and tarry for a short time, (I have no fear indeed that you will take up your abode here,) and not seek for lodging through the streets without. It will be necessary for you to become a *Cellarius* [butler], that is, an inmate of a *cell*. Farewell, in Jesus Christ our Lord. From our convent at Erfurt, 10 Calends May, (22d April) 1507.

(Signed) FRATER MARTINUS LUTHERUS EX MANSFELD."—*Ep.* 1.

There is in this earliest relic of Luther, no striking indication of that greatness which ten years later astonished Europe; but how little did the young monk imagine that the note of simple-hearted friendship, in which he invited a friend to his ordination, would ever be sought out, and published, and subjected to remark. The style of this and other writings of that period is rude and contorted, clogged with the barbarous words and accumulated superlatives of the *infimæ latinities*. It breathes, however, the humble, fearful spirit of one who approaches the sacred office with a deep sense of accountability. It was in this very year that the writer first obtained a copy of the whole Bible; which soon became the standard of all his opinions.

In 1508 the humble monk became professor of ethics and dialectics in the university at Wittenberg, and devoted him-

self to the promotion of genuine learning. It was about this time that the persecution of the celebrated Hebraist *Reuchlin*, or *Capnio*, was at its height, not without exciting the most lively interest in the mind of Luther. One of his letters, supposed to be written in the year 1510, being the first which remains of the long-continued correspondence with *Spalatin*, contains allusions to this persecution, and to the corruption of the times, which appear to be the very first tokens of any desire for a reformation. "The theologians of Cologne," says *De Wette*, "had, in 1509, instigated a converted Jew, *Pfefferkorn* by name, to procure from the emperor Maximilian plenary authority to destroy all Jewish writings; by which they intended to give a blow to Hebrew literature, which *Reuchlin* had brought into favour. As *Pfefferkorn*, however, met with difficulties; and asked new orders and authorities from the emperor, the latter commissioned the elector of Mentz to obtain from *Reuchlin* a statement of the case; which he gave in such a way as to pronounce the determination to destroy all Jewish writings preposterous. *Pfefferkorn* attacked this in a production which was answered by *Reuchlin*. The affair went to greater lengths, as may be seen in *Planck's* History of Protestantism." The letter of Luther contains the following paragraphs:

"Peace be unto thee, venerable Master George. Brother *John Lange* has asked me, in your name, my opinion concerning the case of the innocent and very learned *John Reuchlin*, in opposition to the jealous inhabitants of Cologne, and whether he is in peril as it regards faith and heresy. You know, most kind sir, that I hold the man in high esteem and affection, and my judgment is perhaps suspicious, since (as is said) I am not free and impartial. Yet, as you demand it, I shall say what I think; that there appears to me, in all his written statement, nothing that is dangerous." "For if such protestations and opinions are dangerous, there is cause to fear, lest perchance those inquisitors, at their good pleasure, shall begin to swallow camels and strain out gnats, and denounce the orthodox as heretics, in spite of all their protestations. Now, in truth, what shall I say of this, but that they are plotting to cast out Beelzebub, *not* by the finger of God? This is what I often deplore and bewail. For we Christians are wise out of doors, and senseless at home. There are blasphemies a hundred fold worse throughout the streets of Jerusalem, and every place is filled with spiritual idols. Now, while these ought with all possible diligence to be removed, as intestine enemies, we are neglecting those things which most sorely press us, and turning away to external and foreign matters, at the

suggestion of the devil; deserting our own affairs, and doing no good in those which are extraneous."—*Ep.* 3.

As we have named *Reuchlin*, it may not be irrelevant to insert in this connexion an extract from a letter of Luther, eight years later, after the triumph obtained by the former. It is the 102d of this collection, and bears date December 14, 1518.

"The Lord be with thee, most courageous man; I give thanks for the mercy of God, most learned and accomplished Reuchlin, which is in you, and by which at length you have succeeded in stopping the mouths of those that uttered unrighteousness. You have, indeed, been an instrument of the divine counsels, unknown by yourself, but longed for by all who were interested in pure theology; so that far other effects were wrought by God, than appeared to be accomplished by you. I was one of those who desired to be with you, but lacked opportunity. Yet I was ever present with you in prayers and wishes. What was then, however, denied to me as your associate, is now accumulated upon me as your successor. The teeth of that Behemoth are assailing me, that if possible, they may be indemnified for the ignominy which they received from you. And though I oppose them with genius and strength of erudition far inferior to that with which you met and prostrated them, yet with no less determination of soul. They decline argument with me, and refuse to answer, but with mere force and violence embarrass my path. But Christ lives, and I can lose nothing, for I have nothing to lose. Not a few of the horns of these bulls have been broken by your firmness. For God hath wrought this by your means, that the tyrant of sophists might learn to resist sometimes more tardily and meekly the true study of theology, and that Germany might begin to breathe once more, since, alas, for centuries the doctrines of the scripture have been oppressed, or rather extinguished."—*Ep.* 102.

With the views which Luther had obtained of the true source of theological truth, it is natural to suppose that he would soon be led to condemn the scholastic method of argument. This was not, in his case, the result of any ignorance of the system of the schools. He thoroughly knew the citadel which he was about to attack, and if he had been disposed to glory in human strength, no path to honour lay more fairly before him than that of dialectic warfare. As professor of logic he had been eminent, in an age when all were ambitious of this honour, and through life he displayed a remarkable adroitness in turning the weapons of the Aristotelians against themselves. Yet we find in a letter of date February 9, 1516,

that he thus commences his attack upon the peripatetic philosophy. The temper of the age and of the man will excuse some of the expressions:

"*To John Lange.* I send these letters, father, to the excellent *Jodocus Isenacensis*, (his former instructor at Erfurt,) filled with questions opposed to logic, philosophy and theology; that is of abuse and maledictions against Aristotle, Porphyry and the *Sententarii*, in other words the ruinous studies of this age. For so it will be interpreted by those who give command to be silent (not for five years with Pythagoras, but) perpetually and eternally with the dead; to believe all things, to listen to all things, and never, even by way of light prelude, to 'peep or mutter' against Aristotle and the sentences." "My mind burns for nothing so much as to expose to the public that impostor, who has so truly deluded the church under a Greek mask, and if there were time, to manifest his ignominy to all persons. I have in hand annotations upon the first book of the physics, wherein I have resolved to enact the drama of *Aristaeus*, against this Proteus of mine, the most crafty seducer of minds, for if Aristotle had not been flesh and blood, I should not scruple to say that he was truly a devil. It is indeed the greatest of my crosses that I am forced to see the best minds among my brethren, formed for noble pursuits, spending life and losing labour in these sloughs; while the universities do not cease to burn and condemn good books, and then indite, yea, dream bad ones."—*Ep.* 8.

These were daring words for a young man in such an age, and here we perceive the spirit of the reformation, and the temper of the man, who never hesitated to express his honest convictions, at every hazard. The same intrepidity of mind forbade him to conceal the sentiments which, it appears, he had long entertained upon the great doctrine of justification by faith, which had been so long perverted and concealed by these subtleties. To *George Spenlein*, a brother Augustinian, he writes, April 7, 1516:

"I desire to know how it is with your soul, and whether at length, weary of its own righteousness, it has learned to live (*respirare*) and confide in the righteousness of Christ. For in our age the temptation to presumption is lively in many persons, and especially in those who seek with all their might to be righteous and good. Being ignorant of the righteousness of God, which is given us in Christ most abundantly and gratuitously, they strive of themselves to work what is good till such time as they may attain confidence to stand before God, adorned, as it were, with their virtues and merits; which is impossible to be done. Therefore, my dear brother, learn Jesus Christ, and him crucified; learn to sing praise to him, and to say to him, despairing of yourself: 'Thou, Lord Jesus, art my

righteousness, but I am thy sin ; thou hast assumed what was mine, and given me what was thine ; thou hast assumed what thou wast not, and given me what I was not.' Beware lest at any time you aspire to such purity, as to be unwilling to appear to yourself to be a sinner ; nay, to be such. For Christ dwells in none but sinners. For he descended from heaven, where he dwells in the righteous, that he might even dwell in sinners. Meditate upon this his love, and you shall behold his most sweet consolation. For if, by our own efforts, we can obtain peace of conscience, for what end has he died ? So that you can find peace only in him, by a *fiducial despair* of yourself and your own works : you shall learn moreover from him, that as he has taken thee and made thy sins his own, so likewise has he made his righteousness thine."—*Ep. 9.*

In these sentences we discover the sum and substance of that precious truth in which all the reformers gloried, and although the nicety of theological argument would at this day demand greater precision of language, yet the precious doctrine is that which commends itself to the judgment and the heart of every unsophisticated Christian. It was a matter of lamentation to the Saxon divines, that *Erasmus*, to whom they had looked as the great restorer of letters, the satirist of many papal abuses, and the leader in scriptural interpretation, should have so soon diverged from them upon this fundamental point. Luther thus states his opinion of *Erasmus* and his doctrine, in a letter to his friend *Spalatin*, October 19, 1516.

"The things which disturb me, with regard to *Erasmus*, who is a most learned man, are these, that in explaining the words of the apostle, he understands by 'the righteousness of works,' or 'of the law,' or one's 'own righteousness,' (for so the apostle calls it,) the ceremonial and typical observances. And then, as to original sin, (which indeed he admits), he will not allow that the apostle treats of it in the 5th of Romans. Now if he would read Augustine in those books which he wrote against the Pelagians, especially of *the spirit and letter*, and of *the demerit and remission of sins*, and against the two epistles of the Pelagians, and likewise against Julian, almost all of which may be found in the eighth part of his works; and would observe that he holds nothing peculiar to himself, but what was held by the most eminent of the fathers, Cyprian, Nazianzen, Rhæticus, Irenæus, Hilary, Olympius, Innocent and Ambrose, it might perhaps be, that he would not only understand the apostle aright, but would also consider Augustine as deserving greater respect than he has hitherto believed. In this I hesitate not to dissent from *Erasmus*, because in the interpretation of scripture I prefer Augustine to Jerome, as much as he prefers Jerome, in every thing, to Augustine. Not that I am drawn, from regard to our order, to approve St

Augustine; for before I had alighted on his works, he was not in the slightest favour with me; but because I see St Jerome, as if with design, attaching himself to the historic sense, and what is more remarkable, interpreting scripture more soundly when it occurs incidentally (as for instance in his epistles) than when he treats it elaborately, in his works. The righteousness of the law, or of works, therefore, consists not merely in ceremonies, but more properly in the deeds of the whole decalogue.' 'For we are not justified by doing justly, as Aristotle supposes, except *simulatorie*, but in being made and in being just (*justi fiendo et essendo*) so to speak, we do justly. The person must first be changed, then the works. Abel was accepted before his offerings; but of this at another time.' 'You would say that I was presumptuous in causing such men to pass under the rod of Aristarchus, but that you know that I do these things for the sake of theology and the welfare of the brethren.'—P. 39.

In the early part of the ensuing year (1517) he expresses in a letter to *Lange* more decided doubts respecting Erasmus. The mortification and pain of the reformed theologians was the greater, because they had numbered this celebrated scholar among their coadjutors, and had already profited very much by his critical investigations and liberal sentiments. They had yet to learn what so soon appeared in a most glaring manner, that it was simply the republic of letters, and not the kingdom of Christ, for which Erasmus was concerned:

"I am reading our Erasmus, and my regard for him decreases day by day. It pleases me indeed, that with equal constancy and learning he attacks both the monks and the priesthood, and convicts them of their inveterate and lethargic ignorance; but I fear he does not sufficiently bring forward Christ and the grace of God, in which he is much more ignorant than Stapulensis. Human things are of more weight with him than divine. Though I judge him with reluctance, yet I do it, that you may be admonished not to read—still less to receive every thing without discrimination. The times are now perilous, and I see that one is not a truly wise Christian because he is learned in Greek and Hebrew, since even St Jerome, with five languages, was not equal to Augustine with one; though Erasmus judges far otherwise. But that man who attributes something to the human will, judges differently from him who knows nothing except grace."—*Ep.* 29.

The admiration of Augustine, already noticed, continued to be manifest during his whole life, and the works of this father appear to have been, under his auspices, used as text-books in the university of Wittemberg.

"Our theology," he says to Lange, "and St Augustine go forward prosperously, and, through the favour of God, reign in our university. Aristotle goes down by degrees, and totters towards that impending ruin, which is to be eternal. The *sententiarii* excite surprising disgust; nor can any one hope for auditors, unless he is willing to teach this theology, that is to say, the Bible, or St Augustine, or some doctor of ecclesiastical authority."—*Ep.* 34.

The year 1517 was signalized by the attack made upon the doctrines of the Romish church, and more especially those which relate to indulgences. The general outline of this controversy must be fresh in the recollection of all who are familiar with ecclesiastical history. It is nevertheless pleasing to be able to extract from this correspondence some of the earliest declarations of the reformer, respecting this atrocious imposture, as they afford new proofs of that decision of character which marked his entire course. In a letter written October 31, the time at which he commenced the campaign against indulgences, he says to *Albert*, archbishop of Mentz,

"Papal indulgences for the building of St Peter's are circulated under your honoured name, and I do not complain so much of the proclamations of those who publish them, (which I have not heard,) as of the false impressions taken up concerning them by the populace, and which they publicly glory in; for the wretched souls believe that if they purchase letters of indulgence, their salvation is certain, and that souls are freed from purgatory the instant their contribution falls into the chest: deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut ajunt) si per impossibile quis matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi." "Good God!" he adds, "the souls committed to your charge are led to destruction, and the awful account which you will have to render for all these, is every day on the increase. For this cause I could be silent no longer, for no one can be certain of his salvation by any gift conferred upon him by a bishop, since not even the infused grace of God gives absolute security; but the apostle exhorts us always to work out our salvation with fear and trembling; and even the righteous is scarcely saved."—*Ep.* 42.

"Concerning the efficacy of indulgences," he writes to Spalatin, a few months later, "the affair is still pending in doubt, and my disputation is tossed upon the waves of calumny. Two things, however, I will say. *First*, to yourself and our friends, until it becomes public; my opinion is that indulgences are a mere illusion of souls, and absolutely useless, except to such as slumber in the service of Christ. Although Carlstadt does not maintain this opinion, yet I am certain that he sets no value upon them. In order to dispel this illusion, the love of truth has constrained me to enter this pe-

rilous labyrinth of disputation, where I have raised up against me 'sexcentos Minotauros, imo et Rhadamanthotauros et Cacotauros.' Secondly, with reference to a point which is not left in doubt, since my opponents and the whole church are forced to grant it,—that alms and the relief of our neighbour are incomparably better than indulgences."—*Ep.* 54.

"The fabulous venders of pardons fulminate against me from their pulpits in a wonderful manner; so that at length they can scarcely find monsters to which they may compare me. They therefore add threats, promising that within a fortnight, (as one says,) or a month, (according to another,) I shall certainly be brought out and burnt. They oppose my positions with adverse arguments, insomuch that I fear lest they should burst from the very extent and vastness of their rage. I am advised by every one not to go to Heidelberg, lest perchance they should accomplish against me by stratagem that purpose which they cannot fulfil by force.—*Ep.* 58.

The first mention which is found of the noted *John Eckius*, is in a letter to J. Sylvius Egranus, a preacher in Zwickau. From this epistle it appears that Luther had entertained some feelings of regard for this zealous Dominican, and that he was surprised to meet him in the ranks of his antagonists. The title of the work of which Luther speaks, was "*Obelisci*," by which Eckius intimated that it was a mere collection of brief notes, alluding to the marks (††) which are used by printers in referring to such annotations. The date is March 24th, 1518.

"My positions have been opposed by certain *Obelisci*, written by John Eckius, doctor of theology, vice-chancellor at Ingolstadt, and now preacher to the court at Augsburg, a man of true and ingenious erudition, of cultivated mind, already celebrated and eminent for his writings, and (what most pains me) long united to me in the closest friendship. If I were ignorant of Satan's devices, I should wonder by what frenzy he was impelled to rend the cords of recent and delightful attachment, without writing, or giving me notice, or bidding me farewell. He has, nevertheless, written the *Obelisci*, in which he calls me a Bohemian, a virulent, heretical, seditious, petulant, and fool-hardy man. I pass over the gentler terms of abuse, such as dreamer, fool, ignoramus, and, at length, despiser of the supreme pontiff. In short, it is nothing but the basest contumely, with my name given, and my positions designated, so that the *Obelisci* comprise merely the gall and rust of a frantic soul. I was willing to receive in quietness this sop, fit only for Cerberus; but my friends have urged me to reply, with my own hand. Blessed Lord Jesus! let him alone be glorified; let him cover us with deserved confusion! Rejoice my brother, rejoice, and be not alarmed by these flying leaves, so

as to desist from teaching as you have begun, but like a palm tree in Kadesh rise against the burdens which weigh you down." "The more they rage, the further do I proceed." "I am almost ready to aver that there is not a scholastic theologian, especially of Leipsick, who can understand a single chapter of the Bible, nay, a single chapter of the philosopher Aristotle. I hope to prove this triumphantly, if any opportunity occur; for thus it is, unless a knowledge of the gospel consists in pronouncing its syllables, no matter in what way."—*Ep. 59.*

In August of the same year, cardinal *Cajetan* was commissioned, as legate of the pope, to make a thorough investigation of the whole proceedings and opinions of Luther, and empowered, in the event of his contumacy, to excommunicate and anathematize him and his adherents. Such was the poverty and the humility of the man, that he made this fatiguing journey from Wittenberg to Augsburg on foot, and arrived on the 8th of October at the latter place, in a friar's cowl, which he had borrowed on the way. "*Veni pedester et pauper Augustam, stipatus sumptibus principis Frederici.*"

Upon reaching the place of his destination, he writes to Melancthon, (*Ep. 82.*) "There is nothing new or remarkable, except that the city is filled with the rumour of my name, and every one desires to see the Herostratus* of this great conflagration. Quit yourself like a man, as you have ever done, and instruct our young men in the truth. I am going to be offered up, if it be the Lord's will, for them and for you. I would rather die, and forever be deprived of your most sweet friendship, (which is the greatest of my trials,) than to retract the truth which I have uttered, and become the occasion of destroying the noblest studies." Instead of giving any history of the interviews with Cajetan, we shall introduce an extended extract from Luther's own statement, as given in a letter to the elector Frederic the Wise, November 19th, 1518. From this will be apparent, not only the boldness, conscientious zeal and sincerity of the reformer, but also that remarkable acuteness and native policy which enabled him to thwart the designs even of the wily and practised Italian courtier.

"I have received, most eminent and illustrious prince, through my excellent friend George Spalatin, certain letters, together with a copy of the epistle of the most Reverend Thomas Cajetan, Sixtine Cardinal, Legate of the Apostolic See, sent to me by the favour of

* Alluding to the celebrated incendiary of Diana's temple

your lordship; they have been received with respect and joy. For I find here a most pleasing opportunity of making an exposition of my whole case. One single request I have to make of your illustrious highness—that the splendour of your greatness would tolerate this grovelling and suppliant monk in his childish discourse.

“The reverend lord cardinal, has, in the first place, written to you, that I was anxious to be fortified by a safe-conduct at Augsburg. This was not in consequence of my own judgment, or that of your highness, but the counsel of the whole of those friends to whom I was commended by your letters; one only excepted, the eloquent *Urban*, who dissuaded me at great length. It was, however, necessary that I should prefer the majority to one, so that if any evil should befall me, they might not have to write that I had slighted the recommendation of your highness, and their very faithful care. So that it was not a perverse, but a natural disposition in me, to prefer the many Germans already known, and noted for life and authority, to a single Italian.

“Your apprehensions, therefore, are not to receive the blame, most illustrious prince; for indeed there was more confidence placed in the reverend legate than my friends had expected, so that they wondered at my rashness, or (as they did me the honour to say) my courage, in entering Augsburg without a safe-conduct. For your highness had advised me, through *Spalatin*, that a safe-conduct was unnecessary; so that you had reposed all confidence in the reverend legate.

“I shall now proceed to other portions of the reverend legate's epistle, and reply to them in few words.

“He says truly that I at length appeared, and apologised for my tardiness, and for having demanded the safe-conduct; for I said that I had been advised by men of high rank, and of both orders [civil and ecclesiastic] not to go beyond the walls of Wittemberg, as plots of sword and poison were laid for me. I then added the reason above named, the wish of the friends who gave me counsel in the name of your highness. I prostrated myself likewise at the feet of the very reverend legate, and craved forgiveness with all reverence and humility, for whatever I might have said or done rashly, declaring that I was ready (as I feel this day) to be taught and led into more correct opinions.

“The reverend legate here raised me up in a paternal and most clement manner, commending me, and congratulating me upon this humility. He immediately proposed to me three things, with reference (as he said) to the commandment of our most holy master, pope *Leo X.*, (for he refused me a sight of the brief:)

“First, that I should return to a sound mind, and recant my errors.

"Secondly, that I should promise to abstain from the same in future.

"Thirdly, that I should abstain from all other things whereby the church might be disturbed.

"With regard to the first, I begged that he would point out wherein I had erred. He presently stated this, that in my seventh conclusion, I had said 'that it behooved him who comes to the sacrament to believe that he shall obtain the grace of the sacrament.' This tenet he held to be adverse to sacred scripture and the sound doctrine of the church. I replied firmly that in this point I should not forbear, either now, or to all eternity. 'Willing or unwilling,' said he, 'you must this day recant, or I will, for this point, condemn all that you have said.'

"And although he declared that he would treat with me, not upon the opinions of doctors, but the holy scriptures, or the canons, yet he did not adduce a syllable of scripture against me, whilst I, on the other hand, pressed him with many scriptural passages, as may be seen in the schedule of my reply; he did cite to me certain councils concerning the efficacy of sacraments, which I did not gainsay, and indeed they were not against me. He was, however, constantly gliding into the opinions of doctors, in his discourse; and I still wait, and seek and pray, up to this present time, for a single authority of scripture, or of the holy fathers, which is against this my sentiment.

"To you, illustrious prince, I may speak from the heart: I grieve with all my soul that this principle of our faith is not only doubtful and unknown in the church, but even held to be false. I protest the truth, before God and his angels; as it regards any other declaration of mine, let whatever may happen, let it be false, let it be against the *extravagans*, let it be condemned, let it be recanted; all this shall be done, if necessary: but this principle will I profess with my dying breath, and will deny all, rather than recant it. For, even if the merits of Christ are a treasury of indulgences, nothing thereby accrues to indulgences themselves: if they are not, nothing is lost; indulgences remain what they were, by what name soever they are honoured or puffed up. Neither am I a worse christian for rejecting indulgences, which he so greatly extols and defends; but if I change this principle of faith, I deny Christ. Thus I believe. Thus I will believe, until the opposing doctrine is proved from the scriptures, and the authorities adduced by me are invalidated; which has not yet been done, and (with God's aid) never shall be done.

"Thus far," he adds after a short digression, "we proceeded upon the first day, that is, these two objections were raised. I requested a day for deliberation, and withdrew. For I did not see

any advantage in controversy, so long as he, sitting in the place of the pontiff, desired me to receive whatever he might deem just, while, on the other hand, whatever I rejoined was hissed, exploded, yea, laughed to scorn, even if I adduced the holy scriptures. For I am omitting to state, that he endeavoured to exalt the authority of the pope, above both the scriptures and councils, alleging the case of the pope's having abrogated the council of Basil. When, in reply, I cited the appeal of the university of Paris, '*Videbunt poenas suas*,' was his answer. Finally, I know not how many of *Gerson's* followers he condemned; for I had brought up the council of Basil, or certainly *Gerson*, (in the resolutions,) which greatly moved him.

"In short, that fatherly kindness, so often promised to your highness, consisted in this, that I must either suffer violence, or recant; for he said that he was unwilling to dispute with me. It therefore seemed advisable to rejoin in writing; which mode affords certainly this solace to the oppressed, that it can be examined by the judgment of others, and that it sometimes conveys a degree of conscience and fear to such as at other times have the advantage in verbal controversy.

"On the next day, therefore, I returned, accompanied by the reverend father vicar *John Staupitz*, who had in the mean time arrived, and with four distinguished men, senators of his imperial majesty, began, in the presence of a notary, whom I had brought with me, to protest that I was not willing at this, or any future time, to utter aught against the doctrine of the holy Roman church, and that I was ready, if in any thing I had erred, to be instructed and led, submitting my opinions to the supreme pontiff, and then to the four universities of Basil, Freyburg, Louvain, and (if this was not enough) likewise to the very parent of learning, the university of Paris; as is shown by the schedule of my protestation.

"In derision of this determination, he again began to advise me to return to a sound mind and acknowledge the truth; said that he was desirous that I should be again reconciled to the church and the supreme pontiff, and the like, as if I had been declared a heretic, apostate and excommunicate. When, however, I promised to reply, not orally, but by writing, and suggested that it had been sufficiently battled between us on the day before; he seized in a vehement manner upon this word *battled* (*digladiatum*) and said, smiling, 'I have not battled with thee, my son, nor do I wish to battle with thee, but to admonish, and at the instance of the illustrious prince Frederic, to hear thee in a paternal and benignant manner;' that is (as I was forced to understand it) to urge to nothing but recantation.

In the mean time, as I was silent, the reverend lord vicar arose, and (as I had requested) begged that he would hear me in writing,

which at length we obtained with difficulty. For he would not consent to a public disputation; he refused also to argue with me in private, and until that hour he had rejected all reply in writing, pressing the single matter of recantation.

"Returning the third time, I offered answers in writing to two objections, concerning which he uttered many vain words, as he now writes, saying that I had replied in a most senseless manner, filling the paper with irrelevant citations of scripture, and that he had given their true meaning. When, however, I declared that I stood to it that the *extravagans* said, that Christ by his passion had acquired a treasure for his church, he instantly seized the writing, read it, and alighted on the word *acquisivit*, at the same time dissembling that he had so done. At length he said, rising,

"Depart, and either recant, or never return into my sight.' I therefore withdrew, believing firmly that I should never dare to return, since I had more strongly resolved never to recant, unless better instructed. I omit to mention a rumour that permission was given by the Father General, for me to be apprehended, and put in irons, unless I recanted. I remained nevertheless in Augsburg that day; it was Friday.

"Let your highness now judge what more I should have done, or ought now to do. In the face of so many dangers of life and death; in opposition to the advice of all my friends, I made my appearance, when even now they acknowledge that I was under no obligation to appear; and then rendered an account of my doctrines before the most reverend lord legate. I might with rightful liberty have answered in a single word, that I would enter into no examination; especially since my resolutions had been presented and made known to the supreme pontiff, so that the cause no longer pertained to me, except that I should await my sentence. For I had rested in the decision of the church, transferring it from myself, yet out of veneration towards the most reverend legate, I endured a still further examination. I was not deceitful, but evaded violence from most just apprehension. I think I have omitted nothing but the six letters *Revoco**.

"Wherefore, illustrious prince, lest, on my account, any evil should befall your highness, (which is most remote from my intention,) I leave your dominions, to go whithersoever the merciful God pleases, committing myself to his divine will in every event. For there is

"Das weiss ich, dass ich der allerangenehmst und liebste wäre, wenn ich diess einig Wort spräche: *revoco*, das ist: ich widerrufe. Aber ich will nicht zu einem Ketzer werden mit dem Widerspruch der Meinung, durch welche ich bin zu einem Christen worden; *ehe will ich sterben, verbrannt, vertrieben und vermaledeyet werden.*"—*Ep. 55. to Carlsbad.*

nothing I desire less than that any mortal (not to say your highness) should on my account incur either malice or danger.

"Wherefore, illustrious prince, I reverently bid farewell to your highness, and heartily salute you, rendering perpetual thanks for all your favours towards me. In whatever region of the earth I may be, I shall never be unmindful of your highness, but shall always pray sincerely and gratefully for the happiness of you and yours."—*Ep.* 95.

We are bound, however, to remember that it is not a biography of Martin Luther which is now attempted, but simply a notice of his correspondence; we shall, therefore, pursue no further the chronological order of his epistles, but remark, in a desultory manner, upon some of the striking points of character which are illustrated in these volumes. From the extracts already made, we find ample reasons for retaining the opinion which has been universally received, of the imperturbable resolution and heroic intrepidity of this Christian champion. To form a proper estimate of this, it must never be forgotten that the authority of the papal court was at this time unquestioned, and the anathemas of the pontiff invested with an awful sanctity. It was long after this that Luther was clearly convinced of the futility of ecclesiastical denunciations. He distinguished, indeed, between the pope and the court of Rome, but was still in the dark with respect to the real presence, the authority of councils, the doctrines of penance and purgatory, and the invocation of saints. As late as 1522, he holds such language as this concerning the last mentioned point.

"On the worship of the saints, I am surprised to find that the world is still solicitous that I should make public my opinions. I desire that this inquiry should be untouched, simply because it is unnecessary, and will move many questions, as Paul says, without end. It is the work of Satan to draw us away from faith and charity by superfluous and unnecessary debates, that he may, in an unperceived way, insinuate new sects and heresies. It is unwise to labour in unimportant matters, to the neglect of those which are necessary. The invocation of saints will fall of itself, without any efforts of ours, whenever it shall appear to be useless, and Christ shall be left alone upon Mount Tabor. It is just in this manner that such worship has ceased with me. I know not how or when I desisted from prayer to the saints, having become satisfied with Christ and God the Father alone. Therefore I cannot approve those who absolutely condemn such as worship the saints."—*Ep.* 403.

With all these remains of ignorance, he was still undaunted in his opposition to whatever he plainly saw to be corrupt or

false. He was equally bold in speaking of his temporal as of his spiritual superior. To *Spalatin*, who was a courtier as well as an ecclesiastic, he wrote, June 1516, "there are many things pleasing to your prince (the elector) and dazzling to his eyes, which are displeasing and abominable in the sight of God. Not that I would deny that he is the wisest of men in secular pursuits, but in those which pertain to God, and the salvation of souls, I consider him almost seven times blind." What must have been thought of the man who, as early as 1520, could thus address the pontiff:

"Therefore, Leo, my father, beware how you lend an ear to those sirens, who represent you as something more than mere man, as having some divine mixture, so as to command and enforce whatever you will. It will not be so, nor can you prevail. You are the servant of servants, and, beyond all mankind, placed in a station wretched and perilous. Be not deceived by those who feign that you are lord of the world, who allow none to be a Christian without your authority, and who prate concerning your power in heaven, hell, and purgatory*."—*Ep.* 264.

This confidence was far removed from unthinking temerity. It was deeply founded in the conviction, that as he was bound to surrender all to God, so God would preserve and deliver him as long as he chose to use his services.

"I am," says he, in the year 1518, to his friend *Link*, "like Jeremiah, a man of strife and a man of contentions, daily vexing the Pharisees with what they call new doctrines. But as I am conscious that I teach only the purest theology, so I have long ago anticipated that it would be to the righteous Jews a stumbling-block, and to the wise Greeks, foolishness. Yet I hope that I am a debtor to Jesus Christ, who says, it may be, to me also, *I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake*. The more they rage, the greater is my trust; my family is provided for, my possessions, house, and substance are disposed of; my fame and glory is already torn to pieces. All that remains is this frail and broken body, which if they take away, they may make me poorer by one or two hours of life, but cannot take away my soul. I sing with John Reuchlin, 'he who is poor, fears nothing, can lose nothing, but is settled in good hope, for he hopes to gain.'—I know that the

* "Darumb, Mein H. Vater L., wollist je nit hören deine sussen Ohrensinger, die do sagen: du seyest nit ein lauter Mensch, sondern gemischt mit Gott, der alle Ding zu gebieten und zu foddern habe. Es wird nit so geschehen; du wirst auch nit ausführen, &c." This specimen of Luther's antique German may serve to entertain philologists.

genius of the word of Christ has been this from the beginning, that he who is willing to bear it in the world, must, like the apostles, do so, abandoning all things, and living every hour in expectation of death. If it were not so, it would not be the word of Christ. It was purchased by death, published by death, maintained by death, and now must be preserved by means of death."—*Ep.* 73.

This was the same contempt of danger which had led him to say, in the year 1516, when the plague was raging at Erfurt, "you advise me and brother Bartholomew to take our flight to you. Whither shall I fly? I hope that the world is not in danger of perishing, even though brother Martin should perish. If the plague make progress, I shall disperse the brethren in all directions; as to myself, being placed here under obedience, it is not lawful for me to fly, unless commanded by the same duty. Not that I am above the fear of death, (for I am not the apostle Paul, but only a student of the apostle Paul) but I trust that from this fear the Lord will deliver me." In a subsequent epistle, numbered clxv., he expresses his firm conviction, that although weaker Christians might fly from pestilence, it was the duty of ministers of the gospel to abide with the flock.

Many anecdotes might be related which exemplify the same fearless spirit. In the year 1525 a Polish Jew was despatched to Wittenberg, with the promise of two thousand gold pieces, on condition that he should procure the death of Luther by poison. He was discovered, with his accomplices. The event is thus coolly mentioned in a letter to Spalatin. "You will learn to-morrow what you have desired to hear, that the Jewish prisoners who were seeking to poison me, would perhaps have revealed the names of those by whom they were employed. As however they would not do this voluntarily, I was not willing that they should be put to the torture, but procured their discharge, although I am very certain that this is the person concerning whom my friends warned me, as all the marks agree."

It was the fervour of unfeigned piety which was, in this holy man, the moving principle; a piety which breathes in all his correspondence, and in some instances with an engaging simplicity which goes at once to the heart. His childlike trust in God, his love for the body of Christ, his unconditional self-dedication, his jealousy for the honour of pure religion, make his confidential writings a treasury of instruction for the private Christian. He writes thus to the provincial of his order, *John Staupitz*, for whom he entertained a filial reverence:

"The case is serious; Christ himself seems to suffer. Even if heretofore it was right to be silent and concealed, yet now when the blessed Saviour who gave himself for us is made a reproach throughout the whole world, shall we not contend for him? Shall we not lay down our necks for him? My father, the danger is greater than many suppose. Here the Gospel begins to apply, *whosoever shall confess me before men, &c.* Let me be accused as proud, avaricious, an adulterer, a murderer, an anti-pope, as guilty of all crimes, but of impious silence let me never be accused, while our Lord suffers and says, *I looked upon my right hand, and beheld, but there was no man that would know me*; I write the more earnestly to you because I greatly fear that you hang in neutrality between Christ and the pope, although you see them to be in the greatest degree opposed to one another. Let us therefore pray that the Lord Jesus would destroy this son of perdition with the breath of his mouth."—*Ep.* 291. *Feb.* 9, 1521.

There could be no situation more likely to afford temptations to pride than that in which Luther was placed, surrounded by multitudes who regarded him as their great spiritual leader and defender. He was nevertheless enabled to inculcate the duty of humility upon others, and to practise it himself:

"I wrote to the prince respecting your case, but your letters were not pleasing to me, savouring of I know not what spiritual presumption. Do not glory in your readiness to do and suffer many things for the word. Let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. You have not yet grappled with death; the thing is not so easy, however easy it may be to talk about it. Walk in fear and self-contempt, and pray the Lord that he would work all in you, that of yourself you may do nothing, but rest in Christ, (*sis sabbatum Christo.*)"—*Ep.* 395. *To Zwilling, May* 1522.

"It is the infelicity of this most wretched life, that our admirers and friends are the more injurious, the more nearly they are attached to us. The favour of God recedes, in proportion as the favour of man approaches. For God is either our sole friend, or not at all. The evil is increased by this, that if you abase yourself, and refuse applause and honour, by so much the more are you pursued by applause and honour, that is to say, by danger and perdition. O how much more salutary are the hatred and calumny of all, than their praise and love!"—*Ep.* 28.

"When therefore I gave a universal challenge," he says in accounting to the bishop of Brandenburg for his attack upon indulgences, "and still no one came forward in reply, and I saw my disputations spreading more widely than I had desired, and regarded everywhere, not as disputable, but as asserted positions; I was forced,

contrary to my wishes and intentions, to expose my puerility and ignorance to the world, and to publish the proofs of these faults, esteeming it better even to incur the di grace of unskillfulness, than to suffer those to err, who perhaps suppose that my propositions were asserted as undoubted truths"—"Had not these things been so, I should never have been known beyond my own corner."—*Ep.* 66. 1518.

No fault has been more frequently charged upon Luther than the harshness and virulence of his controversial works, and the keenness of his language, approaching often to vituperation. The temper of the man, the spirit of the age, and the high provocation which impelled him, must be regarded in judging of this charge. That hardihood in projecting, inflexibility in conduct, and constancy in execution, which made him the powerful defender of the truth, were united, as they must be in almost every individual of choleric temperament, with occasional manifestations of abruptness, impetuosity and violence of passion. Such a soul, in the course of energetic operation, could not so readily brook the opposition of malice and imposture, as the more gentle spirit of such an one as Melancthon. The controversies of the day, moreover, were not conducted with the studied deference and decorum which public sentiment now demands. If there was a fault in the asperity of Luther's writings, it was the fault of the age, and he is by no means an unhappy exception, standing out amidst a host of refined and courtly combatants. He felt himself pressed in spirit to unmask the imposture of a system which was leading its thousands to perdition. His whole soul was in a glow of ardent zeal, which suffered not a thought to be expended upon the courtesies of life. He could not pause to adjust his expressions, when his business was to pluck brands from the burning. There was, besides, not a little design in his adopting this style of controversy, as will appear from the following extracts:

"Almost all condemn my acrimony, but my own opinion, like yours, is that in this very manner God is probably pleased to discover the impostures of men. For I observe that, in our age, those things which are gently handled presently fall into oblivion, no one regarding them. The present age judges amiss; posterity will form a more just opinion. Paul, likewise, denominates his opposers, 'dogs,' 'concision,' 'vain speakers,' 'false workers,' 'ministers of Satan,' and the like, and reviles to his face the 'whited wall.'"—*Ep.* 251. *To Wenceslaus Link*, 1520.

"Erasmus," says he in another place, "thinks that all matters

are to be discussed courteously, and with a certain polite kindness; but *Behemoth* cares not for this, and is no whit the better thereby."—*Ep.* 337. 1521.

It is not to be dissembled that there is frequently manifested in the productions of this reformer a fierceness which seems scarcely compatible with Christian charity. Yet when we come to take a survey of his whole character and life as developed in his most confidential effusions, we are convinced that he has been grossly misapprehended. Towards whatever he deemed erroneous or sinful, he knew not how to be tolerant; but it must be firmly denied by all who are conversant with the general tenor of his feelings, that there was in him any destitution of forbearance, meekness, and even tenderness of heart. He was as ready to forgive, as he had been to offend; he was often precipitate in his very confessions, and he never withheld the tear of sympathy from the afflicted. Among the charges brought against him, he was never accused of conniving at persecution. In this respect he was singularly elevated above his contemporaries. What can be more sweetly consolatory than this word of Christian advice to a bereaved husband, whom he had never before known?

"Remember the words of Job, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord*; and thus shall your Grace sing praise to a true and living God, who gave you so faithful and dear a consort, and has now taken her again. She was his before he gave her to you; she was still his, after he had given her to you; she is no less his, now that he has taken her away, as we all are his. Therefore when he causes grief, and takes from us what is his own, the heart should take still higher comfort in his most excellent will, than in all his gifts. For how immeasurably is God better than all his gifts! So that it is even in this case better to abide his will, than to possess the best and noblest wife."

The *naïveté* and childlike simplicity of the original German is lost in this version, yet it shows a heart not inaccessible to the gentlest emotions. And even in controversy, Luther often sighed for peace. "I wrote" says he, "to Erasmus, wishing for peace and concord, and desiring the end of this pompous tragedy. In this I pray that you may concur, if you have any influence. There has been on both sides enough of conflict and contempt; at last there ought to be some place for Christ, some yielding of Satan to the Holy Spirit."—*Ep.* 593. *To Oecolampadius.*

In close connexion with the interests of vital piety, the early

reformers always placed those of genuine learning. Of the latter there was scarcely a semblance in the Romish church at the time that Luther arose. The influence of such men as Petrarch, D'Ailly, Clemange, Valla, Reuchlin and Erasmus, had been as yet felt only in their own circumscribed spheres. In the schools of philosophy, the whole strength of the intellect was concentrated upon the puerilities of the scholastic logic. As has been observed, the assault was early made upon this citadel. Let us hear the sentiments of Luther upon the subject, as addressed to his friend Spalatin, in 1518:

"You inquire how far I consider dialectics useful to the theologian; in truth I see not how dialectics can fail to be injurious to the genuine theologian. Grant that the study may perhaps be important as an entertainment or exercise for juvenile minds; still in sacred learning, where simple faith and divine illumination are sought for, the whole of syllogistic argument is to be abandoned; as Abraham, when about to sacrifice, left the lads with the asses. This is what John Reuchlin affirms fully in the second book of his *Cabbala*, that if any dialectic discipline is needed, that natural, innate reason may suffice, whereby man compares belief with belief, and thus concludes upon the truth. I have often conferred with my friends, as to the amount of profit which appeared to have accrued to us from such anxious pursuit of philosophy and dialectics, and truly we have with one accord wondered at and lamented the lot which befel our minds, in finding no utility, but an ocean of mischief. If therefore you will confide in my judgment, whatever dialectics may otherwise profit you, in theology they will be injurious. I have attended to the discipline and rules of scholastic theology, but when I endeavoured to apply them to the holy scriptures and the ecclesiastical fathers, I have shrunk back alarmed as from tartarean confusion."—*Ep.* 72.

There seems therefore to be some correctness in the remarks of *Stäudlin*, upon the character of Luther's systematic theology, although he scarcely does justice to the views of the reformer. "Luther," says he, "reformed the church rather than theology, and wrote more for the necessities of the times than for science and system. He acquired the philosophical, exegetical and historical knowledge which he needed, in order to undermine the papacy, and raise another structure, and introduced this kind of knowledge also among his followers. He operated, in other respects, far more by means of genius, sound understanding and eloquence, than of profound and extensive learning and accomplishment. As he excluded *philosophy* wholly from theology, and made faith of divine origin,

the central point of his system and his whole religious and theological views, he had no recourse to scientific and recon-dite divinity*."

In the great work of translating and expounding the scriptures he exhibited a depth of research, and a justness of apprehension which may well astonish those who consider how he was oppressed with public labours. In his commentaries, he treats with contempt the ancient anagogical and tropological method of interpretation, and pursues the simple and safer path adopted in modern times. He was led in the commencement of these studies to appreciate the importance of the original languages of scripture, and espoused with zeal the cause of the persecuted Reuchlin. In 1518 he concerted with Spalatin a plan for the introduction of these branches into the University of Wittemberg, and his subsequent correspondence with this friend is enriched with innumerable discussions of exegetical difficulties. His accuracy in translation was truly wonderful, when we reflect upon the rapidity with which he laboured. He even went so far as to procure specimens of all the precious stones which could in any way aid him in the version of the names of ancient gems. The sentence in Gen. ii. 18, remained long unfinished until his fastidious taste could determine between the expressions *neben ihm*, *für ihn*, and *umb ihn*. His first proposal to translate the New Testament was made December 18th, 1521. On the 13th of January 1522, he thus writes to Amsdorf:

"I am translating the scriptures, though I have undertaken a work above my strength. I now see what it is to interpret, and why it has hitherto been attempted by no one who was willing to give his name. I dare not attempt the Old Testament, unless with your presence and assistance. If it were possible for me to have a private chamber with you, I would come at once, and translate the whole from the beginning, that there might be a version deserving the perusal of Christians: for I hope that we shall present a better one to our Germany than the Latins possess. This work is great, and deserves the labours of us all, since it is for the public, and for human salvation.—*Ep.* 357.

In March he writes that Matthew is completed; in April that he has proceeded as far as John; in July that the work is half done, and finally, that the New Testament was fully completed on the 21st of September 1522.

* Stäudlin Geschichte der Theol. Wissenschaften. Vol. I, p. 154.

In the meantime he was far from undervaluing general and polite learning:

"I am persuaded, that without the accomplishments of literature, pure theology cannot be sustained; as up to the present time it has in a lamentable manner fallen and languished, whenever this has been the case with letters. But I observe that there has never been made any signal revelation of the word of God, for which the way was not prepared by the revival of languages and letters as its precursors. Nothing is further, indeed, from my wishes, than that our youth should neglect poetry and rhetoric. My desire certainly is that as many as possible should become poets and rhetoricians, since by these studies, as by no others, men are wonderfully fitted both to receive, and in a dexterous and felicitous manner to handle sacred truth. Wherefore I pray you, that in my name (if it avails any thing) you would urge your youth to apply themselves vigorously to poetry and eloquence. I frequently lament that on account of the times and the state of society, I have no leisure for poets and orators. I had purchased Homer that I might become a Grecian.—*Ep.* 478. *To Eobanus Hess*, 1523.

It was the same conviction of the importance of human learning which led him to say to a correspondent, some months after, "I pray you that you would urge upon those around you the cause of education. For I see that the greatest ruin is impending over the gospel, if the education of boys is neglected. This thing is of all others the most necessary."—*Ep.* 596.

The following parts of letters, taken almost *ad aperturam libri*, are introduced for the single purpose of exhibiting this interesting man in the amiable character of an ordinary friend.

"MAY 26, 1522.

"*To Philip Melancthon, Theologian, Doctor of the Church of Wittenberg, my dear brother in Christ.*—I am reluctantly answering James Latomus, for I had composed my mind for quiet study, yet I perceive it to be necessary that I should reply to him. To this is added the wearisome task of reading what is written in so bad and prolix a manner. I had determined to give in German the expositions of the epistles and gospels, but you have not sent the printed discourses.

"I send the psalm (68th) sung upon those festivals, which if you judge it proper, you may print, dedicating it to whom you will,—provided that the types are unemployed. If you think otherwise, present it to my friends, and give it to Christian Aurifaber or Amsdorf to be perused.

"I rejoice that Lupinus [Radhemius] has had a happy departure

out of this life, in which I would that we also lived no longer. So great is the wrath of God, which every day I deliberately observe more and more, that I am in doubt whether, with the exception of infants, he will preserve any from that kingdom of Satan : for thus hath our God departed from us. Yet his decease has affected me not a little, beholding that passage of Isaiah—*The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart, and merciful men are taken away, none considering, &c.*

"The recent marriage of Feldkirch fills me with surprise, since he fears nothing, and is so expeditious even amidst these tumults. The Lord direct him, and mingle satisfaction with his bitter herbs ; which indeed will take place without my prayers. I am disappointed because your *Methodus* [*Loci theologici*] has not been received, as far as it is printed. I wish to know who reigns in my pulpit ; and whether Amsdorf still slumbers and indulges. The Lord preserve and increase what you mention concerning the prosperity of letters. Amen.

"Beware lest you be disheartened ; sing to the Lord in the night the psalm which is enjoined, I also will sing with you ; only let us be zealous for the word. Let him who is ignorant, be ignorant ; let him who perishes, perish ; for they cannot complain that we have been wanting towards them in duty. Suffer the men of Leipsack to glory, for this is their hour. As for us, it is our part to forsake our country, our kindred, our father's house, and for a season to be separated in a land which we know not. I have not abandoned the hope of seeing you again, yet in such a manner as to leave God to do what is good in his sight. If the pope should assail all who are of my opinion, Germany will not be free from tumult ; and the sooner he attempts it, the sooner shall he and his adherents perish, and I return. God stirs up my mind, and even the hearts of the populace in such a manner, that it seems improbable to me that this thing can be suppressed ; or if it begin to be suppressed, it will be to increase tenfold. Your sadness is my greatest evil ; your joy is mine also. Therefore I salute you in the Lord, to whom you commend me in your intercessions, as I trust ; I also, according to ability, am not unmindful of you. Preserve the church of God, in which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops, not the images of bishops. Written among the birds sweetly singing in the branches, and praising God day and night, with all their strength*."—*Ep.* 321.

The second is a letter to his father, of date November 21, 1521, written upon the occasion of declaring himself free from his monastic vows, and appears to have served as a dedication to his book *De votis monasticis*.

* Written during his retreat at Wartburg.

"*Martin Luther to Hans Luther, his beloved father.*—I have inscribed this book to you, my dear father, not that I may make your name renowned through the world, which would be, contrary to the Apostle Paul's teaching, to seek honour after the flesh, but because I had reasons for presenting to the Christian reader, by a preface, the occasion, the contents, and a specimen of this work. And to begin with this, I will not conceal from you that your son has now gone so far as to be convinced and assured that nothing is to be esteemed more honourable, nothing more spiritual, than the commandment and word of God. But now you will say 'God help thee, hast thou ever doubted of this, or now learned it for the first time?' I reply, that I have not only doubted, but have never even been aware that this was taught. And what is more, if you will suffer me, I am ready to make it plain that you also have been in the like ignorance.

"It is now nearly sixteen years since I became a monk, into which state I entered without your knowledge or consent. You entertained much solicitude and fear for my weakness, because I was a youth of twenty-two years, [*sein jung Blut bei 22 Jahren*] that is, as Austin says, it was yet idle boyhood with me; and you had learned, from many examples, that monkery has made many wretched, and were also desirous for me to enter into an attachment by rich and honourable wedlock. This your fear and anxiety and reluctance proved for a time unalterable, notwithstanding the counsel of all friends, who told you, that when you made an offering to God, you should give him what was dearest and best. God did indeed speak to your heart that verse of the Psalms, *The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity*, but you hearkened not. At last you yielded, and submitted to the will of God; not, however, laying aside your fear and anxiety. For I still remember but too well, how kind you were towards us again, and that you spoke with me, and that I told you how I had been called from heaven by a dreadful apparition. For I was never willingly or of choice a monk, still less from any sensual motives; but being encompassed with the dread and anguish of impending death, I entered into a forced and reluctant vow. You likewise said, 'God grant that it be not a deception and diabolical ghost!' That word, which God probably spake by your mouth, soon penetrated and sunk to the bottom of my soul, but I closed and hardened my heart, as well as I could, against your counsel. There was yet another incident: while I, as a son would do towards a father, deprecated your anger, you were disgusted, and retorted upon me in such a manner that I have scarcely in all my life heard from man's lips a word which so touched and pierced me. For it was this—'Ah! hast thou not heard, then, that one should be obedient to his parents?' I was,

however, entrenched in my own piety, and heard and contemned you as no more than a man. Nevertheless I could never banish that word from my heart. Now, therefore, what think you of it? Will you now rescue me from monkery? For you are still my father, I am still your son, and all these vows are stark naught. On your side is the command and power of God, on my side the trifles of man; for the celibacy, which the papists laud so extravagantly, is nothing without obedience. Celibacy is not commanded, obedience is commanded. Therefore I am now a monk, and at the same time no longer a monk, but a new creature of Christ, not of the pope. For the pope also has his creatures, and is a creator, but only of stocks and idols, like himself, mere masks and puppets. I therefore send you this book, in which you will perceive with how great signs powers and wonders Christ has freed me from the monastic vow, and with how great freedom he has favoured me, making me the servant of all men, and yet subject to none, but to himself alone. For he is alone, so to speak, without the intervention of any, my Bishop, Abbot, Prior, Lord, Father, Master; besides him, I know no other. If the pope should strangle me, and lay me under a curse, and transport me beyond the grave, yet he is unable to raise me up again from the dead, that he may strangle me afresh. As to my banishment and excommunication, my wish is that he should never give me absolution. For I hope that the great day is near, when the kingdom of abomination shall be broken and destroyed. And would to God that we were worthy to be strangled and burnt by the pope, that our blood might cry aloud, and accelerate his judgment, that he might come to an end. As, however, we are not worthy to testify with our blood, so let us leave him to himself, that we may supplicate for mercy, and with our lives and voices declare and witness, that Jesus Christ alone is the Lord our God, blessed for ever. Amen. And until you are saved by Him, dearest father, and my mother Margaret, and all our kindred, receive my greetings in Christ the Lord."—*Ep.* 348.

It only remains to mention very briefly the valuable labours of De Wette in preparing this first complete edition of the correspondence of Luther. The remarks which have been offered above, have principal reference to the first two volumes. Five have already been published, and the work is still unfinished; the original expectation was that it would be comprised in about eight octavo volumes. The statement which follows is in substance that of the editor himself.

None of the preceding collections have embraced all the letters which are extant. Walch indeed gave, in his edition, all those which the earlier works of Aurifaber and Buddens contained; but great additions have since been made by Schütze,

Strobel, and Faber. But after all these attempts, some of the letters already in print, and a multitude of those which exist in manuscript, have been entirely overlooked. De Wette appears to have done all that was possible in order to furnish a complete work, examining the archives of Weimar, the libraries of the universities, and other public and private collections, thus bringing to light more than a hundred epistles before unknown. He has had recourse to the most unexceptionable sources, consulting the autographs or the earliest impressions, in every case, and scrupulously noting the different readings of the text. The letters had so frequently been translated from German into Latin, and *vice versa*, that it became important to determine the original language in which each was written, which has been carefully done, and the ancient orthography and phraseology have been restored.

This work is so arranged as to constitute a copious journal of Luther's life. Each volume is prefaced with a chronological table of the principal events of the period to which it belongs. The strict order of time has been observed in the relative position, and each letter is preceded by a brief but comprehensive introduction and sketch of its contents. The volumes are moreover enriched with a likeness of the reformer, engraved after the portrait by Kranach, his contemporary and friend, and numerous facsimiles of his hand-writing.

REVIEW.

1. *Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled from authentic sources, chiefly in French and German.* London, 1829. Pp. 352, 5 plates.
2. *The Life of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the Committee of Publication.* Philadelphia, 1830. Pp. 140, 2 lithographic plates.

We are surprised that the abridgment of these "Memoirs," issued by the American Sunday School Union, should be the

only form in which the volume has been republished in this country. The biography of one of the earliest pioneers of the religious enterprise of the age has certainly more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the Christian community. As a stirring proof of what may be effected by the well-directed efforts of a single individual, this narrative speaks loudly to the pastors of every church, who are commonly more disposed to lament over the inadequacy of their powers to their opportunities, than to apportion their energies to the exigence of the times; who, whilst they long for the mission of more labourers into the harvest-field, are apt to neglect to do with their might, whatever lies to their hand.

The original Memoirs are compiled by an anonymous female, from several small narratives in French and German, not known in this country, and from some original papers communicated to her. These authorities and documents are well arranged and connected, and the style of the author, with some inconsiderable exceptions, is quite appropriate and interesting.

The region which the name of Oberlin has drawn from obscurity, is a canton that originally belonged to Germany, and lies buried in the mountains of the north-east border of France, between Alsace and Lorraine. The French call it the *Ban de la Roche*; their German neighbours the *Steinthal*. It contains only about nine thousand acres, and is divided into two parishes, the one *Rothau*, the other comprising the five hamlets of *Foudai*, *Belmont*, *Waldbach*, *Bellefosse* and *Zolbach*, the inhabitants of which are almost exclusively of the Lutheran denomination.

Waldbach, the most central village, stands on the *Champ de Feu*, supposed to have been a volcanic mountain, which is separated from the *Vosges* range by a deep valley, and rises to the height of three thousand six hundred feet above the sea. The village is about half way up the mountain. The site of the whole district is represented to be highly romantic, though wild and insulated. The summits of the mountain remain covered with snow for a large portion of the year, whilst the valleys, which alone can be cultivated to any advantage, enjoy an Italian atmosphere. The population, so late as 1750, were in a state of comparative barbarism. Secluded in their rude recess from the polished countries adjacent, and deprived of communication by the want of roads, they appear to have surrendered themselves to sloth and ignorance, frequently suf-

fering for want of sustenance on account of their repugnance to agricultural or other labour, and rapidly degenerating to the lowest grade of humanity. They had indeed a minister among them, who, it is probable, was not much above the common level, as it is mentioned that he had been twenty years without a Bible, and his parishioners had no other idea of the volume than that it was "a large book that contained the word of God." Under these circumstances it was of little avail to them, that by the decree which incorporated the district with the kingdom of France, liberty of conscience was guaranteed to them, and the privilege of professing their original Protestant faith: a license, however, of which they afterwards enjoyed the full blessing.

In the year 1750, Mr Stouber, a Lutheran clergyman, undertook the civilization of this forsaken community. It does not appear whence he came, or by what authority, but we conclude he was a voluntary missionary from Strasburg, which lies within a few miles. He found the principal school under the care of a superannuated swine-herd, who professed to teach "nothing," confessing that he "knew nothing himself." The office of schoolmaster, indeed, had fallen into such disesteem, that those who were best qualified for the station, that is, the few who could name the letters, disdained the employment as ignoble. Stouber overcame their scruples by an ingenious expedient. He abolished the illfavoured title of schoolmaster, and instituted that of *messieurs les régents*. By the adoption of this euphemism, instructors, such as they were, were obtained, school-houses were erected, and the parents were prevailed upon to send their children, though at first they viewed the elementary syllables as cabalistic symbols. Their progress, under the supervision of the pastor, was so self-recommendatory, that the elder children, and even some of the parents, emulated their progress, and Stouber was encouraged to establish an adult school, which was taught during part of Sunday, and in the evenings of winter. He cut fifty French Bibles into one hundred and fifty portions, which he bound and distributed. They were received with incredulity and distrust, but soon were generally perused, and found their way into many Roman Catholic families. Stouber was beginning to reap the reward of his labours, when, in 1756, he was removed to another parish; in four years, however, he obeyed a powerful impulse which summoned him back from a comfortable living to the wilderness of the Steinthal, and to the great joy of the villages re-

sumed his office. In 1764 he lost his wife, at the age of twenty; three years afterwards he was called to a church at Strasburg, and upon accepting the invitation, prevailed upon Mr Oberlin to become his successor.

John F. Oberlin was born at Strasburg, of a very respectable family, on the 31st of August 1740. He was one of nine children, who were carefully and well educated by their father himself. Several instances of a very early display of the generosity, philanthropy and amiableness of his disposition are given, which indicate an unusual bent to the law of kindness. He was religiously instructed by his pious mother, and became the subject of conviction in his childhood. These impressions were confirmed by attendance upon the preaching of a Dr Lorentz at Strasburg, after he had become a member of the theological class in the university. At the age of twenty he entered into a formal covenant, on the plan, and nearly in the words, of that recommended by Dr Doddridge in the "Rise and Progress," and solemnly renewed the engagement ten years afterwards, at Waldbach. After his ordination he served seven years as tutor in the family of a distinguished surgeon, where he acquired considerable knowledge of medicine, which he turned to good account in his after-life.

Oberlin had agreed to accept a chaplainship in the French army when he was urged by Mr Stouber to take his place in the Ban. He acceded to his solicitations and removed to Waldbach in March 1767, being then in the 27th year of his age. The condition in which he found his parish, improved as it had been during the incumbency of his predecessor, is thus described by the biographer.

"They were alike destitute of the means of mental and social intercourse; they spoke a rude *patois*, resembling the Lorraine dialect, and the medium of no external information; they were entirely secluded from the neighbouring districts by the want of roads, which, owing to the devastation of war and decays of population, had been so totally lost, that the only mode of communication, from the bulk of the parish to the neighbouring towns, was across the river Bruche, a stream thirty feet wide, by stepping-stones, and in winter along its bed; the husbandmen were destitute of the most necessary agricultural implements, and had no means of procuring them; the provisions springing from the soil were not sufficient to maintain even a scanty population; and a feudal service, more fatal than sterile land and ungenial climate, constantly depressed and irritated their spirits."

He saw the necessity of becoming their civil as well as spiritual leader, and of directing their attention to secure the commonest blessings of social life. His plans were unacceptable to the idle and ignorant part of his people, some of whom even resolved upon personal violence in resisting them. Their designs were only frustrated by his courage and decision, and the conspirators became the foremost of his coadjutors.

In 1768 Oberlin married a young lady of Strasburg, to whose judgment and co-operation he was much indebted in his subsequent enterprises. In his matrimonial, as in all his other projects, he deferred to the will of Providence, and acted only upon what he supposed to be a direct intimation of the Divine will. But his biographer, we are inclined to believe, has done him some injustice in ascribing his conduct, on some previous occasions of the kind, to expectations of interference, which are certainly unwarrantable.

The first active project devised by the new pastor was the cutting of a road to communicate with the main road to Strasburg, by means of which a vent might be found for the commodities of the peasants, and a general intercourse encouraged. The people heard the proposal with amazement, and made every plea to avoid conscription in such an impossible enterprise as it seemed. "Let all" said the undaunted reformer in concluding his proposal of the scheme in a general meeting, "let all who feel the importance of my proposition, come and work with me," throwing at the same time a pick-axe over his shoulder and proceeding to the designated spot. The example was stronger than all his arguments, and he soon had an efficient force.

"He presently assigned to each individual an allotted post, selected for himself and a faithful servant the most difficult and dangerous places; and, regardless of the thorns by which his hands were torn, and of the loose stones by which they were occasionally bruised, went to work with the greatest diligence and enthusiasm. The emulation awakened by his conduct quickly spread through the whole parish. The increased number of hands rendered an increased number of implements necessary; he procured them from Strasburg; expenses accumulated; he interested his distant friends, and, through their assistance, funds were obtained; walls were erected to support the earth, which appeared ready to give way; mountain torrents, which had hitherto inundated the meadows, were diverted into courses, or received into beds sufficient to contain them; perseverance, in short, triumphed over difficulties, and, at the commencement of the year 1770, a

communication was opened with Strasburg, by means of the new road, and a neat wooden bridge thrown across the river. This bridge still bears the name of '*Le Pont de Chârité*.' "

He established, simultaneously with these works, a depository of tools and agricultural implements, to be lent in emergency. He sent the most suitable boys to Strasburg to be instructed in the various useful trades, who on their return exercised their handicrafts and taught their own apprentices. Under his advice and direction they improved their dwellings, which had been generally miserable cabins, hewn out of the rocks or sunk in the mountains. Agriculture had shared the fate of the other arts, and scarcely sufficient ground was cultivated to supply the wants of the population. With his usual tact, Oberlin, instead of inviting new opposition from his parishioners by proposing the systematic tillage of the soil, resolved to give them visible proof of its advantages. With his own hands, assisted by a single servant, he planted in his garden, through which lay a path continually used by the public, and in a soil notorious for its poverty, nurseries of trees, which, under his scientific culture, soon attained a flourishing condition, beyond what had ever been seen in that barren region. The taste was soon diffused; orchards and gardens in time surrounded the cottages, and the face of the country assumed a new aspect. Various grasses and vegetables were introduced by him, and the soil by proper process brought to a fertility which long disuse had diminished. He finally formed an agricultural society, on an extensive and useful plan.

By dint of persevering zeal he succeeded in establishing a school in each of the villages. In promoting his schemes, Oberlin had to encounter every discouragement which the ignorant prejudices of his people could offer; but so soon as the difficulties of the beginning were overcome, he received their hearty concurrence. With funds entirely insufficient for the purpose, he undertook, as a direct act of faith, the erection of suitable school-houses.

"He was convinced," as he often said, "that if he asked for any thing with faith, and it was really right that the thing should take place, it would infallibly be granted to his prayers. When, indeed, are our plans more likely to succeed, than when we enter upon them in humble and simple dependence upon God, whose blessing alone can render them successful?"

Having succeeded in erecting the buildings, the people came

forward voluntarily to assume the expense of conducting the schools.

But his system of education was not yet complete. Whilst the greater portion of the young population were occupied as pupils in the common schools, or preparing to become teachers, the smaller children were left at large. Struck with the waste of time which was thus suffered, he hit upon the expedient of establishing *infant schools*, which became the model of those instituted in Paris, and now in Great Britain and this country. At his own expense he organized an infant school in each commune, appointing two conductresses for each, to instruct the little pupils (who were from the ages of two to eight) in elementary education, and to sew, knit, &c. Their amusements consisted in listening to the recitation of scripture incidents, or illustrations of natural history, accompanied with pictures, in lessons of geography from maps, and singing moral and religious songs. The teachers were particularly careful to correct the barbarous *patois* which they learned from their parents—a tongue more similar to the French language of the twelfth century than to the modern idiom. Whilst the more immediate instruction was delegated to intelligent teachers, Oberlin superintended all the schools, reserving as his peculiar province their religious tuition. In order to do this more effectually, he founded *Sunday schools*, to be held at each village in rotation, where the children assembled at the church to sing the hymns and recite the religious lessons they had committed during the week, and receive the advice of their “dear papa,” the common appellation by which he was addressed by his parishioners. A meeting of all the schools was held weekly at Waldbach, where the systems pursued by the different teachers could be estimated by comparing the proficiency of the pupils.

Oberlin was now enabled to maintain and extend his plans by pecuniary assistance, received from his friends in Strasburg. He accordingly established a library for the children, and a book-society for the adults, had some rudimental works printed for their exclusive use, made a collection of indigenous plants, purchased philosophical apparatus, founded prizes for the emulation of the scholars, wrote and published a useful almanac, &c. The children of twelve or fifteen years of age were taught the principles of agriculture and botany, to domesticate plants, and copy them from nature. The parents

now willingly consented to pay a certain sum for the support of the schools. The children were early taught the duty of contributing their share to the public good; and to impress this upon their minds, they were required, at a certain age, to produce a certificate that they had planted two young trees in a spot laid out for the purpose. In these and all other duties they were urged to act with a supreme regard to religious motives. The example and doctrine of the pastor, in the smallest circumstances, constantly pointed to this; and it is mentioned that he would take a stone out of the road on the principle of love to his neighbour.

In 1782 Oberlin established a religious association under the name of the "Christian Society," the members of which (one hundred and thirty in number) met for prayer, religious conversation and charitable devices. For their use he drew up a number of heads and matters for reflection, and rules for conduct. The opposition to this society, by those to whom its exercises were not congenial, threatened to create so unfortunate a division in the parish, that he felt compelled to dissolve it, after an existence of eighteen months, but not without issuing an address on the occasion, defending its excellence, earnestly urging its opponents to repentance, and requiring that a copy of the rules should be suspended in every cottage. Among these rules was one that every member should, on the first Monday of every month, make the success of missionaries the special object of their prayers; which was in long anticipation of the monthly concert of prayer. There was also the following direction:

"Besides habitual 'watching unto prayer,' every individual, if he be able, shall prostrate himself in mind and body, every Sunday and Wednesday, at five o'clock in the evening, to ask of God, in the name of Jesus Christ—

"1. That every member of this society may be saved, with all his household, and belong to the Lord Jesus Christ.

"2. Every member shall add to the list all the friends of God of his acquaintance, and pray for them.

"3. Every member shall include in his prayer all the children of God, in general, upon all the earth, of whatever religion they may be, supplicating that they may be united more and more in Christ Jesus.

"4. Every member shall pray that the kingdom of Satan may be at length destroyed, and that the kingdom of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be fully and generally established among the innumerable Pagans, Turks, Jews, and nominal Christians.

"5. Every member shall pray for school-masters, superiors, and pious magistrates, of whatever name or rank they may be.

"6. For faithful pastors, and male and female labourers in the vineyard of the Lord Jesus, who, being themselves devoted to his service, desire, above all things, to bring many other souls to him.

"7. For the youth, that God may preserve them from the seducing influence of bad example, and lead them to the knowledge of our gracious Redeemer.

"Every Saturday evening all the members shall ask God to bless the preaching of his Holy Word on the morrow."

In 1784 an overwhelming affliction befel the pastor in the sudden decease of his amiable wife, leaving him with seven children. To this, after the first uncontrollable anguish, he offered the most exemplary resignation. It had been the subject of his prayers that the interval between their deaths should be short, and it now became one of his most cherished desires "that the world in which God would re-unite him to his beloved wife would soon open to him." He had experienced all his life, he says in one of his papers, "a desire, occasionally a very strong one, to die, owing, in some degree, to the consciousness of my moral infirmities, and of my frequent derelictions." "Millions of times," he says again, "have I besought God to enable me to surrender myself with entire and filial submission to his will, either to live or to die: and to bring me into such a state of resignation, as neither to wish, nor to say, nor to do, nor to undertake any thing, but what He, who alone is wise and good, sees to be best." That he knew how to estimate properly the influence of affliction on the heart of a Christian is evident from the subjoined illustration, contained in a letter written to a lady suffering under several successive bereavements:

"I have before me two stones, which are in imitation of precious stones. They are both perfectly alike in colour; they are of the same water, clear, pure, and clean; yet there is a marked difference between them, as to their lustre and brilliancy. One has a dazzling brightness, while the other is dull, so that the eye passes over it, and derives no pleasure from the sight. What can be the reason of such a difference? It is this. The one is cut but in a few *facets*; the other has ten times as many. These *facets* are produced by a very violent operation! it is requisite to cut, to smooth, and polish. Had these stones been endued with life, so as to have been capable of feeling what they underwent, the one which has received eighty *facets* would have thought itself very unhappy, and would have envied the fate of the other, which, having received but eight, had un-

dergone but a tenth part of its sufferings. Nevertheless, the operation being over, it is done for ever: the difference between the two stones always remains strongly marked; that which has suffered but little, is entirely eclipsed by the other, which alone is held in estimation, and attracts attention. May not this serve to explain the saying of our Saviour, whose words always bear some reference to eternity: 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted?' Blessed, whether we contemplate them apart, or in comparison with those who have not passed through so many trials. Oh! that we were always able to cast ourselves into his arms, like little children—to draw near to him, like helpless lambs—and ever to ask of him, patience, resignation, an entire surrender to his will; faith, trust, and a heartfelt obedience to the commands which he gives to those who are willing to be his disciples. 'The Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces.'—Isa. xxv. 8."

The care of his family now devolved on Louisa Schepler, a pious orphan, who had been eight years a member of his household, and one of the most active and useful of the infant school conductresses, in which service she had impaired her health by unsparing exposure to the severity of the winters. The spiritual and practical piety of this woman, her life of active and modest usefulness, and her sacrifices in the cause of religious philanthropy, render her name worthy of record in company with the most venerated characters in female biography. The same eulogy may be bestowed on several others of her sex in the Steinthal, whose lives furnish models of female usefulness.

The subjoined extract from the journal of a French gentleman who visited Waldbach in 1793, furnishes an interesting picture of the pastor at home:

"During the space of nearly thirty years, in which Mr Oberlin has been Christian pastor of this canton, he has completely changed it. The language is, from an unintelligible *patois*, altered into pure French; the manners of the people, without degenerating, are civilized; and ignorance is banished without injuring the simplicity of their character. Many of the women belonging to his parishes, trained for the purpose under his parental care and instruction, (and called *conductrices*,) assist him in his occupations. They teach reading, writing, and the elements of geography, in the different villages where they reside; and through their medium the children are instructed in many necessary things, but, above all, have the seeds of religion and morality sown in their hearts. The excellence of these schools is so well established and appreciated, that girls of the middle ranks are sent to him from distant parts, and the

title of a scholar of pastor Oberlin is no less than a testimonial of piety, cleverness, and gentle manners. His countenance is open, affectionate, and friendly, and bears a strong impress of benevolence. His conversation is easy, flowing, and full of imagination, yet always adapted to the capacity of those to whom he is speaking. In the evening we accompanied him a league on his way back to Waldbach. We had a wooded hill to ascend; the sun was just setting, and it was a beautiful evening. 'What sweet thoughts and pious sentiments you have uttered, during this interesting walk,' said Mr Oberlin, in a tone of confidence; for he considered us as friends to religion, and servants of God. Our hearts were indeed in unison; and he related to us the circumstances of his past life, and spoke of his views and ideas, and the fear and love of God, in a most touching manner. Sometimes we stood still to admire the beauties of nature, and at others to listen with earnest attention to his impressive discourse. One moment was particularly affecting; when, stopping about half way up the hill, he answered in the softest tone to our question—'Ja ich bin glücklich,' ('yes, I am happy.') These words are seldom uttered by an inhabitant of this world, and they were so delightful from the mouth of one who is a stranger to all the favours of fortune—to all the allurements of luxury—and who knows no other joys than those which religion and benevolence impart, that we longed to live like him, that we might also participate in the same happiness.

"The moon rose in all her majesty, and night drew on, before we recollected that the time to return was approaching; when pastor Oberlin exclaimed; 'If five years are necessary to bring a ray of light from Sirius to this world, though travelling at the rate of twelve millions of miles in a minute, how much swifter must the communications of spirits be! (Dan. ix. 21.) What is so swift as thought?' and he then imaged to us the facility with which he apprehended we should approach one another in a future state.

"The following morning we set off to return the visit which he had paid us on the preceding day. We found the worthy pastor in his morning gown; it was plain, but whole and clean. He was just on the point of concluding a lecture; his pupils had, like their master, something soft, indeed almost heavenly, in their look.

"The house stands well, and has, from the garden side, a romantic view; in every part of it that kind of *elegance*, which is the result of order and cleanliness, prevails. The furniture is simple; yet it suggests to you that you are in the residence of no ordinary man; the walls are covered with maps, drawings and vignettes, and texts of scripture are written over all the doors. That above the dining-room door is, 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.' And over the others

are texts enjoining love to God and our neighbour. The good man implicitly follows the divine command to write them over the door-posts*. On our first entrance he gave us, each, as a welcome, a printed text, 'Abide in me, and I in you,' 'Seek those things which are above,' &c. His study is a peculiar room, and contains rather a well-chosen, than numerous, selection of books in French and German, chiefly for youth. The walls are covered with engravings, portraits of eminent characters, plates of insects and animals, and coloured drawings of minerals and precious stones; it is, in short, literally papered with useful pictures relative to natural history and other interesting subjects.

"The dinner commenced with a blessing. His children, two maids, and a girl who receives her instruction there, were at the table; there was a remarkable expression of softness in all their countenances.

"Oberlin has a peculiarly happy method of improving occurrences, under the form of similes; and we are mistaken in supposing him a mystic. 'The gospel,' said he, 'is my standard. I should be afraid of trusting myself alone without it.' He then related to us many of the difficulties he had to encounter, and the sacrifices he had to make, at the commencement of his career in the Ban de la Roche. 'But now,' continued he, checking himself, 'let me observe, it is as great a fault to talk of our own virtues as of the faults of others.'

"It is surprising to witness the sound sense, refinement, and superiority of mind, evinced by these simple peasants; the very servants are well-educated, and are clothed with that child-like spirit, which is one of the truest tests of real religion. One of them, who is a widow, made many good remarks to us on the duties of married life. 'In order to introduce and preserve domestic peace,' said she, 'let us turn to Him who is peace.'

'I am writing this at his table, whilst he is busy preparing leather gloves for his peasant children. His family are around him, engaged in their different avocations; his eldest son, Frederic, is giving a lesson to some of the little ones, in which amusement and instruction are judiciously blended; and *cher papa*, without desisting from his employment, frequently puts in a word. He took me this morning into his work-shop, where there is a turner's lathe, a press, a complete set of carpenter's tools, also a printing-press, and one for book-binding. I assisted him in colouring a quire of paper, which is intended for covers of school-books. He gives

* See Deut. vi. 6, 7, 8, 9, and xi. 18, 19, 20.

scarcely any thing to his people but what has been, in some measure, prepared by his own or his children's hands.

"He will never leave this place. A much better living was once offered to him—'No,' said he, 'I have been ten years learning every head in my parish, and obtaining an inventory of their moral, intellectual and domestic wants; I have laid my plan. I must have ten years to carry it into execution, and the ten following to correct their faults and vices.'

"Pastor Oberlin is too modest and generous not to bear testimony to the worth of his predecessor, who had begun to clear this wilderness, and to raise the superstructure, which he has so beautifully completed.

"Yesterday, I found him encircled by four or five families who had been burnt out of their houses; he was dividing amongst them articles of clothing, meat, assignats, books, knives, thimbles, and coloured pictures for the children, whom he placed in a row according to their ages, and then left them to take what they preferred. The most perfect equality reigns in his house; children, servants, boarders, are all treated alike; their places at table change, that each in turn may sit next to him, with the exceptions of Louisa, his housekeeper, who of course presides, and his two maids, who sit at the bottom of the table. As it is his custom to salute every member of his family, night and morning, these two little maids come very respectfully curtsying to him, and he always gives them his hand and inquires after their health, or wishes them good night. All are happy, and appear to owe much of their happiness to him. They seem to be ready to sacrifice their lives to save his. The following reply was made by one of his domestics, on his questioning her about her downcast looks during some trivial indisposition: 'I fear, dear papa, there will be no servants in heaven, and that I shall lose the happiness of waiting upon you.'

"Oberlin appears to be looking forward to his eternal home with holy confidence and joyful hope."

The biographer adds:

"The following are specimens of the texts referred to in the preceding letter. They were printed by Oberlin himself. He always kept a large supply of them, and distributed thousands and tens of thousands of them to his friends and visitors, often writing a few appropriate words on the back of the paper, or some short sentence expressive of his affectionate remembrance.

"Ma mère et mes frères sont ceux qui écoutent la parole de Dieu, et la mettent en pratique.—Luc. viii. 21.

"Et veillons les uns sur les autres, afin de nous exciter à la charité, et aux bonnes œuvres.—Hebreux x. 24.

" Sometimes, instead of a text a few verses were inscribed on the cards.

" Mon Dieu ! pour être heureux !
Tu me mis sur la terre.
Tu sais bien mieux que moi,
Quels sont mes vrais besoins ;
Le cœur de ton enfant
S'en rapporte à tes soins ;
Donne moi les vertus,
Qu'il me faut pour te plaire."

" Oberlin's house was, as the writer of the preceding letter remarks, literally papered with pictures, inscriptions, verses from the Bible, and directions for missionary and other prayers; and on the door of one of them the Moravian text-book was fastened. The inscription placed on that of another will give some idea of the cordial and warm reception with which he always greeted his visitors, and formed, indeed, throughout, the law by which they were governed :—

" ' Constante bonté.
Douceur ferme.
Charité mâle et inaltérable.' "

In 1793 he lost his eldest son in one of the first battles of the French revolution. The religious persecutions attendant upon that event did not extend to the Ban, but the people suffered from the general stagnation of business and the horrors of the times. Oberlin now declined to receive a stated salary, or contribution to the support of the various public institutions, leaving it to those who could afford it to bring to him whatever sums they could spare. The usual pastoral fees he had always refused. " My people," he used to say, " are born, married and buried, free of expense, as far as their clergyman is concerned." To supply the deficiency thus created he undertook the tutorship of ten or twelve pupils, the sons of foreigners; and he spared a large part of his revenue from this source for the good of the parish. He punctually devoted three tithes of all his receipts to benevolent uses: sharing them amongst the various objects of religious charity and education which required his care. Nor did he confine his liberality to his own limits; he sold the whole of his plate, with the exception of a single spoon, and contributed the proceeds to the French Missionary Society: a cause which had always his warmest support, and in which he at one time would have engaged, by coming to Pennsylvania as a missionary, had

not our revolutionary war prevented his departure. A description of the treatment of slaves in the West Indies so strongly affected his sympathy, that he abandoned for ever the use of sugar and coffee. The following record is a striking instance of his scrupulousness and illimitable benevolence:

"When the assignats lost their value, he feared that this would bring a curse upon France, and diminish the confidence that the people ought to have in the government. Convinced that it behoved every individual to use his utmost endeavours, as far as his influence or means extended, to prevent such a calamity, (leaving it to God to bless the example,) he made a public sale every year of agricultural implements and other useful articles amongst his parishioners, or rather offered them in exchange for assignats. By this means he managed to redeem, in the space of twenty-five years, all the assignats of the Ban de la Roche, and of some of its environs.

"I possess one of these assignats purchased by Oberlin. It is dated Waldbach, May 9, 1798, and has this superscription upon it in his own handwriting:

"'Ainsi graces à Dieu ma nation est encore déchargée d'une manière honnête de cette obligation de 125 francs.'

"He gave texts of scripture, as a receipt for the assignats, and generally wrote on the back of the card:—'Assignat de ——— reçu de M. le ministre O.' with the date."

We are compelled to pass over the interesting details the biography affords of the active and extensive operations of the Christian charity of this remarkable man and his parishioners, who were now excited to join him in all his undertakings. In the care of orphan children, the establishment of a Bible society, of associations to lend and read the Bible to the destitute and ignorant, his exertions were earnestly seconded by them; and thus encouraged, his plans ramified into every scheme of good which his heart could suggest. In the first, second and eleventh Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society his services are honourably mentioned, and some interesting letters of his published.

Oberlin had now attained the age of seventy, and was revered as a patriarch by his people. The population had increased from eighty or one hundred families, to three thousand souls. The children kept his birth-day as a festival, and brought him garlands of flowers to testify their affection. His visits were received with honest pride, whilst his unassuming manners removed all constraint, but maintained his personal dignity. The general control of the affairs of the population was cheerfully submitted to him as their rightful head, and his

authority was undisputed, in whatever capacity he employed it. His children were now capable of assisting him: one son was pastor of Rothau; another had entered upon his theological studies; a daughter was married to the Rev. Mr Graff, who, in 1813, removed to Waldbach; another to the Rev. Mr Rauscher, of Barr; and a third to the Rev. Mr Witz, of Colmar. The arts of riband-weaving, straw-platting, dyeing, and cotton-spinning were introduced with the comforts and refinements of civilization, whilst the primitive simplicity of rural manners and innocence was remarkably preserved.

The happiness of the "dear papa" was greatly promoted by the termination of a law-suit respecting a right to the forests, which had been pending for more than eighty years between the peasantry of the Ban and the demesne-lords. This suit had been a source of continual grief to Oberlin's heart, and in his characteristic style, he had for many years this prayer affixed to one of his doors:

"O Gott, erbarme dich des Steinthals, und mache dem prozess ein ende." [Oh God! have mercy on the Steinthal, and put an end to the law-suit.]

By his urgent pleas to his people, and the influence of his pacific disposition upon the prefect of the province, he at length succeeded, in 1813, in bringing the parties to an accommodation. The day on which this was consummated he declared to be one of the happiest of his life. In 1818 the Royal Agricultural Society of Paris, on motion of count de Neufchateau, honoured Oberlin with a gold medal, in acknowledgment of the services he had rendered to the agriculture of the kingdom, and in testimony of their veneration for his character. The decoration of the legion of honour had already been conferred on him by Louis XVIII. These distinctions were wholly spontaneous and unexpected. To his person all but his fellow-citizens and visitors were strangers, as he never went far from his settlement, and did not see Paris in the course of his life.

We must refer to the volume for numerous interesting anecdotes of this remarkable personage, as well as for copious accounts of his domestic and pastoral habits, as furnished from the journals and letters of some of the visitors who were attracted to his seclusion by the fame of his character. We have also to omit any reference to some of the more conspicuous inhabitants and coadjutors in the work of reformation, notices of whom abound in the pages of the interesting narrative. With

respect to the doctrinal opinions of Oberlin, we copy the statement of the biographer:

"In most of his religious tenets, Oberlin was strictly orthodox and evangelical. The main doctrine that seemed to occupy his whole mind, was that God was his Father.—'Our Father,' as he would not unfrequently say, 'and thus we may *always* feel Him.' The doctrine of sanctification also held a high place in his creed, though, in his discourses, he principally dwelt upon the freeness of the gospel, the willingness of Christ to receive all who come to him in sincerity of heart, the blessed efficacy of prayer, and the absolute necessity of divine grace.

"It may here be considered necessary, for the sake of biographical faithfulness, to observe, that upon some points he certainly held very fanciful and unwarranted notions, more particularly upon those relative to a future state. In the interpretation of John xiv. 2, for example, ('In my Father's house are many mansions,') he considered that there was an exact relation between our state here and the very mansion we should enter hereafter; and this relation, or proportion of happiness, he seemed to himself to have so accurately ascertained, by the help of types drawn from different parts of the Temple, beginning with the outer court of the sanctuary and ending with the Holy of Holies, and from expressions denoting the state of the redeemed in the Book of Revelations, as to be able to draw a map of the other world; and this map he printed and hung up in his church. He also held the doctrine of an intermediate state, which he supposed to be one of continual improvement, and likewise believed that we shall become progressively holy in heaven. He seemed to hope that the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 28, where it is said that 'all things' shall be subjected unto the Almighty, and the Son also himself shall be subjected, 'that God may be all in all,' might include not only the little flock of Christ's immediate followers, but, ultimately, at some almost indefinite period, through the boundless mercy of God, and the blood of Jesus, which was shed for the sins of the *whole* world, all the race of mankind. And he was strengthened in this belief by understanding in another than the ordinary sense, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall *all* be made alive. It is needless to say of these doctrines that they are fanciful and mistaken, and not to be defended by an accurate application of scripture. But, whatever hold they had upon Oberlin's mind, they appeared very little in his preaching, and did not at all interfere with the plainest statement of the doctrine of justification by faith in the merits of our Redeemer, and sanctification by his Spirit, and of the absolute necessity of both the one and the other to meetness for the heavenly inheritance.

"Oberlin was accustomed to preach very alarmingly on the judg-

ment to come, and the punishment of the wicked; though, at the same time, he held out the fatherly love of God to every returning sinner, who would seek him through Jesus Christ. These last mentioned doctrines may be said to have constituted the leading features of his ministry. He had a remarkable reverence for the Bible, and especially for the Books of Moses, and the Gospels. He was led to adopt many of the laws of Moses, because, he said, although the ceremonial law is rejected, the object of that law, the glory of God and the good of man, remains, and therefore the law itself ought to be retained. The subjoined note marks a number of passages from the laws of Moses, which Oberlin adopted, and which he applied with great force and interest in his own conduct, and in his instructions to his people*."

Of his preaching we have the following account:

"In his sermons, Oberlin was simple, energetic, and affectionate, continually speaking to his people under the appellation of '*mes chers amis*.' He appeared to study a colloquial plainness, interspersing his discourses with images and allusions, which, had they been addressed to a more refined audience, might have been deemed homely, but which were particularly adapted to the capacities and wants of his secluded villagers. He would frequently introduce biographical anecdotes of persons distinguished for their piety; and the boundless field of nature furnished him with striking illustrations to explain spiritual things. But the Bible itself, '*la chère Bible*,' as he exclaimed with tears of gratitude a short time before his last illness, was the grand source of all his instructions. It formed the

* *Alms.* Deut. xiv. 28, &c. xv. 7. Mat. iii. 10.

Prevention of Dangers. Deut. xxii. 8. Exod. xxi. 33.

Strangers. Exod. xxii. 21. xxiii. 9. Lev. xix. 33, 34. xxiv. 22. Num. xv. 14. Deut. x. 18, 19. xxiv. 14, 19. xxvi. 12. xxvii. 19.

Also for Strangers. Exod. xii. 19. Num. ix. 14.

Solomon appointed a court for Strangers: 2 Chron. vi. 32. This court the avarice of the Jews suffered to become a market, and from this market Jesus drove the buyers and sellers.

Fertility. To make a country fertile, it must be guarded from bad seasons, dearth and famine. Lev. xxvi. 3, 14. Deut. xi. 13, 16. Mal. iii. 10.

Politeness. Rom. xii. 10. 1 Cor. xiii. 4, 5.

To protect ourselves from the evil of war. Lev. xxv. 18, 19. Deut. xxxiii. 28, 29. Prov. i. 33.

Doctors. Exod. xv. 26. 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

Law-suit. Matt. v. 39, 40.

First fruits. Exod. xxii. 29. Deut. xv. 19.

Payment. Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14. Jer. xxii. 13. Rom. xiii. 8. Mat. v. 26.

Health. Exod. xv. 26. Mal. iv. 2.

Prolonged life. Deut. iv. 40. v. 32, 33. vi. 2. xi. 9. xvii. 20. xxx. 17, 18. xxx. 20. xxxii. 46, 47.

study of his life, and, as he said, constituted his own consolation under all trials, the source of his strength, and the ruling principle of his actions:—how, then, could he do less than to recommend it to others? He was in the habit of citing very largely from it, from the conviction that the simple exposition of the Word of God was the best means of efficaciously interesting his flock. His sermons were almost always composed with the greatest care; and when unable, for want of time, to write them out at length, he made at least a tolerably full outline. In general, he committed them scrupulously to memory, but in the pulpit he did not confine himself to the precise words, and would indeed sometimes change the subject altogether, if he saw that another was apparently better suited to the circumstances of his auditory."

The biographer furnishes a few specimens of his discourses. One is taken from a sermon preached in Waldbach the day after the decease of his son Henry, which occurred in 1817. The text was John v. 24; the last words of which ("from death unto life!") were frequently repeated by him in his expiring moments. The style is eminently plain, but animated and eloquent. He recited the sonnet of Drelincourt:

"Le voici le beau jour, le jour tant désiré."

Another extract is given from a sermon preached two years afterwards, when nearly eighty years old, in which he illustrates, in a very lively manner, the analogy between the changes of insects through the chrysalis state to forms of beauty and splendour, and that of the human body and soul, incorporating however some fancies which go beyond "what is written."

Besides his Sunday and catechetical schools, and prayer meetings,

"Every Friday Oberlin conducted a service in German, for the benefit of those inhabitants of the vicinity to whom that language was more familiar than the French. His congregation on a Sunday consisted, on an average, of six hundred persons, but on a Friday of two hundred; and Oberlin, laying aside all form, seemed on such occasions more like a grandfather surrounded by his children and grandchildren, to whom he was giving suitable admonition and instruction, than the minister of an extensive parish. In order that no time might be lost, he used to make his female hearers knit stockings during the service, not indeed for themselves or their families, but for their poorer neighbours, as he believed that this charitable employment need not distract their attention, nor interrupt that devotional spirit which generally pervaded the Friday evening assemblies. When he had pursued for half an hour the train of his reflec-

tions upon the portion of scripture which he had just been reading, he would often say to them, "Well, my children, are you not tired? Have you not had enough? Tell me, my friends." To which inquiry his parishioners generally would reply, "No, papa, go on;—we should like to hear a little more," though on some occasions, with characteristic frankness, the answer was, "Assez, nous pensons, pour une fois;" and the good old man would leave off in the midst of his discourse, or wait a little, and presently resume it, putting the same question again at intervals, until he saw that the attention of his congregation began to flag, or until they, perceiving that he spoke with less ease, would thank him for the things he had said, and beg him to conclude.

"Oberlin's tolerance," says a clergyman who visited him, "was almost unbounded. He administered the sacrament to Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists at the same time, and because they would not eat the same bread, he had, on the plate, bread of different kinds, wafer, leavened and unleavened. In every thing the same spirit appeared: and it extended not only to his Catholic, but also to his Jewish neighbours, and made him many friends among them all."

He was in the habit of addressing circulars and addresses to his parishioners, either on such topics as were not appropriate to the pulpit, or making direct appeals to their consciences in regard to particular duties. This was sometimes done in the form of questions, to which they were expected to return exact answers. He was regular in his pastoral visits, and kept private memoranda of the moral and spiritual state of individuals, that he might be better able to adapt his conversation and preaching to their wants.

The infirmities of age at length made their inroads on the frame of the good father, and he was obliged to surrender the active duties of the charge to Mr Graff, his son-in-law. In his retirement he employed himself in unremitting prayers for his flock, and that no one might be omitted, he used in the morning to take the baptismal register, and at stated intervals pray separately for each there recorded, as well as for the community at large. Several essays, found after his decease, are supposed to have been written at this period: amongst which was a refutation of Cicero "De Senectute." On Sunday, the 28th May 1826, he was seized with his fatal illness. The symptoms were so violent, that he had but little opportunity of expressing the feelings of his heart in the prospect of dissolution. He was often heard to exclaim, "Lord Jesus, take me speedily! nevertheless, *thy* will be done!" After he had lost the use of his speech, and his extremities had become lifeless, he recovered strength enough to remove his cap, join his hands,

and raise his eyes to heaven, "his countenance beaming with faith, joy and love." He died on the 1st of June. We must leave untouched the pathetic recital of the sensation created by this event, of his interment, and a more particular view of his character and talents. The following is his own estimation of himself:

"A strange compound of contradictory qualities. I do not yet exactly know what I am to make of myself. I am intelligent, and yet possessed of very limited powers: prudent and more politic than my fellow-clergymen; but also very apt to blunder, especially when in the least excited. I am firm, yet of a yielding disposition; and both of these, in certain cases, to a great degree. I am not only daring, but actually courageous; whilst, at the same time, I am often in secret very cowardly. I am very upright and sincere, yet also very complaisant to men, and in a degree, therefore, insincere. I am a German and a Frenchman; noble, generous, ready to render service, faithful, very grateful, deeply affected by the least benefit or kindness, which is ever after engraven on my heart; and yet again flighty and indifferent. I am irritable to a formidable degree. He who treats me generously soon gains the ascendancy over me; but opposition creates in me an astonishing degree of firmness, especially in matters of conscience. I have a lively imagination, but no memory, properly speaking. The histories which I have taken pains to impress on my mind remain with me, but dates and the names of persons I often forget the next day, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to remember them. I used to speak Latin fluently and even elegantly, but now I cannot utter three or four words together. I make selections from books, and instruct others in some branch of science for a long time; but a few years after, my scholars, even if they know nothing more than what I taught them, may in their turn become my teachers, and the books from which I made extracts (with the exception of those of a certain description) appear wholly new to me.

"I habitually work my way through my studies till I obtain clear ideas; but if I wish to penetrate deeper, every thing vanishes before me. I have a great talent for removing difficulties in order to render every thing smooth and easy to myself, and to every body else. I am so extremely sensitive, tender, and compassionate, that I can find neither words nor expressions corresponding to my feelings, so that the latter almost overpower me, and occasion me acute pain. I am always busy and industrious, but also fond of ease and indolence. I am generally quick in resolving, and equally so in executing. I have a peculiar esteem for the female sex. I am a very great admirer of painting, music, and poetry, and yet I have no skill in any of them. Mechanics, natural history, and so forth, constitute

my favourite studies. I am very fond of regularity, and of arranging and classifying, but my weak memory, added to constant employment, renders it difficult to me. I am given to planning and scheming, and yet endeavour, in my peculiar way, to do things in the best manner.

"I am a genuine soldier, but I was more so before my bodily powers were so much weakened ; I was formerly anxious to be the foremost in danger, and the firmest in pain, but have now lost that desire. From my childhood I have felt a longing and preponderating desire for a higher state of existence, and therefore a wish for death. I am the greatest admirer of military order and subordination, not however in a spirit of slavery, but of that noble affectionate attachment which compels the coward to show courage, and the disorderly to be punctual. I feel no obstinacy or disinclination to yield to strong internal conviction, but on the other hand a fervent heart-felt joy in yielding to both great and small, high and low, gentlemen and peasants, children and servants, and thence a willingness to listen and an inclination to suffer myself, if possible, to be convinced. But when I feel no conviction I can never think of yielding. I am humorous, and a little witty or satirical, but without intentional malice."

The little work which we have named in the second place, at the head of this article, is a comprehensive abridgment of the various accounts which have been given in France and England of this distinguished man. Much judgment is manifested in the selection and arrangement of facts, and the reader will find in its contents all the leading events and prominent characteristics of its revered subject. Being primarily designed for the Sunday School Library, it combines brevity and perspicuity with chasteness and propriety of style and diction. It is compendious, simple and unornamented. We have seldom laid down a biographical memoir with more lively sentiments of interest and surprise. A more forcible exemplification could not be presented of the power with which the exertions of a single benevolent individual are invested. It is truly observed of Oberlin by the compiler, "that he seems to have been led by moral instinct, to originate, in his secluded parish, all the great plans of modern religious enterprise, which many years and many minds have slowly brought into existence in more favoured parts of Christendom."

It is our hearty desire, that the American Sunday School Union may receive ample encouragement in the laudable undertaking of diffusing such works, from able pens, through our whole community.

REVIEW.

1. *An Address delivered at Bloomington, October 29, 1829. By the Rev. Andrew Wylie, D.D., on the occasion of his Inauguration as President of Indiana College. Published by order of the Board of Trustees. Indianapolis. Pp. 30.*
2. *A Discourse on Education. Delivered before the Legislature of the State of Indiana, at the request of the Joint Committee on Education. By A. Wylie. Published in pursuance of a vote of the House of Representatives, Jan. 17, 1830. Pp. 23.*

In these discourses we have not observed any remarkable novelties in the theory of education; but what is unquestionably far more valuable, a condensation of clear, just, and practical remarks and arguments, upon the liberal culture of youth, adapted to the western meridian. The population of Indiana has increased with astonishing rapidity since the report of the last census, and it is gratifying to learn that the appropriations of the state legislature have borne some fair proportion to the rising greatness of the people, and the consequent demand for instruction. They may congratulate themselves upon having obtained for their literary institution a gentleman well qualified, if we may judge from these productions, to guide their youth in the safe path of tried and sober discipline. We have heard enough of newly discovered and compendious methods of acquiring knowledge. Greatly as the field of science may be enlarged, and widely diffused as the experiments in communicating its fruits may be, education itself abides the same. Knowledge is the same in its general aspect, and in its relations to the mind of man, which is also unaltered. The royal way to learning has not yet been discovered.

The scope and argument of the Inaugural Address may be expressed in the language of the introductory sentence: "*Of what advantage is a college to the community?*" A grave and interesting question in any country, but above all in a newly-settled state, where the forming hand of academic institutions must mould the future destinies of the commonwealth. The subject is treated in a manner worthy of the

cause. There is observable in these compositions a natural and simple arrangement of the topics discussed, which is peculiarly admirable as contrasted with the lumbering pomp of too many harangues *ex cathedra*. Dr Wylie has command of a style which is not only lucid and unaffected, but vivacious and even piquant. If, in a few cases, he sacrifices the staid dignity of established form to the earnest desire of adducing forcible examples from common life, his illustrations are always appropriate, and often new; and the whole current of thought, though by no means recondite, indicates a source enriched and purified by maturity of learning.

The importance of education to the physician, the jurist, and the preacher, is shown by a happy representation of the demands which society in such a state as is now presented must necessarily make. Upon the much disputed question of a learned ministry, the doctrine of our author is as follows:

“The warmth of feeling and the evidence of knowledge, like heat and light in the rays of the sun, are blended in religion. The attempt to separate them is both foolish and wicked. Monkish teachers once took away the light; and a night of superstition followed, in which imposture played off its tricks, undetected, before the ignorant multitude. The neologists, more recently, have taken away the warmth, and have given, for day, moonshine, in which no glow of holy feeling can be experienced, nor any great and noble enterprise performed. The philosophers of the last century attempted at once to put out both the light and heat of religion, and to supply their place by the fire of their own torches; and, after they had ‘encompassed’ themselves with sparks of their own kindling, and ‘walked’ for awhile in the light of their unhallowed fires, they and their followers sunk down together in the shame and sorrow of an everlasting disappointment. Let no man think of repeating these, or any of these experiments.

“It is most deplorable that persons should be found, in this age of the world and of the church, to decry human learning, as they call it, as unnecessary in him who undertakes to deliver instructions publicly on the subject of religion; and more deplorable still, that they should be kept in countenance by the extravagance of those who run into the opposite extreme, and, in examining the pretensions of candidates for the sacred office, require evidence of human learning, but none of the grace of God. With the latter, however, I have no concern at present. To the former I would say, If your object is to preserve the purity of religion by preventing men under the influence of unhallowed motives from intruding into its most sacred functions, why favour the pretensions of the weak and igno-

rant? Are not they the most ambitious, and fond of display, as well as most liable to be imposed upon by their feelings? What sacrifices do they make, what prospects of advancement in the world do they renounce, what humiliating services do they undertake, from love to the souls of men? Is not God the God of order? What kind of order is that where ignorance teaches and weakness rules? Is it reason, or is it madness, to suppose that the Author of those beautiful and magnificent arrangements, which we every where behold in the works of nature, should connect the supernatural influxes of the Divine Spirit with the hallucinations of idiocy? Who can endure, that the magnificent conceptions and idiomatic phrases of Paul, of Isaiah, or of Asaph, should come under the examination of a critic, who, one while, mistakes a piece of irony for direct affirmation, and, another, substantiates a proof from the fancied analogies of a parable?"

After a copious induction of particulars serving to exhibit the advantages of human learning to the minister of Jesus Christ, a similar argument is introduced to show the necessity of colleges, to furnish for the community a sufficient number of teachers for academies and common schools. If our limits did not forbid, we should gladly extract the paragraphs which contain this discussion—so opportune at the present time. Other classes of society are also directed to the high privilege of literary and scientific instruction, and the influence of education upon the popular happiness is exhibited in the conclusion of the Address.

The *Discourse on Education* was delivered before the legislature of the state of Indiana, during their sessions of the current year. It treats rather more in detail the general topics which are afforded by this comprehensive subject, and bears the stamp of the same practical and enlightened observation. The ingenious and feeling apology with which it opens contains a pledge of the reverend author to devote himself to the interests of his newly chosen state. The physical, intellectual and moral education of youth is made to pass under review, and that specific form of instruction which is adapted to our peculiar institutions and circumstances is indicated. Upon the subject of physical discipline we may perhaps be opposed by the current of popular sentiment, yet our impressions have been well expressed and considerably deepened by the following remarks of the speaker:

"Gymnastics sorted well with the ancient order of things; and the institutions in which they were performed, were in a style of magnificence, which accorded with the supposed importance of the

object. They were immense establishments, furnished with halls and porticos, dressing-rooms, and anointing-rooms, and baths, and gravelled squares, in which the exercises were performed, when the weather was fine, and xysti, or covered ones, to be used when it rained. They had their stadiums, too, which were semicircles, of vast extent, provided with seats for the accommodation of spectators, after the manner of a theatre. That at Athens was constructed of white marble, and of such stupendous size, that at some distance, according to Pausanias, it had the appearance of a white mountain on the banks of the Ilissus. Besides, there were groves and sheets of fresh water, which gave variety and a refreshing coolness to the scene. Athens had no less than three of these establishments, the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges. In these her philosophers delivered their instructions, and the paedotribæ, and other officers of the establishment, attended upon their various duties. The whole was under the severest regulations, and the punishment of death attached, in certain cases, to their violation; and, in order to give the necessary degree of excitement, public games were celebrated, in which *the educated* contended with each other in the various athletic exercises; and the victors were crowned and extolled to the skies by the assembled multitude. Such were the gymnastics of the ancients—not the contemptible, unmanly, and ridiculous things which, in modern times, have assumed the name. And if *we* are to have gymnasia, let them be somewhat in conformity with the ancient model. But we need them not. We want our young men to become neither boxers, nor wrestlers, nor runners, nor charioteers, nor universal champions; much less do we want them to learn how to climb a rope, or to go through the other futile manœuvres of modern gymnastics. A sound mind, in a healthful body, ought to be our motto. To ensure this end, by a system of bodily exercises, such as shall not retard the student in the progress of his intellectual pursuits, such as shall be productive in a pecuniary point of view, and may comport with the general purposes of education in modern times, requires a plan different from any that has yet been put into execution. The public mind is awake on the subject, and important improvements will doubtless be made.”

There is something striking in the defence of polite literature:

“Things are viewed, by a person of cultivated taste, under a different aspect from that in which they are presented to an ordinary beholder. The grandest scenes in the universe are lost to the dull peasant. The glories of the opening day summon him to toil; the soft and mellow tints of the evening sky, as they fade away into night, invite him to repose. The ground and trees, clothed in fresh ver-

ture, the singing of birds, the flowery meadows, and the numerous rills on every side, glittering in the sun, are so many signs that it is spring. The harvest-field, waving with golden grain, he looks upon only as a source of profit. 'The sear and fallow leaf' of autumn, and the soft, sweet, melancholy aspect of that delightful season raise in his mind no peculiar emotions. The thunder-storm of summer, and the scowling blasts of winter, are to him simply disagreeable. He would, like Marius, use a tablet of Phidias for a trencher; he would convert the harp of Sinus into a mouse-trap! Nor let me be told that the pleasures of a cultivated taste conduce to no valuable purpose. Utility and beauty are always combined; and, if it were not so, beauty would itself be utility. It is only the rude who admire gewgaws and tinsel. A good education will confer a manly taste: and, to this end, nothing contributes more, than an intimate knowledge of those productions of genius which have commanded the admiration of every enlightened age, and which will remain, and be studied, as models of future imitation, so long as excellence shall be admired among men."

The concluding remarks are such as deserve to be well pondered by the statesmen to whom they were addressed:

"If these things are so, no further argument is necessary to demonstrate the interest which the state has in the cause of education. The truth is, the state *must* have educated men, and the only question is, whether they shall be of foreign or domestic growth and manufacture. Those who are able *will* educate their sons; and if they have not the means of doing it within their own state, they will send them abroad, and, with them, the money necessary to accomplish the object. On the other hand, the means of a good education will attract hither the generous and gifted youth of other states, who will not only bring along with them a portion of their wealth to be expended among us, but, what is of much more importance, their talents and enterprise. Already there are several of this character in your seminary from the distance of seven hundred miles, and we hear of others preparing to come from other parts. Extreme mortification awaits us, should their expectations not be realized. We have many things to encourage us; a healthful situation; teachers in the prime of life and full of the ardour of literary pursuits; opposition has ceased; the resources of the country are daily offering new fields to enterprise; improvement of every kind is going forward; and, what is more encouraging still, the youth of our country are of a character which presents the very best materials to the forming hand of education. They have not been enervated by luxury, nor brought up in idleness. They have been habituated to subordination, and understand its value. Their genius is not less, and their energy is greater, than what we usually find in older settlements.

There is, moreover, if I am not mistaken in the observations which my short residence in the state has allowed me to make, *that*, in the public sentiment of this country, which is highly congenial with the feelings of young men possessing that generous pride of character which scorns to take what it does not merit, and seeks to render itself worthy of the confidence and estimation after which it aspires. People here look at men apart from all appendages. The pompous fooleries of rank are unknown. Wealth without character cannot command respect. Talents and moral worth are alone regarded. Opulence and fashion must doff their plumes when they come to the standard. This state of things will not permit a combination of envious knaves to put down an honest man, and shelter the proceeding under the strength of party interest, or the plausibility of sacred names. Elsewhere there may be more of the polish and refinement which wealth bestows ; but here there is more of the honest simplicity of nature, and a greater abundance of those generous qualities of the head and heart, that constitute a soil in which every excellence belonging to the human character promises to obtain, like the trees of our own deep forests, the largest and stateliest growth."

We have reserved until the last the few words which we have to say respecting classical learning, the importance of which is so strongly questioned, as well as the proper method of pursuing the study. In these points president Wylie speaks from experience, and like most who do so speak, has given us sound and authorized opinions. This estimate of the study of language is thus forcibly expressed:

"Interest is excited in the mind by novelty, by grandeur and beauty, by sympathy with whatever is felt to belong to our common nature, by whatever is believed to conduce to our personal welfare, and by perception of the correspondences and analogies of things. Besides, the mind feels an interest, arising from the consciousness of its own powers, as soon as they begin to be exercised with success in the pursuit of knowledge. For these reasons, I know of no excuse for the powers of the youthful understanding more *engaging*, as well as more variously beneficial, than that which is afforded in acquiring a knowledge of the learned languages. If the study of these is dull, depend on it the fault is not in the study. The mere ability to translate a word out of one language into another is a contemptible affair : and if *that* were all the advantage to be gained from the study, the cause of education would not suffer, if all the Greek and Latin classics were collected into one pile, and all the dull boys and learned pedants that were ever vexed in the use of them, were permitted to make a bonfire of them to-morrow. It is because of the new thoughts, the noble sentiments, the beauti-

ful images, the striking illustrations, the sketches of character, in which the ancient classics abound, as well as of the regular structure of the language in which these things are conveyed, that they possess such power to engage the attention, and constitute so useful an exercise to the powers of the juvenile understanding."

Taking this in connexion with the observations contained in the Inaugural Address, we consider the argument in favour of this discipline to be fairly stated. It is well observed that the very language of science has incorporated into it a large body of the ancient tongues. It was the venerable and witty Dr Nesbit (if we remember aright) who used to say to his pupils, that if they would understand scientific discussions in English, they must either learn the Greek and Latin, or be content to carry a folio of Johnson's dictionary in each coat-pocket. We have access to a manuscript letter of Dr Nesbit, addressed to the late Rev. James Waddell of Virginia, in which he advances, in substance, the same opinion. Speaking of his pupils, he says "Without the knowledge of these languages, not only every branch of philosophy, but almost every book that has been written in the English language, will be utterly unintelligible to them. In order to understand any science whatever, we must comprehend the terms which are made use of in teaching it; and you know very well that the very names of the sciences, and every term used in them, are Greek and Latin; that the sciences can speak no other tongues than these. Besides, the knowledge of human nature and the history of the human mind, are to be learned to the greatest advantage in the classic authors. They make us acquainted with a race of men, in comparison with whom the moderns are mere insects. They contain many maxims of morals and good sense, and contribute equally to the improvement of the understanding, the imagination, and the heart. They likewise contain the rules of just criticism, and the best examples of composition. The very terms in which they have delivered the history of human nature are the best and fittest that have hitherto been discovered. In my philosophical selections, I make great use of their testimony, and I know no books in the world, the holy scriptures only excepted, which contain more just notions of men and things. There is the more need of recommending the classics in this country, on account of the alarming progress of infidelity and scepticism, which have become the *established irreligion* of the leaders of the people. Almost all the infidel writers are smatterers; and those who

are not, are enemies to the study of the classics, and the diffusion of moral knowledge and good sense among the people.

Some allowance is to be made for the classic enthusiasm of a veteran in this department, of whom tradition tells us that he had, in his very boyhood, committed to memory the whole *Æneid* of Virgil: yet the sentiments are such as bear a rigid scrutiny, and are no less seasonable now than they were in 1790. Upon the same subject, and with the same views, Dr Wyllie observes:

"People complain of public instructors in the arts and sciences for writing and speaking a language which nobody but the learned can understand: whereas, in truth, the difficulty lies in the things to be taught, not in the terms by which a knowledge of them is communicated. The ideas are uncommon: they lie beyond the range of ordinary thought, and the terms by which they are indicated must lie, consequently, out of the compass of ordinary language. Philosophy, which, in its most extensive signification, means all kinds of knowledge that are valuable, except that which pertains to the common concerns of life, and which nobody has any occasion to learn, has, and must have, a language of its own. If the appropriate terms in which it is now taught were laid aside, others must be invented to fill their place, or ordinary words must be used in a new signification. Such a mode of communication would be tedious, doubtful, and embarrassing to the learner in a much higher degree than that which adopts the beautiful, terse, and comprehensive language in which philosophy delights. To use learned terms on common topics is pedantry. But learned themes it is next to impossible to discuss in colloquial style."

Next to the folly of totally rejecting the ancient writers, we deprecate the hasty and time-saving methods of communicating them which are gaining public favour: It is not merely the systems of instruction which turn out polished scholars in eight, sixteen, or forty-eight lessons, and which are advertised in the same column with the lozenges, panaceas, and catholicons of pseudo-pharmacy, against which we exclaim. Our academies and colleges are not exempt from the Utopian scheme of thus building without a foundation, and forsaking the beaten path of safe experience. Professors and instructors have been found to advocate the easy modes of over-leaping dry grammars and laborious rules, and skipping into learning by the aid of translations, interlineary or oral, or the rapid and perfunctory reading of works without syntactical analysis. It would seem to have escaped the notice of these neophytes in classical literature, for we hesitate not to say that among their

ranks is found no practised scholar, that the principles of grammar which they thus undervalue must, necessarily, be acquired at some period of the literary progress. The understanding of a given sentence depends upon the dissection of its clauses and the knowledge of its construction, and this upon the accurate discrimination of those particular inflections which occur; and this is what the principles of grammar inculcate. In the art of war it is a maxim, that fortresses are never to be left unsubdued in the rear. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is a maxim in every walk of life. The question then arises, shall the principles which are necessary to the enucleation of every sentence be learned at the outset, or shall they be acquired by piecemeal at the moment when they are needed? Shall the grammar be mastered in its simple form, with its parts in beautiful connexion, or the scattered members of its harmonious arrangement be picked up by the way disconnected, with the inevitable evil of mistaking exceptions for rules, and anomalies for established usage? This is to revert to the condition in which learners were placed before the formation of grammars. It reduces the scholar to the labour of doing for himself, at immense pains, and with doubtful success, what able philologists have long since provided to his hand. Under pretence of saving toil, it rejects the labour-saving machine, and returns the learner to the sorrowful process of unassisted nature. For although the new system purports to be in analogy with the mechanical improvements of modern physics, it is every thing else, and upon close inspection the lucid, brief and symmetrical grammar is the very appliance which we need.

In these strictures, we do not wish to be understood as including the many ingenious methods which faithful teachers and private scholars have found useful in varying the monotony of philological pursuits, or exciting the enthusiasm of the learner, or adapting the mode of special inculcation to the subject. The minds of men differ, and a thousand minor systems have been devised, all, let it be observed, founded on a sense of the indispensable necessity of labouring the preliminary discipline. Erasmus acquired his knowledge of Greek by laborious translations into Latin. The ancient grammarians recommended the practice of translating and retranslating into the original; a method recommended and adopted by Sir William Jones. Henry de Nismes tells us, that he could, while at school, "repeat Homer from one end to the other." Wyttenbach repeated each paragraph of the author whom he stu-

died, and then each book, and finally each volume. These and various methods which might be cited are not unlikely to be useful to individuals; but how far do they agree with the newly-discovered plan of giving by wholesale what the laborious scholars of other times took years to accomplish by wearisome steps?

It is, therefore, much to be desired, that those under whose auspices the education of the next race of men is to be conducted, should be above the danger of mistaking these specious lights of false learning for their guides in the path of instruction.

Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, in 1824, 1825, 1826 and 1827. By R. R. Madden, Esq. M.R.C.J. In two volumes. London, 1829.

Voyages and travels, unlike most other books, are becoming every day more interesting. Mere curiosity might, perhaps, have been sated long ago; but the character and circumstances of the age have created a demand for information not so easily supplied. The great schemes of philanthropy, which form so prominent a feature in the present aspect of the Christian world, give an importance to the most minute details respecting distant countries, which intrinsically they do not possess. Every new light that is thrown upon the character and manners of Mohammedans and Pagans, facilitates the access of religion and civilization, and puts new instruments into the hands of those who are employed in pulling down the strong holds of the adversary. Neither missionaries nor their patrons, nor the christian public appreciate aright, before experiment, the infinite importance of an accurate acquaintance with the state of society in heathen lands, the specific influence of different false creeds, and the methods of attack upon their prejudices most likely to produce effect. Many a well meant effort has been met with disappointment, and many a promising design abandoned in despair, from an unfortunate neglect of these minutæ, on the part of those who formed the plan or under-

took to execute it. One error of this kind, which has produced such effects in particular abundance, it may be well to specify. The habit of despising those less civilized, becomes so fixed in all the natives of enlightened countries, that they come at last to imagine that the objects of their scorn entertain the same views. Our own understandings are so strongly impressed with the advantages which we enjoy, that we scarcely think it possible for those less favoured not to feel their humiliating distance. We go among them, therefore, with an expectation that they will at once recognize us as superiors, and accept of us as masters. Mortifying experience soon undeceives the traveller. He soon becomes acquainted with the obvious fact, that those among whom he finds himself, not only feel no disposition to do him reverence, but despise him heartily. When the first paroxysm of wonder is subsided, he discovers that the degree of their contempt is greater even than his own for them, and is indeed in exact proportion to their inferiority in knowledge and refinement. It is in vain that he sets before their eyes the circumstances which to his mind are demonstrative of their inferiority. He learns too late that the value of such advantages can be estimated only by those who have enjoyed them, and that the exhibition of his gifts and graces to the semi-barbarian or savage, is a wasteful casting of pearls before swine.

Such, we believe, has been the mortifying experience, more or less, of all ancient and modern travellers, whatever may have been their character and previous preparation, or the scene of their adventures. In no part of the world, however, has this mishap befallen travellers with such provoking uniformity and to so galling an extent, as among the Mohammedans, Arabs, Moors, Persians, and particularly Turks. Besides the contempt for foreigners already spoken of, as characteristic of all nations, in proportion to their ignorance and want of cultivation, there comes in this case into play, religious prejudice and the very quintessence of bigotry. The Gentoo worshipper of Juggernaut, and the African adorer of the Devil, may regard the Christian as heretical, because he will not join them in their orgies; but he bears this stigma in common with all others who dissent from their religion. The Moslem, on the contrary, is taught contempt and hatred of the Christians as an article of faith, and learns to curse them when he learns to pray. He execrates them, not because they are not Moslems, but because they are Christians; his antipathy is not a

general one against all unbelief, but a specific one against the gospel. According to the Koran, they are *Cafirs* or Infidels, *par eminence*, and the zealous Musselman cannot vindicate his orthodoxy more triumphantly than by spitting in the face of every Frank whom he encounters in the lanes of Constantinople, or on the wharves of Alexandria. The first Christian travellers in the east had, therefore, a twofold difficulty to encounter, one resulting from the imperfect civilization, the other from the religious prejudice of the nations whom they visited. The first circumstance which wrought a change in the views of the orientals, was their inevitable discovery of the superior value of European manufactures. When they had once allowed themselves to be convinced, that for fire-arms, cutlery, and many other articles of luxury and convenience, they must be indebted to the Franks, they began to court their intercourse; but it is curious to observe how they continued to do it, without abating a tittle of their orthodox contempt. Europeans found more favour in their eyes, but it was the favour shown to craftsmen and mechanics, and the Turkish Aga, while he bargained for a pair of pistols or a shirt, made no scruple of spitting on the beard of the vile *giaour* who offered them for sale. The notion now prevailed, that all Europeans were manufacturers and pedlars, an opinion which gained them freer access to those countries, but by no means added greatly to their dignity. A second discovery soon followed. The residence of one or two physicians from the west, in Egypt and the Levant, opened the eyes of the inhabitants to a new trait of superiority in the *unclean dogs*, as they politely call us, and one of more moment than all others previously known. The gift of healing is valued every where beyond all price, but no where so extravagantly as in those countries where disease abounds, and medicine is only known by name. A few simple cures performed by surgeons to the European factories, or by travelling physicians, spread like wildfire through the miserable population of the west of Asia. The Russels of Aleppo received every thing but an apotheosis, and many an awkward operator whom necessity had palmed upon the French and English factories in Asia as their medical advisers, acquired a reputation never earned by the most successful practice in the wards of the Hotel Dieu and St Bartholomew's. Every Frank was now a doctor. The most solemn disavowals were unable to rescue the most unpretending stranger from this honourable imputation. Natu-

ralists, traders, soldiers, missionaries, all received a medical degree, on getting into Asia; but the multitude of their patients, the unreasonableness of their demands, and the moderation of their fees, made it a dear bought honour.

This false idea of the sanative abilities of all Christian travellers, annoying as it has been in its effects to many individuals, has opened a new source of information with respect to oriental countries. Domestic society among Mohammedans is, like their dwelling-houses, protected on the outside by a uniform dead wall. Nothing can be seen upon the surface. To know any thing about them you must get inside; a privilege which none but a physician can enjoy. So long as the Mohammedans retain their present views, with respect to female character and manners, the harem must be kept inviolate from all but necessary visitors. And it is only there that the real disposition of the individual appears to be revealed. The uniform monotony of character exhibited by Turks and other Moslems when abroad, is obviously constrained and artificial; it is only in domestic privacy that those distinctive traits which mark the individual become apparent. It seems probable, therefore, that for many years to come, medical men must be relied upon for information of this kind; a circumstance which has suggested the propriety of travellers and missionaries furnishing themselves with some degree of skill in that profession, if for no other purpose, merely as a passport, and the surest means of conciliating favour. That this device will prove successful there can be no doubt; for nothing can exceed the confidence reposed in European therapeutics by the orientals. It seems as if their extreme religious and political antipathy to Franks and Christians, as such, had reacted to produce an opposite extreme of superstitious admiration of their merits in a medical capacity. And yet it is amusing to observe here, as in a former case, with what facility this reverential awe is made to coalesce with a cordial detestation of the same men as unbelievers, and a profound contempt for them as savages. A curious example of this kind is given by Mr Madden. His Greek drogueman had been applauding, in no measured terms, the skill of his employer, at a coffee-shop in Constantinople. After some extravagant falsehood of this kind, "one turned up his eyes and said there was but one God; another praised my skill and cried, 'Mahomet is the friend of God!'" The latter gentleman held out his wrist to have his pulse felt, and said in a very civil tone of voice,

'*Guehl giaour*,' 'Come you dog!' This endearing epithet Turks consider ought not to give an infidel offence, because it is more a man's misfortune than his fault to be born 'a Christian, and consequently a dog.' The fact indeed is, that they attribute the immense superiority of European doctors to their dealings with the evil one, and consequently view their persons with the same admiring horror which the vulgar among us would entertain for an accomplished conjurer. Those who travel in the east must, therefore, still prepare themselves to be despised and abhorred, while they are wondered at and lauded. Most travellers, it is to be presumed, will have philosophy enough to face this danger, and few will probably neglect hereafter to provide themselves with so useful a recommendation and protection as the medical profession undoubtedly affords.

It seems to have been a consideration of the great advantages enjoyed by medical men in oriental travel, that induced the writer of the book before us to record his observations for the public eye. We know nothing of him further than his book reveals, and that amounts to this, that he is an English surgeon, led to travel in the east by a desire to pursue the *study of the plague* in the countries where it rages. From his style, and the tone of his reflections, we should infer that he was quite a young man, of good sense, and tolerable education, but neither very strict in his principles, nor refined in taste and sentiment. We know not whether to consider it a virtue or a fault, that he is wholly free from any tincture of romance. He sees nothing with a poet's eye*. Most travellers, whatever their profession, have exhibited some symptoms of enthusiastic temperament, at some point of their progress. So natural, indeed, is it to look for this in travellers, that even Mr Madden tries occasionally to support the character by loud declamations in "*Cambyzes's vein*" upon the lapse of time, the mutability of earthly things, &c. These flights, however, are most evidently not expressions of strong feeling, but set speeches. The only subject upon which the author seems at all enthusiastic is the plague, a circumstance which might have been expected from his profession, "the primary object of his travels, and the fact that he has written "a volu-

* We do not regard as an exception the poetic mood in which he found himself while at Jerusalem. His enthusiasm there, as elsewhere, has a very factitious aspect, and his lyrics are, as he justly terms them, "feeble verses."

minous work," to use his own expression, on that scourge of the Levant. The reader must not conclude, however, that our author is a dull, dry, matter-of-fact prosier. We have seldom read a book more uniformly lively and amusing. In all circumstances, even the most irksome and appalling, at sea, in the desert, in the pest-house, he would seem, from his own account at least, to have maintained his spirits unimpaired, according to his own maxim, that *cheerfulness and a fearless heart will do more to preserve the traveller from disease than all the prophylactics of Currie or of Moseley*. But though this light-heartedness undoubtedly adds interest to his narrative, there is something in it which we do not like. It is too professional. He describes the horrors of the oriental lazaret-house with too much sang froid and levity for ordinary readers. The same spirit runs through the whole book. We look in vain for kindly feeling, sympathy, and moral sensibility. The author's fortitude and cheerfulness are too exclusively of that sort which may be acquired by long familiarity with scenes of misery, without the operation of a moral principle. The following description is undoubtedly a graphic one; but is its tone agreeable?

"The plague daily increased in violence, eighteen a day of the natives perished, and few days passed over without the death of Europeans. For so small a population as that of Alexandria, say sixteen thousand souls, the mortality was considerable: every house was shut up, the servants were not suffered to go out, money was passed through vinegar before it was touched, letters were smoked, papers were handled with tongs, passengers in the streets poked unwary strangers with their sticks, to avoid communication, people thronged round the doctors' shops to know how many died in the night, the plague was discussed at breakfast, contagion was described at dinner, buboes and carbuncles (*horresco referens*) were our themes at supper. The laws of infection were handled by young ladies in the drawing-room; 'a cat could communicate the plague, but a dog was less dangerous; an ass was a pestiferous animal, but a horse was non-contagious. Fresh bread was highly susceptible, but butcher's meat was non-productive.' If you looked at a man, he felt his groin; if you complained of a headache, there was a general flight; if you went abroad with a sallow cheek, the people fled in all directions; if you touched the skirt of a Christian's coat, you raised his cholera; and if you talked of M'Clean, your intellect was suspected to be impaired. Heaven preserve you from a quarantine in Egypt! It is not the death of one's neighbours which is so overcoming, I am now accustomed to coffins; I can hear of a

case next door without a sympathetic pain in my axilla; but it is the horror of eternally hearing of plague; it is the terror of contagion, which is depicted in every face; it is the presentation of pestilential apparitions and discourses to the eye and to the ear, morning, noon, and night, which make a house in quarantine a lazar domicile, for the anticipation of death and the anatomy of melancholy."

When we add that Mr Madden is habitually flippant and too fond of saying piquant things, even at the expense of decency, as well as prone to embellish and exaggerate in matters that concern himself, we have indicated nearly all the faults which injure the book as a whole. Its merits are considerable. Mr M. is obviously a man of sense, who takes clear and just views, *when unprejudiced*. On subjects which he understands from personal investigation, he avoids the weakness of retailing the cheap common-places of his predecessors, by expressing his own views. The following paragraph contains, in a few words, an excellent description of the Koran:

"It unfortunately happens, that the study requisite to attain a competent knowledge of Arabic or Turkish, to make a translation of the Koran, is so intense, that men appreciate the value of the volume they interpret, by the labour it has cost them to comprehend it. Hence Sale's translation of the Koran is, of all, the most correct and literal as to the text, and yet the most erroneous in the commentary. In every absurdity (and there are not a few in 'the perspicuous book') he points out a beauty. In every contradiction (and they abound in the first five chapters) he reconciles the difference. In every monstrous doctrine (and most abominable ones pervade the volume) he makes an allegory of what is lustful, and deprives sensuality of half its grossness. In short, Sale was the apologist of Mahometanism, and gives by far too favourable a view of the religion, as Maracci does an unworthy and a vile one of it. I had the patience to read over the Koran twice, and I am disposed to think the term '*fade*,' applied to it by Volney, was extremely appropriate. The Koreish dialect, in which it was written, is now only known to the learned, and much of the boasted beauty of its poetry is unintelligible even to them. In our translation there has been no attempt to preserve the jingling terminations of the original, which is similar in style to some of the ancient sacred songs of the Jews. Every alternate passage is a repetition of the former; in every alternate page you have a recurrence of the injunction to exterminate unbelievers. The promise to the faithful, 'of a garden of delights, with a river flowing through it,' sickens with its frequency; and the threat to the Christian, 'of a couch of hell fire, and a grievous couch it shall be,' is doled out till the reader is cloyed with the repetition. It would be difficult to put together a greater tissue of

puling absurdity, and nothing would be easier than to compress all the precepts of the whole book into a small duodecimo."

This, though somewhat exaggerated in expression, is a just judgment, and evidently not derived from the report of others. The same commendation is due to many other views expressed by Mr Madden upon oriental subjects. We are also gratified to find him professing uniformly his belief in revelation; and often making use of his opportunities for observation to defend and elucidate the scriptures. He does not, it is true, exhibit any intimate acquaintance with biblical archæology, as taught in books, and therefore sometimes brings forward as original suggestions what has long been familiar to the better read at home. But his intentions are good, and some of his observations striking. Mr Madden's book is also valuable as recording the experience of a medical man upon the surest method of preserving health, and gaining access to the people in the east. These subjects possess so much interest, in reference to missionary enterprizes, that we shall endeavour to compress into a few short sentences the substance of the twenty-fourth letter, addressed to a Mr Davidson, who had in view a visit to the east.

The frequent death of oriental travellers is to be attributed partly to incaution, and partly to their treating their own ailments as they would at home, without regard to the difference of climate and circumstances:

"The people of India suffer not from diseased liver. The Egyptians very seldom are attacked with bilious remittent fever; and dysentery is by no means common amongst the Arabs. In fact, the diseases from which we suffer in the east are attributable, in most cases, to our own excesses."

Animal food is injurious to travellers, for two reasons: because their digestive functions are disturbed by the change of climate, and because the meat in hot countries is in itself bad. Rice is the most wholesome and palatable food in hot countries.

Englishmen seem to suffer most in travelling, and Frenchmen least, because the former will not accommodate themselves to circumstances like the latter.

The oriental costume is decidedly best adapted to the climate, and as a matter of prudence, is highly advantageous. It protects from insult, and gratifies the natives, whereas our dress is considered by them as indecent.

Instead of linen, the traveller should wear the silk crape

used by the natives, and in the desert should expose it daily to the sun.

The cold bath should be carefully avoided. The vapour bath will be found both pleasant and salubrious. While actually journeying the traveller should be more abstemious than usual. He should indulge in the use of water only after sunset.

The ordinary allowance of a Bedouin does not exceed twelve ounces daily of black bread and salt cheese, with a few dried dates. There is scarcely any disease among them. The bad water in the desert is apt to produce bowel complaints and typhoid fevers. Many Europeans use brandy to correct it. Mr M. recommends powdered charcoal.

The animalculæ which abound in the water of the Nile are made an excuse by many for the intemperate use of spirituous liquors. Mr Madden tells us that no ill effects are to be feared from any quantity of these animalculæ, the gastric juice destroying them almost immediately, whereas the use of spirituous liquors is incompatible in such a climate with a healthy liver. "All Dr Currie's theoretical arguments are as a feather in the scale, when opposed to the opinions of those who derive their knowledge from local acquaintance with the climate, and personal experience of its maladies."

The heavy dews of the summer nights are to be avoided, as the most frequent causes of ophthalmia and dysentery.

Generally speaking, the traveller would do well to respect the opinions, and even the prejudices, of the natives, touching what is wholesome and what is not.

The six diseases which the traveller in Egypt and Arabia has to fear are plague, dysentery, ophthalmia, bilious remittent fever, ague, and inflammatory fever: for the treatment of all these Mr Madden gives directions, repeating that the mortality among travellers has in a great measure arisen from their own mismanagement of their disorders.

We should be pleased to lay before our readers some specimens of the new and curious information which this book contains on the subject of oriental manners, and the civil condition of the people. It is difficult, however, to select from such a multitude of minute particulars in such a way as to interest the reader, without larger extracts than our limits will allow. We observe, too, that a republication of the work has been announced, which will probably place the facts that it contains within the reach of almost all our readers. We shall,

therefore, merely quote a few passages, and then limit our remaining observations to two points more particularly relevant to the design and scope of our own work.

The state of feeling between Greeks and Roman Catholics may be gathered from the following:

"The hatred existing here between Greeks and Catholics, exceeds any intolerance to be met with elsewhere. It appears, the nearer religions approach, the greater is the enmity between their followers. I suppose it is on the same principle, that neighbouring states are more jealous of one another, than those which are more remote. I had a curious illustration given me a few days ago, of the animosity of the Greeks towards their Catholic fellow slaves. A young Greek, an only son, of respectable family, took it into his head to become a Mahometan. In a few days after this event, he was seen parading before his father's door, with his *Koran* slung across his shoulder, his *yatican* at his side, and his pistols in his bosom: all the miserable vanity of a Greek was gratified; he was as happy as his unfortunate father was miserable. The poor old man would receive no comfort; his friends preached patience and resignation to him in vain: his neighbours feared he would go mad; they sent the Papas to him to offer consolation; his reverence was a Spartan; he resolved to adopt a mode of consolation which no Greek could resist: 'My good Christian,' said he to the unhappy father, 'you are indeed afflicted, and have reason to be dejected at the first view of your misfortune: but, cheer up! though you grieve that your son has turned a Turk, how much more reason have you to rejoice that he has not become a Catholic!' The old man acknowledged he had reason to be thankful, and dried up his tears. I vouch not for the truth of the story; but I am sure most Greeks would have felt as the old man did; and most Levantine Catholics would have preferred to see their infants circumcised, rather than witness their baptism at the Greek altar.

"Greeks have repeatedly said to me, 'Why do you go to the house of that abominable Catholic?' and a Catholic lady has given me warning to quit her house, because I associate with schismatic Greeks! I have often said to them, 'Why are you so anxious to cut one another's throats, for trifling shades of difference in doctrines, which neither of you understand? I have questioned you both about your religions, and neither of you can tell me the tenets of your own. Each of you indeed talk about the blasphemy of using leavened or unleavened bread at the altar; and for this distinction, you forget that you are both ambitious of being called Christians; and endeavour to arm the vengeance of your common enemy, the Turk, against the bosoms of each other.'"

The miserable effects of despotism on the Christian population of the Turkish empire is vividly described by Mr M.

"During the Greek revolution, the *Rayahs* in Constantinople who escaped the first massacre, could not refrain from returning to the city that was yet reeking with the blood of their families. A friend of mine met two of the principal Greeks of the *Fanal*, walking with great composure in Pera, the evening of the day that their houses had been broken into to drag them to death; they had escaped through a window: and this gentleman offered to put them aboard an English vessel, disguised as sailors, and thus ensure their safety. They refused; they could not bring themselves to leave the shores of the Bosphorus: they were both beheaded next day. Others went away for a few days and then returned, owning it was impossible to live out of Constantinople, though they knew they had been denounced, and every one of them was taken and put to death. I had instances of this kind within my own experience.

"I have known them, when they acquired a little property, indulge in all the pitiful vanity of their nation; line their caftans with ermine, cover their divans with velvet, smoke argilles of gold, eat their pilaw off silver dishes, and invite the Moslems to witness their magnificence. When I have expressed my wonder at thus tempting the rapacity of the Turks, I have been told that it was 'better to live like a prince one year, than to exist fifty years like a beggar.'

"Nothing throughout Turkey surprised me so much as the inconceivable apathy of the Greeks and Armenians, on occasions where life and property were at stake, and where both might have been preserved by a practicable flight. There is not a Turk in the smallest hamlet, as well as the largest city, where a *Rayah* is to be found, who does not either extort money from him, frequently by threats, or wheedle him out of loans, which he repays by flattery, and thus compensates his Moslem pride for having recourse to subsequent perfidy. In short, the Turkish population of all large towns derive their subsistence from no ostensible means, but have hitherto lived on the industry of the Christian *Rayahs*. That resource avails no longer, at least to any thing like the extent to which it once did. All the Greeks of the *Fanal* have been massacred; the lower classes have been diminished likewise, all over the empire; they were formerly the source of wealth, they are so no longer: the Greek merchants are no longer to be found in Turkey; the Armenian bankers have been plundered; their numbers are every day decreasing; the revenues of Greece and of the islands are irretrievably lost; and the Pachas of Syria send the complaints of the wretched people to the Porte instead of tribute."

The following we believe to be a just and striking representation:

"I know not in what history to seek a parallel for the sudden aggrandizement of the Turkish nation: as Aaron Hill has quaintly expressed it, 'swallowing up at a morsel the conquests of Macedonian Alexander, and outdoing the stupendous victories of the successful Jews!' And neither do I know in what history to seek a picture of national decline so striking as that of Turkey. A century has sufficed to strip her of her glory, and to wring from her more than half her conquests. The pompous titles of her boundaries: the Pontus, the Propontis, the Egean, and the Adriatic, are now vain words; the Crimea, Circassia, Georgia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Greece, and her rich isles, are lost. Arabia, to the walls of Mecca, is in the hands of the Wahabees*. The Druses, the Metualis, and the Maronites of Syria suffer no Turk to enter their country five miles from Jerusalem. The Arabs acknowledged no allegiance, and are no longer subject to the Sultan. Egypt, indeed, pays a precarious tribute; but Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Morocco, are independent states. When the dismemberment is to end, I pretend not to determine; but as all the world has had a pluck at the proud bird, I suppose it is reserved for Russia to snatch the last feather."

The Pacha of Egypt, who has acquired so brilliant a factitious reputation, is thus pourtrayed by a personal acquaintance:

"The Mamelukes were angels, in the estimation of the people, compared to the present Pacha. The depredations of the former were partial in their extent, and easily defeated by the craft of the peasant; the plunder of the latter is reduced to a system, and not to be avoided by the cunning of the victim: he farms out the land, of the whole of which he is the proprietor, at a few piastres the *feddan*; and every thing that is grown he takes at his own price. The starving *fellah* dares not appropriate a grain of rice to his own use. The price that he gives hardly pays the expense of cultivation, and the payment of that small pittance is given in an order on the treasury; and here a second order is given on a merchant, who never pays more than half the amount in money, and the other moiety in goods. I have bought cloth from the unfortunate peasant, so received, at one-half the prime cost."

"How the Pacha acquired so much fame with Franks is to be attributed solely to the favour he has shown the Christian merchants. His avarice is stronger than his bigotry; and, in his relations with European merchants, he treats them less like Caffres than they were accustomed to be considered; and he who knows him best, from

* In June 1827 the Pacha of Egypt had to send a strong reinforcement to Mecca, the Wahabees having again appeared before the walls of the Holy City.

his official situation here, has declared to me, that in the event of the Sultan declaring a religious war, our negotiations with him are to be conducted with all the caution which Turkish perfidy demands. His intercourse with Franks has indeed given him the show of civilization; his interest as a merchant has rendered the protection of the Franks a necessary duty; his mildness towards the Greeks, who sought a refuge in Egypt, is creditable to his policy. His monopoly of every thing whose little traffic gave a morsel of bread to his people, even of the dung which is collected in the streets, is a proof of his commercial spirit."

"Because he is not wantonly cruel, like his ferocious son; because he only murders his guests when the policy of the state renders it expedient; because he talks of European customs with our travellers, when his affability is made subservient to his interests, Europeans are fascinated with his breeding; they are no longer mindful of the Beys; and more governments than one, in Christendom, put confidence in his faith. If he were the hero his parasites proclaim him, why did he not seek his independence? If he were the liberal minded Moslem he is reputed, why did he waste his treasures in a war which had naught to recommend it to him but Christian bloodshed? The reason is obvious and simple; it is because he is too much of a Turk *in petto* to cast off the allegiance he owes the successor of Mahomet. He endeavours to steer a middle course between the gjaours and the Sultan; and, whenever his interests require him to be treacherous to the former, his moderation and his civilization will vanish into thin air.

"The hyæna is not to be trusted, because his timidity makes him apparently tame at noon-day; and though the Pacha smiles when he receives our envoys, it is not to be forgotten he can 'murder with a smile;' and, to use an Arab proverb, 'the rage of the lion is most deadly when he shows his eye teeth.'"

We quote the following, as the latest information respecting the mysterious people called the Druses:

"The *Sheik Bechir*, also, whom Burckhardt describes as having all the effective power of Mount Lebanon in his hands, and as being superior even to the Emir Bechir, no longer exists; he was defeated and slain by the Emir; his wife and family are now in the hands of his enemy.

"Lady H—— S—— told me, the only part she ever took in the political affairs of Syria, was in the preservation of the *Sheik Bechir's* wife and children, just before the last battle, in which the *Sheik* was defeated: her Ladyship got intelligence from one of those secret emissaries which she has in every Pachalik of Syria, that the *harem* of the *Sheik* was to be surprised by the Emir's people, in two hours, at the village where they were awaiting the event of the battle, and that the Emir had resolved on putting the children to death.

Her Ladyship had just time to despatch a trusty servant, to give notice to the wife of the unfortunate Sheik, and the *harem* was accordingly removed to a place of security, where it remained for some time, till the Emir's rage subsided, and terms were offered by him to the wife.

"The *Sheik Bechtir* was a Druse, and greatly beloved by his people. The *Emir*, whose jurisdiction now extends over all Mount Lebanon, is of a noble Turkish family, from Mecca, which has continued from the time of the famous Fakardine to give rulers to Lebanon. The Emir, however, whether from policy or conviction, has turned Christian, and has married one of his daughters to a converted Druse, of the Maronite Catholic Church: he affects, however, to fast the *Ramazan* in the presence of Turks; and, like the Druses, pretends to be a Mussulman when in Mahometan society.

"Perhaps his chief motive for embracing Christianity is to attach to him the Christian population of Lebanon, which is more numerous than that of the Druses; the latter are again superior to the *Ansari*, who are the descendants and followers of the celebrated "old man of the mountain;" and to the *Metaweli*, who, like the Persians, are of the sect of Ali. Of the religion of the Druses very little is known. The only facts I could confirm of former statements, or ascertain myself, were that the secular part of the community is called *Djahels*, and the ecclesiastics, *Akals*. The latter wear a white turban; they marry not the daughters of laymen; they eat not with strangers; they affect to despise riches; they all profess *Islamism*, which literally means, "abandoning one's self to God:" but they pray not as Turks; they eat pork in private; they generally have but one wife. They smoke not, swear not, and believe that there are many Druses in England: from which circumstance and some others, they have been considered by some authors as descendants of the Crusaders. The people are hospitable, but vindictive: the avenging of blood is a sacred duty.

"From *De Sacy's* account of their books, it appears they call themselves Unitarians, and pay divine worship to their lord, *Hakem*, Caliph of Egypt, of Ali's race, born in the year three hundred and seventy-five of the Hegira; their doctrines are a jargon of Judaism, Christianity, Mahometanism, and Paganism.

"The Jesuits affirm that in the towns of Bagelin and Fredis there were gold and silver statues of their god *Hakem*. But in all the inquiries I made concerning the adoration of a female figure, as represented by Volney, I met with no proof of any such practice; but I was frequently assured, that they paid divine honour in their churches to the image of a calf."

The strange mixture of insolence and seryility which Europeans must encounter in their intercourse with Turks, is well illustrated in the following anecdote:

"I had a good specimen of Turkish insolence and pusillanimity at Surur's grand entertainment. A Turkish officer who stood behind me, when we were all crowding round the jesters to witness their buffoonery, took occasion to pull off my turban without being perceived; I put it on again, thinking I had not secured it properly before: a second time it was pulled off, but I took no notice of it, determined to be on the alert and seize the hand which did it the next time. I had no sooner put it on again than off it went, as before; I turned round with such quickness that I seized the fellow's hand before he had time to withdraw it. *Marass, Kelp, and Caffre* were the first gentle epithets that escaped my lips—invective, even in Arabic, is easily acquired. He endeavoured to release his hand, but I held it fast; he put the other on the handle of his pistol, but I gave him no time to draw it, he measured his length on the floor instant. There was a general uproar; the two brothers of the consul were by my side in an instant. I informed them of the fellow's insolence, and to my great satisfaction I heard Yussuf Surur say to the prostrate gentleman, 'The hakkim was wrong not to have shot you!'

"The other Turkish officers, instead of resenting such strong language, crouched like dogs to Surur, and begged of him, for God's sake, to tell the governor that the noise was occasioned by a man's slipping off the divan, on which he had been standing to see the jester. The fellow, who had just raised himself up, took hold of my hand in the most abject manner, entreating of me to forgive him, and not to tell the governor of what had happened, for he would certainly lose his head. I set him at ease by consenting to forgive him; and then prevailed on Yussuf Surur to pass over, likewise, the insolence which had been practised in his brother's house. There was such a crowd in the room at the time of this fracas, that the governor remained ignorant of the cause. Had I passed over this insult with impunity, the fellow would have despised me, but for having resented it he ever after honoured and respected me; if I met him in the street he *salaamed* me to the ground: if I saw him at the governor's, he was the first to greet me: in short, I observed in this instance what I had noticed in very many others, that the *argumentum ad hominem* is the only logic which a Turk can understand, or his proud heart be convinced by."

The character of the independent Arabs appears to have impressed Mr Madden very differently. One little anecdote is very pleasing:

"Two days before our arrival here we were destitute of every thing; we could get no provisions in the villages. One evening I was begging to purchase a little milk; an old Arab observed that I had been refused; he took my companion by the hand, and said,

'Follow me ; whatever I have, you shall have the half of it.' He gave us about a gallon of milk and a score of *douro* loaves. I offered him five or six piastres in return ; a sum, in Upper Egypt, equivalent to ten times the amount in England ; and he who knows the misery of the Arabs can best appreciate the hospitable feeling which could prompt the refusal of so large a sum. The old man stroked his white beard, '*La la ! hawadgi,*' said he, 'I do not want your money ; why should I take any for a mouthful of bread ; does it not all come from God ?'

"He pointed to heaven as he spoke ; and, as this simple and beautiful expression passed his lips, I thought it gained additional impressiveness from the natural dignity of his manner, and the unstudied elegance of his Arab oratory."

The following brief parallel between Greek and Turkish morals, though perhaps too pointed, is no doubt substantially correct:

"The Turks are generally considered to be honest than the Greeks, and in point of fact they are, or at least appear so ; they are certainly less mendacious, and are too clumsy to practise chicanery to advantage. Their probity, however, depends not on any moral repugnance to deceit, but solely on the want of talent to deceive. I never found a Turk who kept his word when it was his interest to break it ; but then I never knew a Greek who was not unnecessarily and habitually a liar. He is subtle in spirit, insidious in discourse, plausible in his manner, and indefatigable in dishonesty ; he is an accomplished scoundrel ; and beside him, the Turk, with all the desire to defraud, is so *gawche* in knavery, that, to avoid detection, he is constrained to be honest."

The points which we have reserved above for further consideration, are, the light thrown upon the scriptures by this work, and the views expressed in it respecting missionaries and the missionary enterprise. Under the former head there is not much to be gained. We have already said that Mr Madden displays no intimate acquaintance with the subject of biblical antiquities. He seems indeed to have had no design of this sort in his travels and researches. The observations which he does make appear to have been forced upon him by his situation, and not to have resulted from systematic or habitual attention to the subject. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that his book affords any new and striking views. We shall merely bring together the few cases in which what he saw and what he says have a bearing on the scriptures.

We know not whether we should class among these passages the flippant one in which he asserts that he witnessed

all the plagues of Egypt, and makes such becoming applications of scripture as the following: "The plague of biles and blains I have seen with a vengeance; buboes and carbuncles have been familiar to my sight, and many people have I seen 'smote with pestilence.'" "As for 'darkness,' physical and moral, there is no lack of it in Egypt! *Ophthalmia* and despotism plague the land with darkness, 'even darkness that may be felt.'" This same sort of clumsy wit, turning on ludicrous allusions to the Bible, we have observed elsewhere in the book, and as in all such cases, have considered it a proof of the want both of taste and piety. An example which occurs to us, is his account of the crippled Copt, who expected in vain to be restored by the hakkim's skill. "I could not help being flattered by such confidence; but the poor man left Gourná, notwithstanding, in two days' time: 'he took up his bed,' but he did not walk." Such laborious attempts to be profanely witty it is easy to interpret.

In Nubia, the serpent is still found in an erect posture. Mr Galt saw one stand four or five feet from the ground, rolled in spiral circles. The testimony of all modern travelers seems to confirm the fact, that in every country the serpent is connected, historically or otherwise, with the system of religion. This fact is scarcely less significant and conclusive than the universal prevalence of sacrifices.

We have said, that Mr Madden made no efforts to obtain information of the kind to which we now have reference. From this statement we should except his tour to Suez, for the purpose of ascertaining where the Goshen of the Israelites was situated. His conclusion is that Goshen was the country between San (the ancient Zoan) and Salehies, now on the borders of the desert; but once, it would appear from the ruins scattered through it, a cultivated country.

At Suez Mr Madden devoted some attention to the passage of the Red Sea. We quote the account of his experiment, and his own inferences, without comment.

"One of my first objects at Suez was to ascertain if the sea was fordable opposite the town at ebb tide; the consular agent and the Levantine writers of the governor assured me that it was not; but I attached little importance to their assertions. I therefore desired my servant to find me out any Indian sailor who wished to earn a dollar by crossing the gulf: at eight in the evening a man made his appearance who offered to make the attempt. I explained to him the nature of the object I wanted to ascertain; I directed him to walk

straight across, as far as it was possible to do so, and to hold his hands over his head as he walked along. He was in the water forthwith, he proceeded slowly and steadily, his hands above his head, and in nine minutes he was at the other side of the Red Sea. On his return he told me what I knew to be a fact, that he had walked every step across, the deepest part being about the middle of the gulf, when the water was up to his chin. I proceeded now to follow his course; I gave him another dollar to cross over before me, and as I was nearly eight inches taller than my guide, where his chin was in the water my long beard was quite dry.

"The tide was now coming in fast, and by the time we reached the middle of the sea my Indian thought it imprudent to proceed farther, as I could not boast of being an expert swimmer. Had we remained ten minutes longer, we should inevitably have suffered Pharaoh's fate, for the opposite bank was perceptibly diminishing; and at ten o'clock the sea, which was hardly more than the breadth of the Thames at London Bridge two hours before, was now from two to three miles broad. I returned perfectly convinced that the Red Sea, opposite Suez, is passable at ebb-tide.

"By a mark which I made on a perpendicular rock on the sea-side, about eighty paces from the spot we forded, I found the difference between the ebb and flow to be six feet two inches. The fountains of *Moses*, above *El Naba*, are about seven miles from Suez by water, but by land the distance is double.

"Five miles to the north of Suez the sea terminates in a narrow creek and saline marsh, which it is necessary to wind round in going by land to *El Naba*. Niebuhr says he walked across this creek at ebb tide, and was only knee deep in water. The Bedouins do this daily, but I am not aware that any European before me ever attempted the passage of the sea opposite Suez; indeed, the very inhabitants considered it impracticable till I proved the contrary."

"In short, there is no other point but that of *Suez*, from which so immense a body as that of the Israelites could have passed over the sea without the farther miracle of removing mountains. I do not hold the preservation of the Israelites to be one degree less miraculous, because the wind or the tide drove back the waters, to let them pass at *Suez*, and that the same natural causes were ordained by God to overwhelm the Egyptians.

"I believe that infinite wisdom in the operation of miracles is pleased to consider our finite faculties, and to make natural agents the instruments of his divine power."

The *quails*, on which the children of Israel were fed, Mr Madden thinks, with bishop Patrick, were locusts. The bishop's argument, that to spread quails in the sun to dry, would only have been to make them putrify the sooner, is met by

Dr Clarke with Maillet's statement, that fish are so dried in Egypt. To this Mr Madden answers that they are always previously salted.

On the subject of manna, Mr Madden states, that from the tamarisks in the wilderness of Sinai, a gum exudes by night which the Bedouins call *mann*, and use it as we do honey. He adds in a note, that according to the statements of a celebrated botanist, there is a small thorny shrub which abounds in the desert of Arabia, and produces much more manna than the tamarisk.

The *hornets* of the scripture he believes to have been scorpions, and repeats Burckhardt's observation, that the *fiery serpents* which "the Lord sent among the people," would be more correctly rendered *serpents of burning bites*. These, he says, abound in the desert, and are objects of great terror to the Arabs.

It would seem, that the oriental Jews do not speak with the same certainty as European writers, respecting the location of Mount Sinai. When Mr Madden talked upon the subject to a respectable Hebrew at Jerusalem, he shook his head and said, "no one knows where Mount Sinai is: we know that Aaron is buried in the valley betwixt the Red Sea and Syria; we know that our father Abraham, and Jacob, and Isaac, sleep in Hebron, eight hours hence; we know the tomb adjoining Bethlehem is that of our mother Rachel; we know the splendid sepulchre by Siloa was constructed by Absalom; we know that yonder sepulchre is that of Samuel; but none of us know where Sinai stands or where Moses sleeps."

There is no subject in geography or history more awfully interesting than that monument of almighty vengeance, the Dead Sea. Few oriental travellers have failed, therefore, to include it in the range of their researches. Unhappily, however, there is much discrepancy in the accounts of different visitors. We are always glad, therefore, to be favoured with additional details, and are pleased that Mr Madden was attentive and minute in his examination. He informs us, that contrary to the counsel of his guide, he bathed in the lake. The water was the coldest he had ever felt, and the taste of it most detestable, being that of nitre mixed with quassia. Its buoyancy he found to be far greater even than that of the Euxine. He tried in vain to sink. By an effort, he could plunge below the surface, but rose again instantaneously. His feet having been wounded on the rocks, before he went into the lake, the

poisonous quality of the water caused the wounds to ulcerate, in consequence of which he was confined a fortnight at Jerusalem, and apprehensive of gangrene. Having provided himself with a fishing line and baits, he spent two hours in catching bitumen, the only thing that came in contact with his hook. From this and other experiments, together with the testimony of the Arabs, he is fully persuaded that there is no living creature to be found in the Dead Sea, and that Chateaubriand was the dupe of his imagination, when he heard "legions of little fishes" jumping in the water.

The face of the surrounding country, Mr Madden states, has all the appearance of a volcanic region, and he expresses his belief that the Dead Sea covers the crater of a volcano, which divine wrath employed as its instrument in the destruction of the cities of the plain.

The famous apple of Sodom, which "turns to ashes on the lips," is treated by Shaw, Pococke, and Burckhardt, as entirely fabulous. Mr Madden, however, had ocular demonstration of its actual existence. The only remaining fact which we shall notice is, that there is not a boat upon the lake, and probably never has been. This mysterious body of water seems to have been regarded with instinctive horror by the circumjacent tribes, as if to perpetuate by dim tradition as well as by revelation, the memory of the catastrophe by which it was produced.

We come now to Mr Madden's statements and opinions with respect to missions, which, for want of room, we must endeavour to despatch in a few words. While speaking of the foreign policy of England, Mr Madden makes the following remarks:

"With the expediency of the policy which makes us monopolists in civilization as well as in commerce, I have nothing to do. History may, perhaps, inquire into that expediency; but, at all events, the world will yet demand if the vast resources of England, her influence over nations, her power, and her wealth, have been employed in the melioration of mankind; and if the charity of her enlightened institutions be found to have been of that domestic nature which seldom stirs abroad, posterity will have little reason to rejoice in her prosperity!

"It is in vain to delude ourselves with the belief that we are largely contributing to the civilization of the east, by assisting the Bible Society in the 'conversion of the heathen.' The knight-errants of Christianity, indeed, pervade every corner of the kingdom. The scrip-

tures, indeed, have been *translated* into a hundred mutilated tongues ; and vast sacrifices of money and of truth have been made in the cause of eastern proselytism.

"To convert, it is thought, is to civilize: in my apprehension, to civilize is the most likely method to convert. Our missionaries have been totally unsuccessful, for they commenced at the wrong end. I speak on this point from much observation and a long acquaintance with the subject. They relied on the abstruse dogmas of the church, rather than on the mild doctrines of Christianity, for persuasion. The Turk had to digest the Trinity before he was acquainted with the beautiful morality of the gospel. The Greek had to stomach the abuse of 'the holy fire,' before he was made sensible of the advantages of a purer worship. The Catholic had to listen to the defamation of his creed before he was convinced of a more rational religion ; and if they were so successful as to shake him in his faith, he had then to decide whether he would be a Methodist, or a Presbyterian, or a Calvinist, or an English Protestant, or a German Lutheran ; for our missionaries in Egypt and Syria are of as many conflicting sects. But such is the perversity of the human heart, those wretched Arabs, morally as well as physically blind, continue to 'walk in darkness and the shadow of death,' obstinately refusing the light we fain would force upon them ; and when they are reproved, they have the audacity to say, '*We have the faith which our father's followed, and we are satisfied with it.*'

"A temporary provision has sometimes produced a temporary change ; but this is rare ; for the conversion of a Mussulman would necessarily consign the convert to the grave: but if, in secret, a proselyte be made, the event, under the magnifying lens of the '*Missionary Herald*,' makes a flourishing appearance. 'The conversion of the heathen,' heads a chapter ; the Evangelical reviewers chuckle over 'the triumph of the book,' and John Bull pays another year's subscription to support 'the cause of *truth*.' A Jew here, whom the Rev. Joseph Wolff 'left impressed with the truths of Christianity,' showed me a splendid copy of the scriptures, which that gentleman had given him : I was astonished to find the New Testament had been torn out ; I begged to know the reason ; the man acknowledged to me that he had torn out the New Testament after Mr. Wolff's departure. I accompanied one of the missionaries to the synagogue, who in the middle of the worship commenced distributing tracts. I saw some of them thrown down ; others were deposited, without a regard, on the forms : surely the zeal was indiscrete, which for any purpose disturbed the performance of religious duties ; and assuredly a Hebrew missionary would have been roughly handled by the beadle of St Paul's, had he intruded himself on the Sabbath, between the congregation and their God, to distribute var-

sions of the Talmud. In alluding to the many suppositious conversions which abound in Mr Wolff's book, I impugn not that gentleman's veracity; but I have good reason to know that he and his enthusiastic brethren are imposed upon by the needy and the vile: that these gentlemen are good and pious, I am well convinced: and I consider it an honour to have been acquainted with men of so much worth and amiability as the Reverend D. M'Pherson, Mr Nicolaisson, and Mr Muller."

In another place, speaking of a Catholic missionary at Negade in Egypt, he proceeds as follows:

"I had scarcely entered when he commenced pronouncing an anathema on the Copts (the inhabitants of the village were principally Copts;) and I soon found out that the hostility of his reverence to his fellow Christians arose entirely from his missionary zeal. He failed in converting them, so he considered a superfluous malediction could not damn them a jot deeper: this is, at least, the most charitable construction I can put upon his fury. Strange as it may appear, this feeling of hatred to those who refuse our good offices is natural to most men. Do not imagine its excess is peculiar to the Roman Catholic missionaries. Those of all churches in the east, I am sorry to say, I have every where observed to be intemperate in the expression of their inveteracy against such as resist their good intentions.

"The German missionaries, the English missionaries, and the American missionaries, all are so enthusiastic in their endeavours to 'draw the nominal Christians,' (for such they call them) of these countries from 'ignorance and idolatry,' that I have seen some of them, by dint of reviling false doctrines, fall into the natural error of hating those who believed in them. Messrs M'Pherson, Muller, and Nicolaisson are exceptions to this spirit of intolerance. I often wished, for the sake of the mild character of Christianity, that they had communicated a little of their gentleness and liberality to others."

Our only object in noticing these strictures is to satisfy the minds of those who believe in the obligation resting upon Christians to evangelize the world, but whose faith might be staggered, or their confidence impaired by this picture of the fruitlessness of missionary effort. The attention of all such we would request to a few particulars. In the first place, it is obvious from the passages just quoted, that the writer is a man who has no proper feelings on the subject of religion; who regards it as a lawful theme for witticism, and looks upon the conversion of the world (whether probable or not) as a matter far less interesting and important than the contagious or non-contagious nature of the plague. Now is not such a person totally incompetent to reason and conclude upon the subject?

And are not his conclusions vitiated by the evident indifference with which he treats the matter? We would no more waver in our faith respecting missions on account of the objections raised by such a *pococurante*, than Mr Madden would have suffered his opinions on the plague to be disturbed by the dogmas of the Mollah, who prescribed oil of wax for inflammation on the liver.

2. In the next place, it is very clear, that our author is not only indifferent, but pretty strongly prejudiced. There are intelligible tokens scattered through the book that the hakkim's judgment was apt to be a good deal warped upon matters in which he was not perfectly *au fait*. The depth of his theological attainments may be gathered from his gravely representing Presbyterians and Calvinists as *conflicting sects*, and his orthodoxy from his carefully distinguishing the doctrine of the Trinity, as an abstruse *dogma of the church*, from what he calls the *doctrines of Christianity*. Any reader may satisfy himself by glancing through the book, that Mr Madden was extremely prone to change his opinions upon most matters, but especially the character of individuals, as often as he changed his society and local habitation. In the dark picture which he gives above of the *odium theologium* existing on the part of eastern missionaries towards the unconverted, he excepts three individuals, and why? Because he had just been in their society. Well, follow him from Egypt into Syria, where he is entertained by the American missionaries, "whose hospitality all strangers have reason to acknowledge," and you will see this hospitality work wonders. You will learn with surprise that the intemperate zealots, who had "commenced at the wrong end," and by dint of reviling false doctrines come to hate those who believed in them, are only "frustrated in their benevolent intentions by the prejudices of the natives, and the bigotry of the Turkish rulers."

3. With respect to the old standing censure of evangelical missions as beginning at the wrong end, and reversing the natural order of civilization and conversion, we are not disposed to come over arguments so hackneyed, and meet objections so repeatedly exploded. We shall say nothing, therefore, about the matter upon general grounds. The few words which we mean to add, have reference exclusively to Mr Madden's own statements. We need scarcely say, that he has evidently no idea of a supernatural efficiency in Christianity to change and elevate the intellectual as well as the moral character; to

enlarge the understanding while it purifies the heart. With this contracted notion of the power of true religion, it is not surprising that he looks upon the efforts of the missionary as lost labour. To those who coincide with him in sentiment, his arguments must doubtless be conclusive. But with such the friends of missions have no community of views. They believe that, without a divine influence, no means will be available, but that as it pleases God to work by means, it is our duty to employ those which he has designated, however inefficient in appearance, and however unsuccessful in their first results.

But to turn the tables, we do seriously say, that the perusal of this book has strengthened our belief in the insufficiency of the method of conversion which its author recommends. We have sometimes been disposed to think, that if the rule of *civilization first, conversion afterwards*, were applicable any where, it might be so among Mohammedans, whose contempt for Christians appears conquerable only by a strong conviction of their own inferiority in learning and the arts. Mr Madden has disabused us, by showing that the Moslem world, regarded as a whole, is impervious to all extraneous influences, nerved by human strength. The Turk while he cringes at the feet of the physician, still hates him as a "cafir" and contemns him as a "dog." Immoveably fixed in the belief, of fatalism, he fears no change for the worse, and desires none for the better; when forced to acknowledge the advantages enjoyed by Christendom in knowledge and refinement, he consoles himself by thinking on the day when "the infidel shall be down on his couch of fire, and drink rivers of hot water." This dogged resignation to all evils, whether curable or not, has never been more vividly portrayed than in the book before us. And does Mr Madden really believe, that upon such materials the mere love of knowledge and desire for intellectual and social enjoyment can be brought to act? What we value and admire in civilized society, has no charms but for those who are nurtured in its bosom. To borrow Mr Madden's own lively but exaggerated language, in the Turk's eyes, English science is but witchcraft, English liberty licentiousness, English modesty indecorum, English genius penknife-making! Where then are the implements with which we are to work? By what strange process shall the Mussulman be brought to regard as blessings, and implore as benefactions, what he learns from his childhood to laugh at and abhor? Before he can be taught to value civi-

lization, he must be civilized himself ; and civilized, we do not hesitate to say, by the influence of the gospel. Is it asked what are *our* means for achieving this great conquest? We reply, the very same which the infidel derides. *God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty.* There will no doubt be a rivalry and a fierce struggle between these two plans for the conversion of the world. But we have no fear for the event; for we know, and are persuaded, that *the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men.*

THE CLAIMS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

If the church of Christ had been in any adequate measure pure in her spirit, and faithful to her trust, as the depository of the gospel for mankind, then the history of the church would have been the history of missions.

But on the contrary, the history of the church is in a principal degree the record of its corruptions in doctrine and in life: and when we would trace on from its rise to the present time, the pure stream of Christianity, instead of the "river of God," we find in many ages only a scanty brook, well nigh lost amidst the rubbish and dilapidations through which it wends its way.

The apostles of Christ defined with their own hands the *present* frontier-line of foreign missions; and what has since been done for the conversion of the world, has been the result more of natural causes, than of the spirit of missions. What they achieved in a few years, under divine influence, by heroic enterprise, was ignobly left by after ages to the work of time, and to the *indirect* influences only of Christianity.

Indeed, for several centuries before the days of Luther, the *church itself* was *missionary* ground. The religion of Christ lay expiring on its own altar, the victim of its professed votaries and friends. And when at the ever memorable reformation, "the spirit of life from God entered into her, and she again stood upon her feet," the servants of Christ found Pa-

ganism within the very recesses of the sanctuary. *They* had but little leisure for the cultivation of a foreign field, who were absorbed in purging out abominations from the very temple of God itself. Their hands were busied in breaking down the idols from the holy places, in casting out those that made merchandise of the truth, in overturning the tables of the money-changers, and in restoring to its purity the worship of God. And then, alas! almost before the work of reform had been sufficiently extended to give numbers and strength to Christianity, the spirit of contention and of schism arose; the progress of the holy cause was arrested by the fatal divisions of its friends; and the reformed church

“To party gave up, what was meant for mankind.”

The revival in latter days of the spirit of missions in Protestant Christendom, is a great epoch in the history of the church and of the world. We have no doubt that future generations, passing by the fading glories of this world, will regard this as the most brilliant characteristic of the age in which we live: and if we are faithful to God and man, it may become the first in a series of progressive movements, which, with the divine blessing, shall issue in the conversion of the world.

But if we would take the proper impression of the subject, and gird ourselves fully for the great and solemn service we have to perform, then must we esteem the work of missions for the conversion of the world as but just begun. For though, compared with the spirit and labours of some other ages, much is doing now for this noblest of causes, yet, compared with the vast extent of unreclaimed heathenism, with the bountiful compass of the divine command, or with what we can and ought to do, our achievements are matter much more of humiliation than of mutual congratulation.

The great body of professed Christians is not at all interested in foreign missions; even the ministers of reconciliation, as an order, are not roused or in action on this subject. The whole force of our missionaries abroad, if distributively given, would scarcely afford a *pastor* for a *nation*; and the points of their impression on almost a world of heathens, break at distant intervals on the view like

“Sunny islets on a stormy sea,
Like specks of azure on a cloudy sky.”

These affecting and awful facts acquire an interest still more intense, as we descend from a general to a particular applica-

tion. Thus, for example, the missionary spirit and efforts of the age are almost restricted to the British and American Protestant churches. But the British churches greatly exceed our own in this labour of love; among the American churches, those of New England do almost all that is attempted in our country; and the Presbyterian church, to which we belong, (not to mention others), can scarcely be called an agent at all in the foreign field.*

In view of these things we have thought it imperative on us at this time to address American, and especially Presbyterian, Christians in behalf of this injured cause.

Every appeal on such a subject should begin with a reference to the authority of God. But here the command is so full and clear, so frequently appealed to, and so familiar, (see Matt. xxviii. 18, 20. Mark xvi. 14, 20. Luke xxiv. 44, 52. Acts i. 3, 10.) that we need rather to be incited to regard it, than reasoned with in evidence of its obligation. It is important, however, in passing, to remark that the divine command to give the gospel to every creature, as it is a standing law, so it is a discriminating test of our fidelity and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. "If ye love me, keep my commandments," is his own affecting standard of Christian character. And how can we love him if we violate this last, this great command? To this he set the seal of his blood in death. To this he added the sanction of divine authority and power when he arose from the dead. In this all other commandments centre. The service it enjoins is in the direct line of the operation of providence, the work of redemption, and the glory of God. To this are appended the overwhelming conditions of heaven and hell; the decisive alternative of redemption or ruin: and when he ascended to the skies, he appointed obedience to his command as the standing token of his people's love.

In fine, however our Lord may have borne with the ignor-

* It has been found on examination that out of \$107,000 received last year, by that noble organization, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, only about \$6000 was received from the Presbyterian churches west and south of New York, and including that state, only about \$21,000 out of New England, while in New England about \$86,000 were obtained. And what is true of our missionary money, is also true of our missionary men. We have scarcely been represented as a branch of the church of Christ in the foreign field, until within a very few years past.

ance and lethargy of other ages, now that channels for missionary charity to heathen lands are opened every day to our very doors, all disregard to this divine command is to be esteemed *a continued and wilful sin.*

The spiritual state and prospects of the heathen stand next to the command of Christ, in the order of influential motives to a Christian people.

In our attempts to assert the claims of foreign missions, we have too commonly taken for granted, that the great body of professed Christians was correctly informed as to the spiritual condition and prospects of those who have never heard the gospel. We forget that the objects of their compassion are out of their sight. They seldom hear of them. They seldom think of them. When they do, there is nothing definite or palpable before the mind as to their religious state. They feel a vague pity for distant and endangered nations, whose condition they would gladly better. But they hardly apprehend their exposure to eternal ruin: they scarcely believe it. And while they thus think and feel, perhaps the teachers of religion among them shrink with a false and fatal sensibility from the proper exhibition of the awful subject: or if they are faithful, the people too often view it with suspicion as a romantic cause, partaking of the nature of a religious crusade, and wasting without profit the treasures of the church.

But what is in fact the divine testimony on this question? The following propositions no Christian can, we think, consistently reject, viz:

1. That in all ages since the fall, the natural state of every man has been a sinful, and therefore a lost one.

2. Hence no man in any age or country can reach the kingdom of God without the interposition of Jesus Christ in his behalf.

3. God *may* interpose for the salvation of sinners, as he does in the case of those saved in infancy, and of those who received immediate revelations, before the written word was given.

4. But the decided intimations of the Bible are, that as a great fact, Jesus Christ is revealed to adult men, through the ordinary means of grace alone. "For whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they

preach except they be sent? So then, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Rom. x. 13; 14, 15, 17. And that this is the clear import of this passage, none can doubt who will look at its connexion. According to the second proposition, all are lost who are not saved by Jesus Christ. And then the prospect of salvation to those who have not the gospel, is in proportion to the probability that Jesus Christ will save them by direct interposition. But there is no such intimation as this in the word of God.

5. A holy* man has never been found on earth, so far as we know, since a written revelation was given, who had not been made so by the power of the gospel. No apostle, no foreign missionary has ever reported a single case of this character. And yet they have traversed every sea, explored every country, and in some age and form, offered the Saviour to perhaps every nation under heaven. Now allowing that men are made holy in heathen lands, without the instrumentality of the gospel, yet when that gospel is made known to them, would they not instantly receive it, and with spiritual relish adopt it as their own, as kindred sunbeams mingle into one?

But no such persons have ever been found, since a written revelation was given, unless indeed Cornelius the centurion be considered an example. Allowing him to be such, how sadly solitary is the specimen! But the apostle distinctly declares in his sermon on that memorable occasion, that Cornelius and his household were *already* acquainted with God's written revelation to the Jews; with the doctrine and baptism of John; and with the work and ministry of the Son of God. Acts x. 36, 39.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands made perhaps the nearest approach to this. They abolished idolatry, though ignorant of Christianity. But when Christian missionaries came, they found them unholy and degraded men, having no taste for a spiritual religion, and like all other sinners, needing the renovating grace of God to fit them for heaven.

Again; if such cases of salvation *without* the gospel were numerous enough to justify the pleasing hope of an extensive redemption, surely out of hundreds of millions of men, and

* We use this word, of course, in the gospel sense; not to mean perfect, but religiously dedicated to God, and delivered from the dominion of sin.

through a series of ages, multitudes would be found exhibiting the evidences of having felt its influence. Such cases as Job, and Jethro, and Lot, and Melchisedec, and Abraham might be looked for in every land.

But no missionary or apostle, as far so we know, has been ever cheered by the discovery of a single case. While then the hope still trembles in our breasts, that some may be redeemed by the direct interposition of God through Christ, yet who that loves the Saviour or the souls of men would make this the exclusive ground, or in any degree the ground, on which to rest the redemption of the heathen? Or who that believes the word of God would suspend his own eternal life upon such a condition? With these overwhelming facts full in view, we are in some measure prepared to understand and feel the urgency of those motives which press us to send forth the gospel as "on the wings of the morning" to the uttermost parts of the earth. Here we may know the meaning of our Master when he tells us that he will require *their* blood at our hands if we neglect our momentous duty to them. Here, with the map of the world before us, we may survey whole continents immersed in pagan darkness, and count the innumerable millions of heathen population; and looking up into heaven and down into hell, may calculate the worth of all their souls by the value we set on our own. He who can look unmoved at such a spectacle, is not a Christian, nor a man!

Our next suggestion is, *that the best interests of the church of Christ at home (no less than the command of Christ, and the claims of the heathen) require the exercise and operation of a missionary spirit.* What we mean to say is, that the church, as well as the heathen, gains good from this spirit, and that it is even as necessary to the *healthful* life of the church as it is to the salvation of the heathen.

One of the most extraordinary facts in the history of the present age is, that a grave attempt has been made, in the name of religion, to prove that the church and the domestic field are in danger from an excessive issue of foreign missionaries. We regret that we cannot present in a tabular view, the number of evangelical ministers in the world who are labouring in what is called the domestic field, with the amount of their hearers on the one hand, and on the other the number of evangelical missionaries, with the amount of heathen population in the world.

By such a view, the disparity would be made to appear

unspeakably great and awful. By the scale it afforded us, more millions would be assigned to each foreign missionary, than the same number of thousands to each pastor at home. It would be found that the ministers of Christ were crowded into a few corners of the earth, while the wide field of pagan desolations was surrendered to the holy daring and generous self-devotion of a little band of foreign missionaries*.

At the *present time*, therefore, there is no ground for the fear that we shall feel too much interest in the foreign field, or send so many ministers abroad as to damage the domestic work. The wonder only is that any one acquainted with the history of missions, should apprehend such a result even in a distant futurity. A blush of shame would seem a much more appropriate concomitant of such a history than idle and ill-omened auguries about the danger of excess in our efforts for the heathen. It is the great law of moral action in the kingdom of grace, "*that it is more blessed to give than to receive.*" It is promised alike to individuals, and to commu-

* The following remarks from the pen of the lamented and extraordinary youth John Urquhart are so admirable and appropriate, that we cannot forbear their insertion here in a note.

"Let us imagine, that instead of the world, a single country had been pointed out by our Lord as the field of action. And since we are most familiar with our own land, let us just suppose that the particular country specified was the island of Great Britain: and that instead of the command to go forth to all nations, and preach the gospel to every creature, the order had been to go through all the counties of this island, and preach the gospel to every inhabitant. I find that on a scale which would make the population of Great Britain represent that of the world, the population of such a county as Mid Lothian might be taken as a sufficiently accurate representation of the population of our own land."

"In order then to have a just picture of the present state of the world, only conceive that all who had received the above commission, some how or other, had contributed to gather themselves together within the limits of this single county. Imagine to yourselves all the other divisions of Scotland and England immersed in heathen darkness; and that by these Christians who had so unaccountably happened to settle down together in one little spot, no effort was made to evangelize the rest of the land, except by collecting a little money, and sending forth two or three itinerants, to walk single handed through the length and breadth of the country.

"I shall be told, however, that illustration is not argument; and so distorted have our views been on this subject, that you will be disposed to think this a perfect caricature of the matter. But I deny that this is an illustration at all. It is merely a representation on a reduced scale; and I believe you will find it to be a correct representation of the state of the world."

nities of Christians, "they that water, shall be watered also." To be good, is to do good; and to do good is to get good more abundantly. As well might the husbandman in time of spring withhold his seed from the fallowed earth, to rescue it from waste, as for us to look for injuries to the church from the sending forth of foreign missionaries. "If we sow sparingly, we shall reap sparingly." If we save the seed, we shall lose the harvest!

Did not the Jews lose their birth-right in the church of Christ by refusing to give their religion to the Gentiles? "I say, then, have they stumbled that they might fall? God forbid; but rather through their fall, salvation is come to the Gentiles."

It is a memorable fact that the corruptions of the primitive church increased in proportion to the decay of missionary enterprise. Nor is it less true, that, in our day, the revival of religion at home, appeared and grew in perfect harmony, and even exact degree, with the spirit and work of foreign missions. It is not necessary to determine whether this spirit be the cause or the effect of reviving religion among the people. If it be the uniform effect, then its absence denotes religious decay; if it be the uniform cause, then is it a blessing to the church. The truth is, it is at once the cause and the effect. As Christians awake to an increased regard for God and for their own souls, they acquire also an increased regard for the well being of other men; they feel a more tender and holy pity for the perishing heathen. An increased interest in their welfare produces increased efforts for their salvation; and every prayer they offer, every gift they bestow, every effort they make, returns into their own bosoms.

Thus every impression made abroad is felt with electric force at home, as Scipio raised the siege of Rome at the gates of Carthage: and thus a repercussive influence is constantly exchanged. Let those, therefore, who shelter their consciences against the claims of foreign missions, under the idle and fallacious adage "that we have heathen enough at home," henceforth remember that the church cannot *afford* to do without the foreign field; that the best way to carry on missions at home is to carry on missions abroad; and that all neglect of this great cause not only violates the last command of Jesus Christ, and endangers the souls of innumerable millions of our fellow men, but impairs the vital energies of the church itself.

We proceed to remark, *that a crisis appears now to have been arrived at, in the history of the world, in which it is*

peculiarly important for the christian church to bear with all her resources on the conversion of the heathen. In a somewhat inverted application of the apocalyptic symbol, a "voice" seems to "come forth from the temple of God saying, thrust in the sickle and reap, for the *time* to reap has come; for the harvest of the earth is ripe."

The spirit of the age is *ripe* for action, for it is a spirit of extraordinary enterprise. It is a *public* spirit also, and is ripe, if well directed, not only for action, but for *combined* action, on a scale of noble daring and sublime extent, hitherto unknown on earth. It is an age of revolution; and it is ripe not only for change, but for improvement too. While the God of Providence is thus shaking all nations, the *desire* of nations must be at hand. "While he removes diadem after diadem, and takes off crown after crown*," *He* must be near whose right it is to rule. And then our facilities for the universal spread of the gospel are great and manifold, to a most surprising extent. By all the power of the press, by all the commerce of the nations, by arts, by arms, by the progress of improvement, by the spirit and growth of liberty, by the decay and deadening of the great rival systems of religion, and by the general state of the heathen world, as well as by all the provisions of the gospel, is the way of the Lord prepared before us, and our long delay reproved.

And then every step we take seems to be divinely seconded and sustained. Success beyond our faith, above our hopes, has attended our efforts, and beckoned us on to a more devoted and extended work of missions. That which seemed a rock has sent forth gushing waters when smitten by the rod of the gospel herald in the Redeemer's name. Nations have thrown away their idols to receive us, or have given them up at our bidding, while other nations are inviting us to come, and weep when a Christian sail appears bringing no Bibles and no missionaries. And a reproofing Providence, opening a way for the gospel to mankind, seems to say, in the voice of all its operations, "go forward, go forward" to the lingering, hesitating church.

We subjoin to this part of the subject only a single additional remark, *which has reference to our own country.* It is this: *that the genius of our institutions, and the concomitant spirit of the people, fit them in a peculiar manner to receive with favour appeals in behalf of missions.* There exists in the bosom of the people a constitutional sympathy

* Haggai ii. 7. Ezekiel xxi. 27.

for oppressed nations, and a fervid desire to impart to others the blessings which we enjoy. It is in this respect a nation of philanthropists; a depository of civil and religious liberty for the population of the earth. Here, then, we may successfully approach them as the guardians of the Bible for other lands. Here we have a national highway to the hearts of the people. The transition, though delicate, is not difficult, to a more elevated freedom; to more pure and enduring blessings.

We may say to them with a force which it will not be easy to resist, you, the people of this happy land, who, in the noble disinterestedness of freemen and of brethren, exult in the political independence of Spanish America, in the emancipation of injured Greece, and the rising liberties of France; you who welcome with enthusiastic hospitality the arrival on your shores of the oppressed Irishman and the persecuted Pole; you who pant and pray for universal freedom, and delight to impart the blessings of your national republican institutions to an admiring world; will you stifle the convictions which rise up in your breasts to plead for the rights of man? Can you withhold from heathen nations the covenant of their spiritual peace, and bury in your rusting coffers their heavenly citizenship and their eternal freedom?

But it is time that, omitting other thoughts, in the form of incentives to action, we turn our attention to the question, "WHAT IS TO BE DONE."

It is evident from the word of God, that if the conversion of the world is ever accomplished, it must be done by the *active* instrumentality of Christians. This plan of doing it is not already determined on, but if we may speak so, the divine veracity is pledged, and the divine honour committed, on the principle that men, Christian men, are to take the gospel to their fellow men. The divine influence must of course attend and bless human exertion and gospel means. But human agency is inseparable from the success of the arrangement. "*Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; and Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world!*"

Now in all ages, since the apostles closed their illustrious labours, the grand difficulty has been to induce *men* to do their part in this great work. In the propagation of the gospel by his holy providence, it may almost be said of the Redeemer, that of "the people, there is none with him*." If we subtract from the sum of what has been done for Christianity, all that the course of human affairs overruled by God

has done; all that natural generation has done; all that emigration and colonizing (with Christian population) heathen lands have done; all that the bringing of the heathen to the gospel has done; all that wars and revolutions, inventions and discoveries, and human enterprise have *unintentionally* done; in a word, if we subtract all the *indirect* influences of Christianity, and all the overruled events of the world, from what has been done for the cause of Jesus, then how much will remain?

Now by all these agencies, and indeed by the whole universe of agencies, is the great Head of the Church carrying on the work of redemption. But the tide of Providence, which steadily sets in with the final conversion of the world, is only the *stream* on which the "tall and goodly vessel" of the gospel floats: and to reach its desired haven, the navigator *man* must take the helm, as well as the spirit of Jesus fill the sail.

Heretofore, if we may so speak, the work of the Lord has been carrying forward the church, but the church is required to carry forward the work of the Lord. God demands of us that we give not only an overruled and indirect assistance (for that he extorts even from his foes), but that we should *co-operate with him in a positive, direct, and intentional instrumentality*.

To this end the church of Christ needs a DECIDED MISSIONARY SPIRIT. By this we mean a spirit of supreme devotion to the divine Redeemer; a spirit in unison with the end for which the Saviour died; a spirit which properly estimates the value of the soul; a spirit of generous love to man, and of holy pity to the perishing heathen. This is the spirit of Christian enterprise, which is attributed in ancient prophecy to a Christian people. "The people that know the Lord shall be strong and shall do exploits." It is this which burnt with holy and consuming ardour in the great apostle's breast, when he declared, "I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus." "I have strived to preach among the Gentiles, where Jesus was not named, the unsearchable riches of Christ*." Under the influence of such a spirit as this, a new order of men and of movements would arise, altogether above the tame and long tolerated standard of the Christian church. Such men as Paul, and Luther, and Whitfield would reappear. The sons of thunder would again

* See Foster's Missionary Sermon, page 17.

fulminate upon the nations, and the sons of consolation again pour into the weary and heavy laden hearts of pagan men, the oil of gospel joy and gladness. The heroic heralds of the cross, clad in the might of God, and fired with the spirit of missions, would transcend all human calculations; impatient of delay, they would outstrip the tedious and timid expedients of human policy; they would hasten with the gospel to the dying nations, and fly through the earth as *avant couriers* of the approaching King of Kings†. A few such men as these at home and abroad, would kindle the whole church of Christ into one broad blaze of light; would call out into action every spiritual energy, and every temporal resource; and cause a resistless enginery of gospel means to bear upon the entire destruction of heathenism.

It has been the uniform fate of all great enterprises to meet in their origin with resistance and even with ridicule from the weak, the selfish, and the over cautious. The ancients called profane, and even mad, the first brave mariner who ventured out to sea: Columbus was for almost an age an unheeded suppliant at the feet of European princes, though he only asked at their hands the permission to present them with a new world. Our own glorious revolution was, at its dawning, the wonder of one half mankind, and the derision of the other. So it has been with the missionary enterprise. Even at the present day, it is the by-word of "the wise and prudent" of this world; and a great number of professed Christians, preferring ease to self-denial, and thinking the state of the heathen so good, and the value of the gospel to them so small, regard every such attempt as in the last degree extravagant and wild.

We are aware that this spirit, like every other, is liable to abuse. We remember the crusades of one age, and the fanatical zeal of several others. We are no friends to religious knight errants, or crazy cosmopolites, who travel through the world "without wisdom to direct" in quest of adventures. It may be worthy of remark, however, that the very attention which such counterfeits excite, shows the fine impression that the true missionary character is fitted to make, when embodied in the persons of such men as Whitfield, Buchanan and Martyn.

* Acts xxi. 13. Romans xv. 20. Ephesians iii. 8.

† "Aut inveniam viam aut faciam," is the true missionary principle, when sanctified by divine grace.

But we are no advocates of extremes on either side. The extreme of indifference or of cowardice is criminal in itself; is more common, and perhaps more hurtful, than that of fanatical rashness. The extreme of mere worldly expediency and secular policy in missions is as evil as presumptuous enterprise. The system of the Jesuits was as fatal as the spirit of the crusaders to true religion. The author of the work entitled "For Missionaries after the Apostolical School," is on one extreme. He would storm the world, and spurn all helps, and outfits, and means, save only the vagrant and unfurnished missionary. This is quite excessive, and destined to live only in the fervours of his own warm but wild fancy. The work, on the contrary, entitled "Hints on Missions," is quite as extreme on the other side. The plan of operation which it suggests would be more disastrous in its consequences, because not speculative and impracticable like the other, (and consequently innoxious), but mainly secular, and requiring only secular men to promote it. The author would civilize and colonize the world into Christianity; he would make a mere business matter of giving Christianity to heathen nations; in a word, he would so adjust things, that the world should *grow up* into Christianity.

Now the medium between these extremes is the true gospel plan. No scheme abounds so much in practical wisdom, and powerful means, directly adapted to produce the intended end, as the gospel method of converting the world. And the spirit of missionary enterprise of which we speak, is that *divine influence* by which man is at once qualified and impelled to spread this salvation.

The great agents must be the ministers of reconciliation, sent out into all the world, under the supreme dominion of this spirit: the people of the Lord, who cannot, and ought not to go, yet if they possess this spirit will help them in heaven by their intercessions, and in heathen lands by their manifold and abounding charities. On such a spirit God will "shed his selectest influences;" a resistless power will attend every effort directed by this spirit; and to universal effort would succeed universal impression. Thus the promises of the gospel would travail in the birth of nations, and soon a renovated world would people the church, and a glorified church would people heaven.

We have pursued these suggestions so far that little room is left for the *particular* application which we had intended of this discussion.

The organization, the numbers, the character, and the influence of the Presbyterian Church in the United States have justified the expectation of a noble effort by her in the cause of foreign missions. *She has not met this reasonable hope.* She has not acted on this subject in a way worthy of her avowed allegiance to God, of her professed love to man, and of her pure and powerful witness to the truth at home. Her disregard of foreign missions has been in singular contrariety to the promptitude and effect with which she has sustained each great domestic enterprise in behalf of Christianity, as they have in succession presented themselves before her. At this moment every Presbytery in the Church (and they amount to almost one hundred) ought, on a general average, to provide one foreign missionary, and then to sustain him in the field of his labours. Whether our lethargy on this subject result from the want of missionary organization in the bosom of the Church, or from the still more distressing and criminal want of a missionary spirit, we have all a great public sin to confess and to forsake. The *Church* has sinned; and *we her ministers* have sinned *still more*. It is high time that we had all repented of this sin, and evidenced the soundness of our repentance by a due and deep reform. Then let every minister awake, and let every member awake, at the call of the divine Redeemer, to regard the claims of the dying heathen.

To the youth of our Church are we especially to look for that Christian enterprise, which, under God, shall rouse the energies of the Church; shall rescue her venerated name from reproach among men, and bear her heavenly charities to heathen lands.

To these young brothers in the Lord, who are standing on the threshold of the most elevated and most awful of human trusts, we would most affectionately say, "take not your standard of action from your fathers and elder brethren in the ministry. Shame covers our faces when we turn them towards the continents, where darkness and death eternal reign. Pause before you select a field of future labour, and survey these wide and awful desolations of many generations! Listen to the groans of dying millions as they ascend to heaven! Count not your own lives dear to you, in comparison of their eternal good! Come forth from your sacred shades of study and devotion to kindle our hearts anew in this great service! Come! not only to point us, but lead us to that field to which the finger of God directs you, and the wail of perishing nations calls you!"





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